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THE EARLY
TEUTONIC, ITALIAN
AND
FRENCH MASTERS

THE EARLY
TEUTONIC, ITALIAN
AND
FRENCH MASTERS

TRANSLATED AND EDITED FROM THE DOHME SERIES

BY

A. H. KEANE, M.A.I.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE.

UNDER the title of "Mediæval and Modern Art and Artists,"* a series of biographies ranging over the whole field of European Art has lately been completed in Germany. The plan of intrusting each life as far as possible to a specialist, a plan adhered to throughout by the editor, Dr. Robert Dohme, Librarian to the Emperor William, was such as could scarcely fail to render the series epoch-making in the history of pictorial Art. Hence it is not too much to say that the expectations entertained by those who were aware of the judgment shown in the selection of contributors, have been fully realised. The names of Robert Vischer, Hermann Lücke, Carl Lemecke, A. Woltmann, W. Bode, R. Bergau, Alfred von Wurzbach, Dr. Hubert Janitschek, Dr. Oscar Eisenmann, Dr. Adolf Rosenberg, C. A. Regnet, and others, were of themselves sufficient to guarantee perfect workmanship and the complete literary success of the undertaking.

That so magnificent a contribution to æsthetic studies should remain entirely unknown to the majority of English lovers of Art would certainly have been a source of regret, especially to those who attach importance to the due appreciation of the productions of the great masters. At the same time, the vast scope and extent of the compilation necessarily precluded the idea of a complete translation, even if otherwise desirable. Hence in the preparation of the present volume, which deals with the earlier epochs of Continental Art, an eclectic system had to be adopted, and with such abundant and valuable materials to hand it may readily be imagined that the duty of selection was of an unusually thankless character. It may, however, be stated that the task was rendered less difficult by adherence to one fundamental principle, not always sufficiently recognised in the Art-world, and indeed by many held to be heretical. The editor believes that there are no abstract canons of taste, no ideal standards of beauty, the unchangeable reflex of eternal and divine prototypes on which are modelled all outward realities. Of the three forms of

* "Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, Biographien und Charakteristiken, unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Dr. Robert Dohme, Hofbibliothekar sr. Majestät des Kaisers Wilhelm," Leipzig, 1875—8.

Art, the ideal or conventional, the realistic, and the personal—the last to him seems to be the true vivifying element; for “the determining and essential constituent of Art is the personality of the artist” (E. Vernon). Hence the highest Art, admitting of indefinite variety of outward form, belongs to no particular time or place, the true test of excellence being the faithful reproduction, not of any traditional types, however perfect in themselves, but of the individual artist’s conception of nature. Whenever and wherever this conception is in itself of a noble type, then its perfect embodiment in outward form, whatever form that may be, must be regarded as the expression of the highest Art. In this sense the ruined temple of Ongkor-Váht, on the wooded shores of the great Cambojan Lake, must rank on the same level as the ruined temple of Athene on the Acropolis; for both are cast in grand lines and both are the faithful reflex of the artist’s individuality.

It is on this account that a preference has here been given to such men as Schongauer, Dürer, the Van Eycks, Lucas van Leyden, Quentin Matsys, Masaccio, Mantegna, Ghirlandajo, Fra Bartolommeo, Signorelli, Poussin, Claude, all of whom faithfully reproduced their own beautiful ideals, rather than echoed the beautiful ideals of others. The ideals are no doubt often of very different orders, but each is entitled on these grounds to distinct recognition. Else all Art becomes academical, a slave to routine, sinking to the stereotyped expression of *fade* traditions, inspired by a narrow dogmatism, sustained by mediocrity, the negation of all expansion and free development.

At the same time it was necessary to take account of the historic progress of European Art. But the idea of all progress necessarily involves various degrees of relative success, from the crude essays of the pioneer to the crowning triumphs of a perfected technique. Hence the appearance of such names as Einhart, Tuotilo, Bernward, representatives of the earliest tentative efforts of the formative Arts, who manfully struggled under almost insuperable technical difficulties to describe vividly and dramatically and give outward expression to the inward thought. Such men, forming moreover the only connecting link between classical and modern times, here justly receive the same appreciation as do, for instance, the earlier monuments of Olympia in the history of Greek Art.

But the general historic development having been sufficiently illustrated in the German section, it was unnecessary in the others to go further back than the Early Renaissance. Hence the Art of the Low Countries is introduced at once with the great names of the Van Eycks, and that of Italy with their glorious contemporary, Masaccio. But in the French section we are again reminded that there is no absolute in this world, but only the relative. For here we begin with Nicholas Poussin, who flourished two centuries later. Yet a name that might elsewhere mark perhaps the bloom or even the decay of

pictorial Art belongs in France still to the earlier period. Before the time of Poussin there is no national French School, the older French painters having been mere imitators of the Italians; and imitators, all who failed to stamp their individuality on their productions, can here find no place. Objection might perhaps be taken on this ground to such a name as that of De' Bazzi. But De' Bazzi had an ideal, which, though not of the very highest order, was still beautiful, and notwithstanding all his vagaries was more than once perfectly realised by him. Besides, the Art-student will probably not be ungrateful for the appearance of this name, if only for the opportunity it affords his biographer of showing how adverse criticism may be combined with a sympathetic appreciation of real merit. There is often more to be learned from the errors of originality than from the faultlessness of the commonplace.

The chapter devoted to the German Minster Builders, not usually included in the category of the "masters," may perhaps be acceptable on other grounds. Apart from the variety it imparts to the work, the subject seemed so extremely interesting, has here been dealt with so ably, and is otherwise so little known and so rarely treated in works of Art, that its exclusion might have seemed to many a greater oversight than its insertion may possibly to some appear surprising. At all events, by a slight sacrifice of cold consistency, a desirable feature has thus been added to the volume.

A word on the translation. To reproduce in readable form a German text indulging at times so largely in transcendental criticism, might seem to be either a superfluous or an impossible task. Yet it has not been found necessary materially to modify this element, and the editor is not conscious of having otherwise departed from the spirit of the text. The styles of the various contributors often differ greatly, but he has endeavoured by a faithful adherence to the sound canons of translation to impart a certain uniformity to this English version. His aim has been to produce a work which does not obtrusively suggest the original, and which may be read without that uncomfortable feeling arising out of the too obvious struggle to overcome difficulties.

Touching the title it may not be amiss to remark that brevity has been consulted by grouping the German, Dutch, and Flemish sections under the collective name of Teutonic, a term fully justified on ethnical grounds.

A. H. K.

19, WESTWICK GARDENS, W.
June 16th, 1879.

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THE EARLY GERMAN MASTERS.

EINHART.

(Born about 770, died 840.)

By DR. R. DOHME.

"He was a noble-minded man, wise, of flowing speech, upright in his dealings, useful to many by his Art, brought up at the Court of Charles, who employed him to carry out many works."

RHABANUS MAURUS, EPITAPH OF EINHART.

THE Middle Ages are severed by no hard and fast line from antiquity. Both flow rather for a time side by side together, the modern era emerging but slowly and gradually, and not till both Christendom, and especially the Germanic peoples, rapidly acquiring political importance, had in the course of centuries endeavoured to become imbued with the spirit of classic culture, and vigorously to continue it. The attempt was, however, unsuccessful. The old ideas, after languishing for some generations longer, at last quite died out about the close of the first millennium of our era, by which time the new elements had acquired consistency enough henceforth to develop themselves, though on principles different from those of antiquity.



Palace Chapel at Aix-la Chapelle.

During the whole of that intermediate period no trace can be discovered of any conscious antagonism to the spirit of the old world, always, of course, excepting the purely ecclesiastical domain. With the general progress of culture the Art also of the ancients blends imperceptibly, and without any harsh contrasts, with that of mediæval times. Christianity itself introduces new thoughts into Art, at first rather objectively than with any set purpose. The

Redeemer of the world appears as the Good Shepherd in the primitive type of the pagan idea of the Deity, at times even under the image of the Greek singer Orpheus. The ornamental Art of the catacombs, the most ancient Christian monuments extant, corresponds both in design and treatment altogether with what we meet with on contemporary heathen buildings, just as the form of the church itself is an adaptation of the State apartments of the Roman imperial palaces. Not for centuries is the emancipation from the old pagan tradition thoroughly effected; its influence, in fact, is more or less felt throughout the whole course of the Middle Ages.

The Ostrogoths were the first Germanic people to develop a regular form of government on Italian soil, whilst the waves of migration were elsewhere still surging to and fro. Here also, instead of any attempt to strike out a new and independent line, we find a continual retrospective clinging to the old Roman style, and the history of this State offers the most interesting contribution to the right understanding of the attitude assumed by the civilised Germanic princes towards Art and the Art-world. Bearing on this point, there are still preserved the orders and decrees of Theodoric the Great (493—526); though certainly in a considerably modified form, owing to the revision they received at the hands of his minister Cassiodorus. Still, it will be readily admitted that the spirit pervading them is, on the whole, in harmony with the views entertained by Theodoric himself. Amongst other things he declares that, in virtue of his office, he feels himself called upon to continue the work of the Cæsars, who were ever famous for their love of building, and, in consequence of this feeling, he repeatedly impresses on the Romans the importance of preserving their monuments. Beautiful structures, he says, are his delight, the ornament of the land, and the ruler's title to fame, for posterity willingly judges the monarch by the works he leaves behind him. He dwells on the importance of the office with which he intrusts his architect, for it is a highly honourable thing to raise edifices, commanding the admiration and praise of the remotest times. But, in order to effect this, he requires that all his buildings be fully in keeping with the great creations of antiquity. And, when he lastly expresses the opinion that a liberal hand promotes genius, while the artist himself should be free from all anxiety as to his maintenance, in order to be able to live exclusively for his high mission, we see the princely virtue of munificence, ever expected from the sovereigns of Teuton race, go hand in hand with the deep veneration for Art and its promoters which still survived from classic times. It must, however, be confessed that the actual productions of Theodoric's architect, Aloisius, fell far short of the king's lofty words and promises.

In the Frankish kingdom also, beyond the Alps, in spite of the evil days they had to live through, and long after the extinction of the Western Empire, society still felt itself intimately associated with the old culture. Well might

thoughtful contemporaries have grieved at the now not unfrequent sight of wretched wooden churches springing up, especially in the north, as the greatest achievements of Art during the sixth and seventh centuries, in the very midst of the grand remains of Roman architecture. Side by side, however, with this, there was kept alive not only the rough old freestone method of the Gauls, but also the far more difficult art of bound and finished masonry, at least in the large towns. Besides, in many retired districts, or in the neighbourhood of the numerous quarries, the old traditions continued to be propagated by individual families and members of the craft; nor were there cases wanting in which these traditions were thus, at least in a modified form, handed down uninterruptedly from the days of the Romans to an advanced period in mediæval times.

The circumstances were essentially different in Germany. If the Roman or Romanised populations in Italy and Gaul had succeeded in gaining a decided influence in the relations then springing up between them and their new Germanic masters, nowhere in Germany itself, except in the cities along the banks of the Rhine, had Roman culture been able to secure a firm and lasting hold. Even in Noricum, after the last of the Roman element had been withdrawn by Odoacer, in 488, during the ensuing turmoils the very memory of the earlier and better times, and even of the sites of once flourishing cities, perished utterly. Hence, during the following centuries, there can be no question of an Art in Germany. It did not again make its appearance till the introduction of Christianity, with which came also the representatives of the ancient culture.

But, even in Christian times, the change was at first very gradual. The numerous ecclesiastical structures of Boniface were little more than temporary expedients to meet the wants of the moment—mostly of wood, here and there of nothing more substantial than branches and brushwood. Hence in a few decades they no longer served their purpose, and other works were obliged to be constructed in their place. But, after Christianity had taken deep root during the next ensuing generations, the young zeal of the faithful was anxious to impart rich forms to their churches, and, with an extraordinary love of architectural display, there were also developed a corresponding skill and talent for building. The cloister schools became flourishing nurseries of Art, which, amidst the troubles of the times, seldom throve well in the outer world, and the activity displayed by certain German foundations about the year 800 was never again even approached. The models and treatises of antiquity still formed the rule and standard of such works, however little the artistic faculty of the times may have reflected the structural genius of the Romans.

This first outburst of mediæval Art coincides with the happier times brought about by the establishment of the supremacy of Charles the Great

over the West. Like a green island amidst the barren waste of waters, this epoch emerges out of the darkness of the foregoing and following times. Thanks to the impotency of his successors, the civilising influence of his reign was doubtless of but little consequence for after times. Still it must always possess special interest for the serious inquirer into the state of Art and culture in each successive period of its development. And this for two reasons—first, because in the North a final effort was now consciously and deliberately made again to direct contemporary Art to create in the spirit of antiquity; and secondly, because this same period is, on the other hand, to be considered as the first spring-tide of mediæval Art itself. Thus the Carlovingian epoch forms in the history of Art one of those great turning-points, in which the old and the new are so closely intermingled that at the first cursory glance it is difficult to decide in what direction the balance most inclines. The old appears still in a more splendid and attractive garb, while the new, if not so conspicuous, is not the less actually present.

This is also the first period of mediæval times which, apart from the occasional references of contemporary writers, speaks clearly to us in at least some important works still extant. On the other hand, our knowledge of the life and labours of the artists themselves suffers from the same lack of interest in the personality of the individual, which is characteristic of the whole of the Middle Ages. We shall have occasion again to refer to this peculiarity, and it may here suffice to remark that, owing to the absorption of the artist in his work, there can be no question, in mediæval times, of biographies, properly so called, that is of such as, beyond a few dates and anecdotes, undertake to estimate the mental development of the man himself. Hence the following sections will be devoted rather to typical representatives of those great mediæval artistic classes that for centuries monopolized the Art-life of the times. The Art of the imperial courts, with all their great architectural undertakings, will thus be represented in the person of Einhart. In the same way Tuotilo will serve us as an example of the artistic energy displayed by the cloisters, within whose quiet precincts thousands of industrious and talented men were ceaselessly at work. So also with Bernward of Hildesheim, as a type of the fostering care and devotion to Art within the circles of the secular clergy. Later on the civic element of the flourishing mediæval towns, as they grew in strength and influence, gradually supplanted the hitherto everywhere predominant ecclesiastical and monastic artists, and in the great Gothic minsters the very highest expression was given to the whole field of mediæval Art. At the same time, however, the corporate feeling is again strengthened in a special manner by the masonic guilds, or lodges, preventing us from catching more than a vague glimpse of the shadowy outlines of the personality even of such exceptional appearances as Erwin of Strasburg and Gerhard of Rile. Our

fourth section will, therefore, deal in the mass with the whole artistic life grouped round about the masonic guilds.

In the charming hilly district between the slopes of the Vogel hills and the Hohe-Rhön, and about a hundred kilometres from Mainz, Sturmius, one of the disciples of St. Boniface, after long and vain attempts, had at last succeeded in finding a suitable site for a monastery by the banks of the Fulda, a stream abounding in fish. As soon as the royal grant of the land was obtained the building of the church was begun, in the year 744, with workmen that Boniface himself had brought with him from Mainz.

The monastery grew rapidly in numbers and importance, so that, within half a century from its foundation, it was reckoned amongst the most famous abbeys in Germany, and, from an architectural point of view, held the foremost rank; for with Sturmius's successor, Baugulf (779—802), there began a line of abbots whose administration was distinguished by an uninterrupted series of great undertakings. At the same time the schools flourished in which were formed the artists whom the monastery required for its purposes, and who, according to the rule of St. Benedict, were all members of the monastic order, as explained in our account of Tuotilo, farther on.

Artistic talent was held in such high consideration in Fulda that, when Baugulf resigned the dignity of abbot in the year 802, the convent chose as his successor Ratger, who had hitherto presided over the works and the school. On assuming office Ratger gave himself entirely up to his passion for building, with an utterly reckless indifference to the well-being of his monks. Moneys destined for churches, charitable objects, or even the table, all flowed alike into the building fund. On days and hours by custom set apart for pious contemplation, the brethren were compelled to work all the same at the structures in course of erection. This led to repeated complaints and appeals to the Emperor, which, however, remained without result during the lifetime of Charles. On several occasions he ordered the neighbouring bishops to visit the convent, but all such visitations ended invariably in the triumph of the abbot. At last, however, during the feeble reign of Louis, the malcontents succeeded in gaining the Emperor over to their side, which was followed by the deposition of Ratger. He was thus fain to leave the completion of his great abbey-church, the chief work of his life, to his successor Eigil, who was animated by the same love of building, but, wiser than Ratger, had more consideration for the comforts of the brethren.

Ratger's Church of the Saviour, which must be assigned to the years 805—819, was burned to the ground in 937. Still, it possesses a certain historic interest, because in this basilica, with its double choir, its two crypts, its arrangement of the pillars, and the like, we have the first actual embodiment of the general type of the great cathedral and abbey-churches in Germany during

the next ensuing centuries, at least so far as we are now in a position to judge. It seems probable that the plan of the double choir, so characteristic of early German mediæval architecture, was in Fulda, as in a few other isolated cases out of Germany, independently developed or necessitated by certain local conditions, passing thence to the Cologne Minster (814) and to the abbey-church of St. Gall, whose ground plan is still preserved in the famous parchment design of that monastery.

It was this convent school at Fulda that Einhart entered, while still a youth of tender years, and he was here a witness of Ratger's rising fame, possibly even his immediate pupil. He was born about the year 770, of a noble Frankish family on the right bank of the Rhine. His remarkable talents and commendable industry attracted the attention of Baugulf, who presented him to Charles, in consequence of the Emperor's expressed wish to bring together the most promising pupils of the cloister schools, in order to have them educated together with his own sons. Thus it happened that Einhart became at an early period attached to the Imperial Court, from which he was henceforth seldom, and then but for brief intervals, removed. He continued nevertheless to remain on the closest terms with Fulda. Here in his old age he still sought advice, and the explanation of unintelligible passages when engaged in the study of the writings of Vitruvius. Here he placed for instruction the youth Vussin, in whom he felt great personal interest; Werdrikus also, one of his kinsmen, was here educated, while the Fulda monk, writer, and painter, Brun Candidus, was, on the other hand, sent to complete his studies under Einhart, apparently at Aix-la-Chapelle.

From the few casual allusions of contemporaries it is difficult to form a clear idea of the exact position of Einhart at the Court of Charles. In modern phraseology he may be described as, perhaps, holding the office of General Superintendent of the Imperial Palaces, to which department was also attached the supreme direction of the works. He was at the same time, however, a statesman, and, if the expression may be allowed, a member of the Imperial Cabinet, though not the Emperor's private secretary, as has been often supposed. As a politician we first meet with him in 802, then about two-and-thirty years of age, when he is mentioned among the great men of the Empire to whom was intrusted the safe custody of the hostages exacted from the Saxons. Four years thereafter he took to Pope Leo, at Rome, the will of Charles, which, in case of his demise, provided for the partition of the whole Empire amongst his then still surviving four sons. Then, after the death of the three elder princes in the lifetime of their father, it was Einhart's advice that induced the now aged Emperor, with a view to avoiding future discord, to proclaim Louis (the Pious) co-regent at the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 813. If he thereby acquired special claims to the gratitude of the new

Cæsar, he stood, in any case, in close relation to him on other grounds. To the abbeys and benefices with which Charles had already endowed him, Louis added others, and when, in imitation of his father, three years after ascending the throne he took his young son Lothaire as his partner in the government, he appointed Einhart as his counsellor. But, in spite of the intimate relations existing between preceptor and pupil, all Einhart's endeavours entirely failed to bring about a reconciliation between father and son, the differences that had arisen causing the breach to grow wider as years rolled on. We still possess a letter, addressed by him in the year 830 to Lothaire, imploring him in eloquent terms to abstain from the meditated revolt. But in vain! Though the confidant of both parties, he was still unable to arrest the wheel in its downward course to ruin.

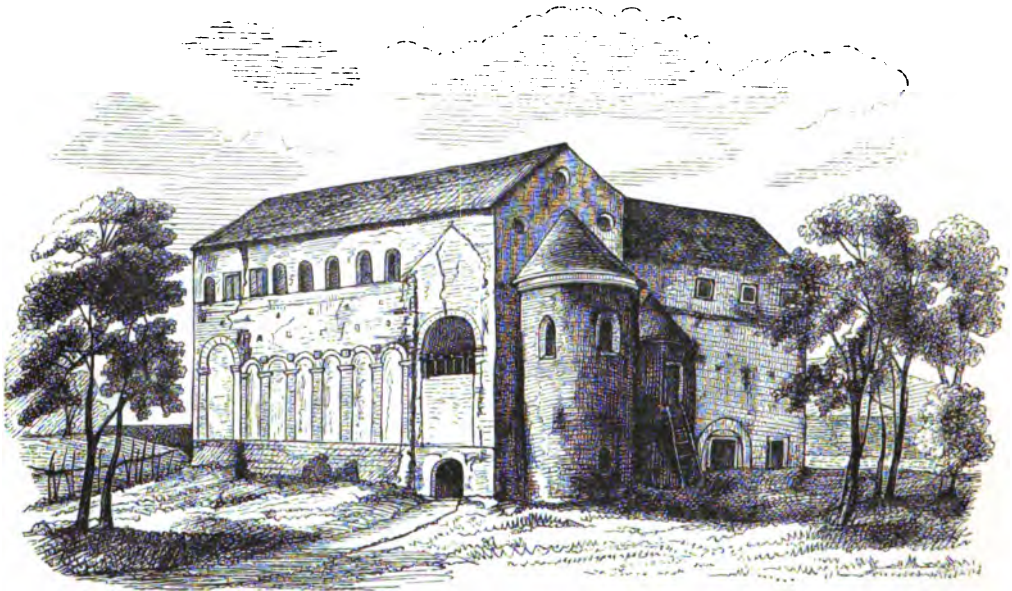
These hopeless struggles against the universal breaking up of all existing relations at last filled him with disgust for the life and ways of the Court. From the time of the death of Charles he appears to have fostered the idea of gradually withdrawing from public affairs. At least at his request Louis had, in 815, presented him with the estate of Michelstadt in the Odenwald, where he henceforth whenever possible gladly spent the summer, whilst his duties still for a long time required his attendance on the Emperor during the winter months. Still his shrewd understanding and his ripe statesmanship, developed by the school and the example of his great teacher, could feel but little relish for the purely arbitrary policy of the feeble and weak-minded Louis. The Emperor himself would have gladly retained his services, but after repeatedly observing of how little weight were his warning words, notwithstanding all the friendship entertained by the members of the imperial family towards him, despairing also of being able any longer to rescue from ruin the empire founded by Charles, he at last withdrew altogether from the Court, in order, on his retired estate and in the distraction of learned studies and pious works, as far as possible to forget the troubles and throes of the outer world.

He probably did not marry till after the death of Charles, at least no mention occurs of his wife Imma till the year 815. Like Einhart himself she came of a distinguished Frankish family, and her brother Bernard was Bishop of Worms and Abbot of Weissenburg. The tradition, dating from the twelfth century, which made her a daughter of Charles the Great himself, is as groundless as the anecdote connected with it, according to which the Emperor discovered the two lovers by night after a fresh fall of snow, although Imma had carried her sweetheart on her shoulders across the court to prevent their being betrayed by his footsteps.

There was no issue to this union as late as the year 819, so that the Vussinus spoken of above as a monk in Fulda must have been born after this date, if at least Pertz is right in assuming this relation between them from the expression

"son," occurring in a letter to Vussin, which letter, however, cannot even with absolute certainty be attributed to Einhart. Nor can any conclusion be drawn from the words themselves, such forms as "fili," "mi nate," my son, being constantly used in those days as mere terms of endearment by men advanced in years; hence it seems more natural to suppose that Vussin was nothing more than a favourite pupil or foster-child of Einhart.

In the year 836 he lost his wife, and the grief of the now solitary old man at this event is very touching. And, in truth, it appears as well from his own words as from the sympathetic letter of his friend the Abbot Lupus of Ferrières, that Imma must have been a woman of some consideration. Even the aged



Full View of Einhart's Basilica. (Ruins of Steinbach Abbey.)

Emperor himself made an excursion from Ingelheim to Michelstadt in order to condole with his venerable friend and associate on his loss.

Einhart's best grounded title to fame depends nowadays mainly on his position as a writer. And although this is not the place to treat this side of his mental activity in detail, still his principal works may at least be cursorily referred to. His *Chronicles*, the so-called *Royal Annals*, were probably composed at the Court itself, and by command of the Emperor. After re-casting the previous portions by other hands, he takes up the record of events independently from the year 796, continuing it year by year till 829, when he leaves to others the description of the state of the world's affairs, now growing ever more gloomy and dispiriting.

The excellence peculiar to such works is still more marked in his "Life of

Charles the Great," a little treatise which, in spite of the pregnant brevity both of its form and contents, is still the most important biography of the Emperor during the whole course of the Middle Ages. It was composed between the years 814 and 820, and if in it he shows himself an experienced and enlightened statesman, we still get a deeper knowledge of mankind from his general correspondence. A fourth work by him will be referred to farther on.

Unfortunately the picture of Einhart the artist presents itself to our view in much less distinct outline than that of Einhart the man and the historian. We are not even expressly told which of the three formative Arts was his special domain. Since the learned Benedictine Mabillon (1632—1707) first treated of his artistic career, we have been in the habit of taking it for granted without further inquiry that Einhart was simply the architect of Charles, and that besides other imperial works he also projected and carried out the Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle. This is precisely the position taken by Kreuser also in his "Church Architecture." At the same time, however, since the beginning of the present century more careful historical research has pointed out that there is nothing in the contemporary records to force us to the conclusion that Einhart was in reality a practical architect at all. Amidst these discrepant views it may be desirable to inquire somewhat more closely into the true state of the case.

In the Carlovingian Academy, if we may be allowed to apply this expression of the Renaissance period to the circle of learned men attracted in such numbers to the Court of Charles—in this academy Einhart bore the name of "Bezaleel," after the builder of the Tabernacle, of the tribe of Judah, who had been "filled with the Spirit of God, in wisdom and in understanding and in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship, to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship" (Exod. xxxi. 3-5). The nature of Einhart's artistic tendencies is certified by this name of Bezaleel. We are, moreover, expressly informed by contemporaries that as an artist "he executed many works," as, to mention one authority, is stated in the above quoted epitaph by Rhabanus Maurus.

But in what consisted this artistic industry? Brun Candidus, whom Ratger had sent to complete his studies under Einhart, was a painter, so that the teacher may be presumed to have himself practised this Art. But on this point we have no positive information, and must therefore leave this branch of his career without further comment. Something apparently definite is conveyed in the statement of a monk and chronicler in the Abbey of St. Wandrille, to the effect that Ansigis, abbot of his monastery, had been an overseer of the imperial works (*exactor operum regalium*) at the Aix-la-Chapelle Minster under the direction of Einhart. In reply to this, however, it has been pointed out that

such superintendents were not as a rule themselves architects any more than, say, our own ministers of public works, and further that by the expression "exactor operum regalium" we are to understand not so much an architect as a director of workshops for painting and statuary. But, as is so often the case, here also too great attention to details has caused such inquirers to lose sight of the main question. In his writings Einhart speaks with pleasure of his buildings in Michelstadt and Seligenstadt, and frequently in such terms as, unless we would do violence to the text, must be interpreted rather as implying the actual constructor or master of the works than merely their proprietor. "Cum non solum domos," he writes, "et habitacula ad manendum verum etiam basilicam . . . non indecori operis ædificassem." And again, "Cum ad basilicam noviter a me *constructam* sed nondum dedicatam venissent," &c., &c. To all this must be added his Vitruvian studies as well as his practical participation in and direct attention to the works in progress, as when at one time he provides the lead for the roof, at another a lesser number of tiles of a certain fixed size.

All this speaks unmistakably of his personal interest in architecture. But his contemporaries—and this is decisive of the matter—expressly describe him as possessing brilliant talents for all branches of the formative Arts; though, as stated, we now possess no standard whereby to form an estimate of his work as a painter and statuary. But if such a man had the direction of the works at Aix-la-Chapelle, we may confidently conclude that he also enjoyed some authoritative influence in planning and arranging the building. But considering his social position we can scarcely look upon him as the practical constructor of the works, as a number of others working under him are described to have been. Such, in the first place, was Ansigis, then another abbot, by name Udalrich, mentioned as a plastic artist, and a certain Master Odo as architect.

Nor is there wanting an intrinsic reason for supposing, at least with some likelihood, that Einhart's direct influence was brought to bear upon the Aix Minster. An extensive knowledge of the exact sciences was in those days extremely rare; but we have Alcuin's assurance that Einhart passed for an authority in such things. Now the importance of the Aix Minster lies much more in its construction than its artistic forms. Whilst these present us with nothing at all exceptional, the construction, especially of the vault of the gallery, is so finely calculated, that its designer must have commanded an amount of mathematical knowledge for the times perfectly wonderful, a fact that is pre-eminently true of Einhart.

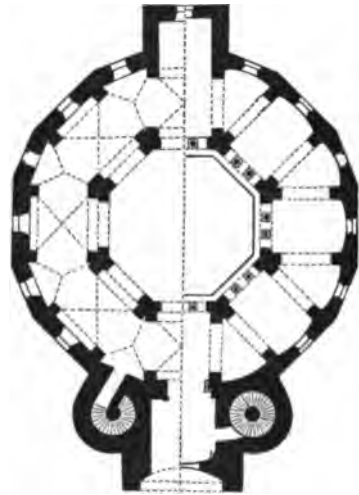
Considering all these points, the old view must be again adopted, which sought in the department of architecture for any possibly preserved proofs of Einhart's artistic industry, and accordingly associated his name with the

Aix-la-Chapelle Minster, as being the only fabric of Charles the Great that has survived to our times. During the last few years archaeological research has also been fortunate in bringing to light the remains of the churches, both at Michelstadt and Seligenstadt, erected by him on his own estates, and which were discovered within the more recent constructions there. We are thus enabled to connect his name with three distinct works, a case which is extremely rare in the records of early mediæval architecture.

As early as the middle of the century the family of Charles possessed a palace at Aix-la-Chapelle; and the Emperor, finding the local waters beneficial to his health, later on rebuilt the palace from its foundations. But of this structure no vestiges now remain, and the most careful researches have scarcely succeeded in giving us any more definite information as to its site. We know, however, that it was built on a magnificent scale; that great numbers of artisans of all kinds, some of them brought thither from remote parts, were engaged upon it; and that a portion of the materials, such as costly marbles and the like, were conveyed with incredible labour over the Alps from Italy. Amongst these were some few plastic works, such as the now lost equestrian statue of Theodoric the Great from Ravenna, and the still extant antique she-bear, which for a long time was taken for a copy of the she-wolf on the Capitol, executed in the Carolingian period.

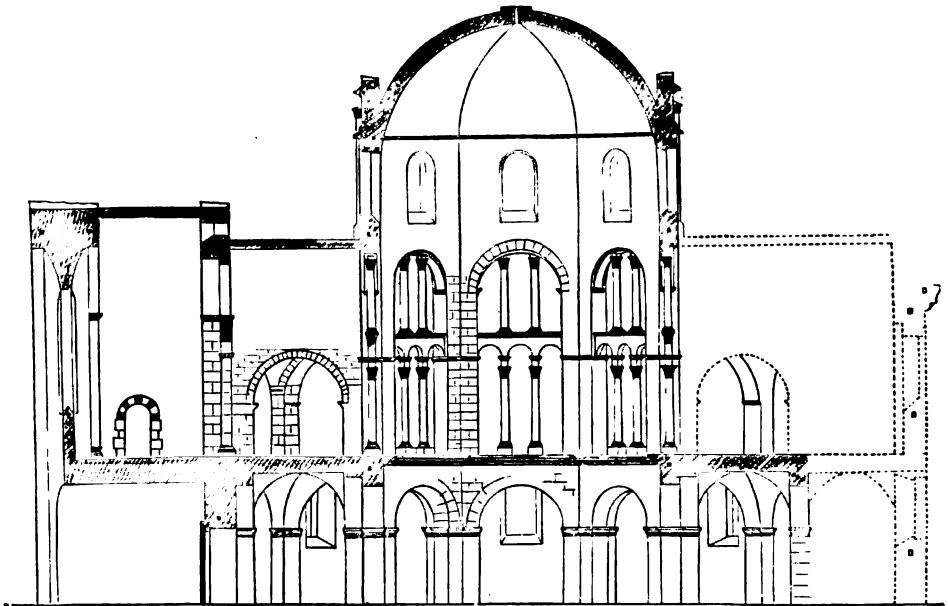
On the other hand, the palace chapel has been preserved; it was at once the great Court and State church of the Empire, and must be architecturally considered as the greatest artistic achievement of the times. It was this building that gave the name of Aix-la-Chapelle to the place. Situated within the enclosure of the palace, it communicated by means of a wooden passage in its upper story directly with the imperial apartments. Its erection began in the year 796, and it was consecrated in 804.

The plan consists of a central octagon surmounted by an eight-sided semi-circular cupola, and surrounded by a two-storied aisle. The sides of this aisle, alternating in the upper story as sides of triangles and rectangles, differ also in length. The principal nave is raised above the surrounding aisle, the clear upper part of its walls being pierced for windows as in the basilica. Hence Einhart is justified in describing the church as a "basilica," a term which has not been always properly understood.



Ground Plan of the Palace Chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A rectangular chancel, also two stories high, formed the east end of the edifice. But it disappeared later on, and was replaced in 1353 by a lofty Early Gothic choir. In a high arched recess, at the west end, we have the rectangular porch flanked by two round turrets with steps. The plan of the central nave, as shown in the section, is so developed that the round arched arcade of the lower story opens on to the side aisle over a simple impost moulding without any uniform arrangement of the details, but agreeably disposed. This is followed by a plinth on the level of the floor of the gallery. The whole elevation of the gallery opens into a spacious passage on each side of the octagon; but this is again closed in by the introduction of a double



Palace Chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle. Section.

disposition of columns, while the whole is enclosed by a second plinth at the spring of the cupola.

The columnar arrangement is as simple as it is possible to imagine; neither the inclination of the windows, nor the girdles of the arches, being in the least articulated, and the scanty mouldings exceedingly unpretending. But this defect in the details is necessitated by the original decorative arrangements of the interior. For the whole space from top to bottom was most probably covered with mosaic pictures on a gold ground, as still fully shown in St. Mark's, at Venice; and at least to some extent in St. Vitale, at Ravenna. What remained of this splendid decoration was replaced in the last century by

some tasteless stucco work. During the present restoration of the church, however, it is intended to restore at least a portion of the mosaics in accordance with old designs still extant. The floor was formerly covered with gay stone mosaic patterns; all the arches of the pillars, and the whole of the lower part of the building, were constructed of finished stone masonry, the rest of rag-work. In later times the only portions of the structure that have undergone any change are the upper part of the porch, the original pavilion of the cupola and the chancel, which are accordingly excluded from our illustrations.

This original form of construction, here roughly sketched, suggests the question how a design departing from the universally prevailing plans of church architecture in the West came to be chosen for such a highly important edifice; the more so that a monk of St. Gall, who has left us a number of anecdotes from the life of Charles, states that the building was carried out according to the disposition of the Emperor himself, which, if this was really the case, would so far account for such an abnormal general design. The idea that Byzantine Court churches may have possibly served as its model has long been discarded. But the church of St. Vitale, at Ravenna, has been referred to with more show of reason, by those who have looked upon the church in Aix-la-Chapelle as a free copy of that in Ravenna. The splendid structure of Julianus Argentarius, with its mosaic embellishments and its reminiscences of Justinian, was no doubt known to the Emperor, and he or his architects had it in their mind when planning his palace chapel. But in Aix we have nothing but the general impression of St. Vitale, both fabrics being in every particular independent of each other. They have nothing in common except the idea of an octagonal central space rising above a two-storied side nave, with the square east chancel and a corresponding west porch. The Aix vault system especially is entirely independent.

And here the roof of the upper side aisle, as already stated, calls for special attention. It is, perhaps, the most carefully conceived work of the kind in early mediæval times. In order to support the pressure of the cupola, which in Ravenna is effected by the low half-domes of the exedra, the roof of the gallery was here made to spring obliquely from the containing walls against the central nave, whereby they served in a measure the purpose of buttresses running round the whole enceinte. In an æsthetic sense the possibility of a better view of the mosaics of these vaults was thus insured to the observer standing on the pavement of the central space. At the same time, however, the architect was fully aware that a cylindrical vault resting obliquely and at an obtuse angle against the wall, possesses considerably less resisting power at the points of intersection than one in which the intersection is at a right angle. In order to obtain this inclination, in spite of the obliquely inclined vault, he contrives arched recesses in the containing walls exactly corresponding to the

several spans of the roof. The sustaining arch, where the two cylindrical planes of roof and wall now intersect, thus lies in its main direction in an inclined plane, meeting the cylindrical vault at a right angle, so that the pressure becomes thereby much fuller and more equalised than would be the case were the oblique plane to meet the perpendicular wall. (See Mertens in Förster's *Bauseitung*, 1840.)

In the presence of a construction conceived for the times with such nice calculation, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that some antique structure, that has since disappeared, must have served as its prototype. To this nicety of construction must be added the ingenious application of buttresses to the central cupola. Serving in the interior as pillars for the central nave, they are carried upwards above the lean-to's of the side aisle, reaching to the corners of the upper story in the form of tolerably well-developed pilasters with composite capitals. The buttress is, of course, nothing unusual in Roman vaulted structures. From them the Romance architecture of France acquired a knowledge of this expedient, while in Germany, with the solitary exception of Aix-la-Chapelle, it nowhere occurs during pre-Gothic times. Hence its appearance in Aix points at a systematic study of antique buildings, and this conclusion is fully confirmed by all the details. In spite of all the barbarity and rudeness of the form, both artists and workmen held still by the old Roman traditions. But how entirely the right understanding of those antique forms had already been forgotten is clearly shown by the terminations of these supports, which run quite tastelessly into Corinthian capitals. It has been conjectured that these capitals supported the main plinth, but such was not the case. They were nothing more than a clumsy ornamental finish to the pillars.

The original plan of the entrance, with its porch flanked by the two round turrets and its great arched recess, has been the prototype for a series of similar dispositions; in which, however, the recess alone persists throughout. The grand façade of the Paderborn Minster (1068) itself is based upon the motive here modelled on the precedent of Ravenna. Above the portal there was developed a sort of loggia, disposed with the same two-storied line of pillars as in the interior arcade. It is uncertain whether this also was suggested by the original porch of St. Vitale, which has since disappeared, but we certainly meet with a similar arrangement in the remains of Theodoric's palace. As the pope on certain feast days is accustomed to impart the papal benediction to the assembled masses from the perfectly analogous loggie of St. Peter's and St. John Lateran in Rome, the Emperor may have here also much in the same way shown himself to the people on special occasions. In the upper story we would place the belfry, rather than in the smaller round turrets, as has been at times conjectured.

In forming a just appreciation of the main features of this structure, and of

the position occupied by it and by its designer, it must be confessed that, especially since the destruction of the mosaics, its chief value lies almost exclusively in the manner of its construction. Comparing this with other more ancient round buildings, we see that no improvement is here effected by the endeavour to distribute the pressure of the great cupola over certain particular points, in order as far as possible to relieve the rest of the walls, as contrasted with the vaulting of the Pantheon at Rome and of St. Vitale at Ravenna, and as brilliantly illustrated by the treatment adopted in St. Lorenzo at Milan; for in this structure the whole of the containing walls with their vaults have after all to support the weight, which the eight pillars of the cupola with their buttresses would of themselves naturally be unequal to sustain (Mertens). Still the method of pitching the vault itself is in its details a proof of the architect's high culture. Lastly, it is to be observed that in the construction of this church the purely ornamental columns occupying the upper galleries have no structural consequence at all, being simply modelled on some older building.

This edifice was looked upon by contemporary generations with admiration and astonishment. In spite of its exceptional form, and of the times otherwise so little suited to give encouragement to architectural undertakings, its influence may clearly be traced on contemporary architecture; not so much that the style was further developed on its half antique decorative and constructive methods, for its influence remained rather purely external, but the unusual general design was simply copied with more or less fidelity, and it seems to have more especially served as a model for other imperial palace chapels. During the life-time of Charles it was reproduced as an adjunct to the palace at Nymwegen, and again under Louis at Diedenhofen. Even the two-storied and almost invariably quadrangular chapels attached to the castles in Romance countries still betray the influence of the Aix-la-Chapelle structure, though certainly somewhat indistinctly.

It was also imitated in the cloisters and episcopal residences, as in the so-called old tower at Mettlach, in the church of St. John at Lüttich, in the convent chapel at Ottmarsheim, in the old minster at Magdeburg, which has since perished, and at least partly in the monastery church at Essen. The original disposition of the great open galleries seems especially to have pleased the eyes of contemporaries. This also is an antique method of treatment, the oldest known example of which we have to look for in the original plan of the Pantheon as restored by Adler, but which at a later period seems to have been a favourite feature of the imperial thermæ. In the first half of the eleventh century it reappears, though without further reference to the Aix-la-Chapelle forms, in the church of St. Mary Capitolina at Cologne, after which it is not again met with in mediæval architecture.

On his estate at Michelstadt, in the modern Hessian province of Starkenburg, Einhart had previous to 819 founded a monkish settlement, a "cella," which, jointly with his wife Imma, he in that year bequeathed to the monastery of Lorsch, in the event of their dying without issue. With the view of enhancing the celebrity of this foundation, he made great efforts to provide it with wonder-working relics, calculated to attract thither the faithful in large numbers. His attempts were long in vain, the owners of such treasures being naturally disinclined to part with them, except in the most extreme cases. At last, however, an opportunity offered of realising his wishes, as he fully describes in his "History of the Translation of the Bodies of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, Martyrs," which may be here briefly resumed. A Roman deacon, named Deusdona, he tells us, was staying at the Court of Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 827. To him Einhart took occasion to mention his desire, knowing well that Rome possessed a great abundance of relics. At that time the catacombs were being cleared out, and, amongst other things, no less than 2,300 bodies had been transferred in 817 to Sta. Prassede. The crafty Italian, herein perceiving a fine chance of profit, after satisfying himself of Einhart's enthusiasm in the matter, assured him that he himself possessed several bodies of saints, which he was willing to dispose of, in return for a mule and the expenses of his homeward journey. Einhart closed at once with the offer, and sent with Deusdona his secretary Ratleic with some attendants, in order to take over the sacred objects in Rome. The same favourable opportunity was seized by Abbot Hilduin, of St. Denis, also to send a priest to Rome on his own account, and for the same purpose. On the arrival of the Franks in Rome, it soon became evident that Deusdona had imposed upon them, and that he neither possessed any relics himself, nor was in a position to procure them any. However, Ratleic was not disheartened at this discovery, but remained determined, cost what it might, to fulfil the pleasure of his master. Accordingly, he thought it desirable, notwithstanding the fraud, not to break with Deusdona, who was the only person he was acquainted with in the city. He carefully inspected the churches, diligently examining the graves of the saints contained in them, and at last discovered that the bodies of SS. Peter and Marcellinus might, without danger of detection, be easily stolen from a crypt, perhaps the catacomb of St. Helena, in the Via Labicana, near the Church of Tiburcio, that has since disappeared. In company with Deusdona, they penetrated by night into the place, nerved themselves to the deed with pious devotions, broke open the stone work, at the first inspection found the body of St. Marcellinus, and wrapped it with great respect in a still-preserved shroud. It was forthwith carried off by Deusdona to his residence, near St. Pietro in Vincoli, Ratleic thus obtaining what he wanted, and what he might have remained satisfied with. Now, however, he was troubled with the religious

scruple, whether it might not be sinful to take away the body of one of the saints, leaving his companion in suffering behind, after both of them had reposed for upwards of five hundred years in a common resting-place. But Deusdona would hear nothing of this; the business was too risky, and he had salved his conscience and, as he thought, fully redeemed his pledge by his co-operation so far; besides, according to the Roman law of the time, desecration of graves was a capital offence. In his place, however, a Greek monk named Basilus was found ready to assist in the second attempt, which again proved entirely successful, and Ratleic, now in possession of two whole saints, prepared to start on his home journey.

Meanwhile Hilduin's envoy had not been so fortunate. He tried to purloin the body of St. Tiburtius from the church dedicated to his name, but was thwarted by the strength of the bolts, and was fain to return home empty-handed. Ratleic now quietly sent on his precious treasures, and after tarrying for seven days behind to satisfy himself that the theft had remained undetected, at last set out. Both companies had given themselves rendezvous at Pavia, in the church of St. Giovanni, of which Einhart was a prebend, and here they met without further mishap. Henceforth there was little danger to fear, especially as messengers had been dispatched to Einhart, some of whose advanced retinue fell in with them at Solothurn. There being now no further occasion to keep the secret, the report of the arrival of the relics soon filled the land, devout votaries flocked in from all quarters, and the rest of the journey was like a triumphal procession.

But the last act of the piece was not concluded by Einhart's return to Michelstadt, nor were his troubles yet at an end. Hilduin's envoy, reluctant to have made the journey quite in vain, had in Pavia abstracted a portion of one body by night, and sent it to his abbot, who was well pleased with the gift. Not so Einhart, however, who feared lest the credit of his acquisition might be impaired by the story of this theft gradually becoming known: hence he used every means to induce Hilduin to restore what had been carried off at Pavia; and after many prayers and protests, he at last effected his object.

Nor was he less affected by the fact that the saints did not take to their residence in Michelstadt, urging him by diverse and sundry portents to convey them elsewhere. Very reluctantly, and not before receiving the most significant warnings, was he at last persuaded to forego his cherished project of keeping the relics where he had chosen his own permanent resting-place, and where he had already built a church. But he could not venture any longer to oppose his own pleasure to that of the saints. So in January, 828, they started again, in order, however soon to light upon the desired spot at Mülheim (Seligonsstadt), some few miles further north. A multitude of marvels attested at

once the satisfaction and the great power of the martyrs, and consoled Einhart for the miscarriage of his original project. So far his own account, which for its artlessness is a valuable contribution to the religious and social history of the period.

At the time of the presentation there was nothing in Michelstadt beyond a modest wooden basilica, and in Seligenstadt a small stone structure. Now, however, a new building soon began to rise in Michelstadt; it was finished in 827, and remained unconsecrated, pending the arrival of the relics. The erection of this earliest and still at least partly preserved church with nave and aisles in Germany must, therefore, be referred to the period between 815 and 827. Of the original structure, in his own opinion a not inconsiderable building, nothing has survived except the slender pillars of the central nave with their arches, the walls of the main building, and some isolated parts of the east end, all disguised by more recent transformations. It was probably a basilica in the form of a T, with three conchoids at the transept. The Carolingian pillars and arches are constructed of flat bricks made especially for this purpose, and separated by thick layers of mortar, while the walls themselves were worked in freestone. Hence Roman influence is here clearly apparent in the technique, as it also is in the construction of the dressing of the pillars and foundations.

Of the whole building, the best-preserved portion is the crypt, whose rich design does not occur elsewhere, and was here copied from the cemeteries of the old Christian catacombs. This is further confirmed by the circumstance that the vault lies so deep in the ground, that there was no occasion to raise the level of the floor of the church, and it is moreover entirely without windows. The approach to it differed from the universal practice of later times by being placed on the outside, and on the south, as in St. Michael's at Fulda (820-22).

Of the building at Seligenstadt, begun in the year 828, our information is somewhat more ample, though certainly not owing to any more extensive remains of the original; for here also nothing is left except the walls of the three aisles, and the arches with their nine pillars on either side, which on the whole agree with those in the Michelstadt church. Even the crypt has been swallowed up by later reconstructions, though some particulars of its formation may be gathered from Einhart's writings. The plan resembled that of the Italian basilicas, with the atrium before the west front, from which three doors gave access to the nave and the two aisles. On the same spot there was an upper gallery, deep enough for an altar to be placed on it. We may, therefore, assume that it was a kind of west choir. But if this arrangement was possible in the case of churches with such prominent west façades as these, the adoption of the treatment with double choirs must

have been much more general in those early times than is usually supposed. From that raised position, and consequently separated from the congregation in the actual building, Einhart was accustomed to assist at divine service, thus occupying a place which is not without significance in its remarkable analogy with the position of the Imperial loggia at Aix-la-Chapelle. In both cases the patrons of the church are isolated from the congregation, and in both cases the tribune and the site in the west end, facing the altar, is chosen for the purpose. Here also the same thought is at work, which, later on, gave rise to the introduction of the double chapels. The belfry was not placed at the west front, and was therefore presumably detached from the main structure.

Einhart was himself the first abbot of the monastery established by him at Seligenstadt. But it is uncertain whether he was ordained at this advanced period of his life, or had been a priest from his youth. According to the practice of the times, his marriage would by no means imply that he had not adopted the ecclesiastical profession. Nor, on the other hand, would his residence in monasteries, and his enjoyment of church livings from an early period, necessarily exclude the supposition that he was a mere layman. But, as he occasionally celebrated mass in Seligenstadt itself, he must have been ordained, at least, at this period. As time rolled on his religious relations now became more and more prominent. In his account of the translation of the relics we find him fully imbued with the belief in miracles peculiar to the times. He relates every particular achievement of his martyrs with a genuine satisfaction and grateful admiration.

He was of remarkably low stature, a circumstance which, by a perversion of his own name, earned for him the sobriquet of "Nardulus." At the same time, he was of a restlessly active and mercurial temperament, of unwearied energy, and an all-consuming love of work. This excitable disposition, combined with his slight bodily proportions, rendered him the constant butt of his friends' raillery, which is shown by a number of still extant smart epigrams. Thus Alcuin had, on one occasion, stuck a witticism in verse apparently on the door of his house, beginning with the words: "Small is the door, and small the occupier of the house," and concluding with: "Nardulus, my little man, my greetings." Bishop Theodulf of Orleans thus describes him in the year 796: "Little Einhart trips nimbly and lightly to and fro, now here, now there, busy as the ant, is everywhere." But he presently adds: "Tho' winsome the body, a mighty spirit dwells therein, soaring thoughts ruling in the narrow chamber of his brain."

Walafrid Strabo has some lines to the like purpose, all constituting an eloquent tribute to the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, who had already begun to speak of him as the "great Einhart."

Though a critical survey of his writings now shows that in sound classical

attainments he was surpassed by one or another of the learned men at the Court of Charles, still, not one of them approached him in general acquirements and importance. Louis had the highest opinion of his statesmanship, as his contemporaries had of his artistic talents and industry. And however little we may now be in a position to estimate the latter faculty in all its individual achievements, still it is beyond question that he stood at the head of the whole æsthetic movement of the period, through his personal endowments and brilliant social position altogether one of the most remarkable artistic individualities of mediæval times.

NOTE.

The artist's original name is "Einhard" (Einhard), as given by us. Later on, the usual separation of the diphthong, as heard in pronunciation, was adopted in writing the word; thus "E-inhart," whence ultimately "Eginhart" (Eginhard).

For a more detailed account of the church at Aix-la-Chapelle the reader may consult the already quoted Mertens in Förster's *Bauzeitung*, 1840; Förster's "Denkmale," Bd. iii., and Hübsch's "Altchr. Basiliken." For Michelstadt, G. Schäfer in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1874; and for Seligenstadt, the "Nassauer Annalen," xii., and "Archiv für hessische Geschichte," xiii.

TUOTILO OF ST. GALL.

(Died about 912.)

BY ALWIN SCHULTZ.

THE chronicles and annals, which we have to thank for our information respecting the state of Art during the first period of the Middle Ages, were written exclusively by ecclesiastics. These writers felt naturally inclined to give prominence to the buildings erected in their churches and cloisters, and to the various works of Art lavished on them, and thus to spread abroad the name and fame of the brethren skilled in such things. They paid little heed to the secular masters, who raised frowning castles and strongholds, mansions and residences, and adorned them with many cunning works. Hence it is that we learn nothing, or next to nothing, of the achievements of those skilled laymen; whereas in Italy, at all events, and in the other western lands brought within the pale of Roman culture and civilisation, the formative arts were generally cultivated by laymen during the centuries immediately ensuing on the dissolution of the Western Empire. Doubtless, the secular clergy and the monks may have also occupied themselves with Art; still, it appears evident that in those countries the laity never ceased to practise it.

But, as we saw in the previous chapter, the conditions were very different in those places, including the greater part of Germany, which required to be first gained over to Christianity and civilisation. The missionaries, who there preached the Gospel, the secular clergy and religious orders who continued the work begun by them, erecting the first churches, and founding the first cloisters destined to spread culture and refinement amongst the rude masses of the newly converted, none of these men could expect to meet with persons in their domain capable of erecting churches and monasteries in thanksgiving for their conversion, to say nothing of the necessary concomitant works of painting and statuary. Hence the abbot and his monks, the bishop and his clergy, were fain to lend a hand at first, and rest satisfied with gradually training up efficient craftsmen from among their retainers. The mission that the religious communities were called upon to fulfil during those first centuries, was no slight or easy one. It was not merely that the Benedictine monks were bound by the rules of their order to foster science and Art, to maintain schools, to

collect books, and multiply them by their own industry, to cultivate scientific studies, and rival each other in the pursuit of such acquirements, to practise the formative arts as well as poetry and music—they found themselves, moreover, called upon to devote all their attention to the management of their landed property, to clearing woods, draining marshes, improving the cultivation of fruits and vegetables; in a word, to present an attractive example of the benefits of careful tillage to all the surrounding districts, but more especially to their own more immediate communes. It is also evident that they were often obliged personally to perform the menial offices connected with all this, though they found it more pleasant to develop the needful qualities for such work amongst their serfs and retainers. Thus a monastery in those days, say in the ninth or tenth century, formed a little community of its own. Round about the churches and dwellings of the monks there sprang up stables and pent-houses, barns, malt-kilns and breweries, workshops for coopers, ropemakers, shoemakers, saddlers, armourers and shieldmakers, for turners, goldsmiths, locksmiths, fullers, &c. And, of course, places of accommodation for strangers also, and for pilgrims.

The monks had to look after all these workshops, as well as the craftsmen whose productions were indispensable to the existence of the establishment, which was necessarily obliged to have everything produced on the spot at all needed for its maintenance. There was nowhere to be found a single independent community of artisans, from whom they might procure what they required; besides which, such articles as might have been supplied by traders were much too dear to be purchased, at a time when the dearth of current money was still severely felt.

However, the monks, as a rule, were scarcely obliged to take an active part in the hand-work itself, and cases were doubtless somewhat rare, such as that of which we have seen the Fulda monks complaining in their "*Libellus supplex Carolo M. porrectus*." Their co-operation doubtless consisted mainly in draughting the plans of the buildings, directing their execution, and, perhaps, giving the finishing touch with their own hands to such works of painting and statuary as demanded more than ordinary artistic skill. But it was naturally to the interest of the monastic establishments to reckon amongst their members brethren competent for such undertakings; hence great importance was attached to the careful instruction of talented pupils and novices in the formative arts. These were afforded the opportunity of further developing their skill and taste, by visiting other affiliated communities. Of course, those only were selected for such purposes who had prominently distinguished themselves by their capacity for Art; a point to which sufficient attention has not always been paid, as marking the difference between monastic and more recent mechanical art. All those monks were men of no mean parts, whilst

many, if not the majority, of the ordinary craftsmen, merely practised Art as a trade, as they might any other calling; or, perhaps, accidentally taking it up, without feeling any real inspiration or capacity for it. They learned just enough for their immediate purpose, and remained, throughout life, mere commonplace workers.

The monk received nothing by way of remuneration for his productions, and, even when he laboured for other churches, the proceeds were paid into the general coffers of his community, which, in its turn, provided for all the wants and necessities of its gifted son. Not only did he not work for reward, but his industry itself, redounding in the first place to the good of the Church, availed him also as a service rendered to God. Hence to execute the work as perfectly as possible was with him a sacred duty, nor could it matter how much time he devoted to it, seeing that he was, in any case, relieved from all worldly cares and anxiety.

But not so with the craftsmen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These men were obliged to make a livelihood for themselves and their families by their profession, hence were unable to devote too much time to unprofitable work. Their productions were regulated by the money-standard—good pay, good work, carefully executed by the master himself; otherwise, he would leave it to an assistant or a pupil. The skilful monk, again, was highly esteemed by his brethren, the chroniclers propagated his fame, and later generations could boast that the convent formerly possessed such and such a famous artist amongst its members. But the painter, the statuary, the architect, of more recent times, was a craftsman whose name, at the utmost, enjoyed some repute amongst his immediate contemporaries, was soon forgotten, and can now be ascertained only after much trouble and research.

It is also characteristic of that early period of mediæval artistic development that the monastic artists were at once skilled in all branches of the formative arts, that they were capable of working either as architects, statuary, carvers, goldsmiths, or painters. As the learned men of the same period were commonly versed in all the sciences known to the times, in many of them producing works of importance, so the artist made himself master of all the knowledge and skill in any way connected with his comprehensive avocation. At last, however, the restrictive regulations of the trade-guilds, in later times, rendered this universal conception of the profession impracticable, by limiting each artist to his special province. In Italy this arbitrary power of the guilds seems never to have been pushed so far as elsewhere, and to the influence of Italy must be attributed the fact that, from about the time of the sixteenth century, Germany also began gradually to free itself from such shackles.

However copious the information conveyed to us by the monastic chronicles, annals, and biographies, concerning the artistic industry of individual monks

and members of the secular clergy, a comprehensive account of them, such as that, for instance, of Springer in his "*Mediæval Monastic Artists*" ("*Mitth. der k. k. Comm. zur Erf. der Baudenkmale*," vii., Vienna, 1862), would still present but little interest to the ordinary lover of Art, however important it might be for the inquirer into its historic development. Such information is partly too curt and dry to be very readable, and imparts but scanty details concerning the life and work of the individual artists themselves, while the productions of such masters as are mentioned have for the most part since perished, thus depriving us of the means of testing and establishing, on sure ground, their worth and personal importance. All the more highly to be treasured are the more ample particulars that we do happen to possess of some of them, especially, as is not unfrequently the case, when works have survived to our days which can be with certainty referred to them. Amongst these German monastic artists one of the oldest and most noteworthy is Tuotilo, monk of St. Gall.

Tuotilo's life and work are very vividly described by the monk of St. Gall, Ekehard IV. (about 980—1036), the continuator of the "*Casus Sancti Galli*," begun by Ratpert. ("*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*," Script. ii.) The name of the artist lived long after his death in the memory of his brethren, who remembered with pride this ornament of their monastery. Hence Ekehard may have ascertained and handed down a number of anecdotes which, if not absolutely authentic, still give us a clear insight into the mind, and, above all, into the Art of the man, as he appeared to the eyes of his associates. The information concerning him communicated by Ekehardus Minimus (about 1220) in the biography of Notker Balbulus (Canisius, "*Lectiones Antiquæ*," vi., 934), is taken, word for word, from the work of his elder namesake, and accordingly possesses no authority.

Tuotilo's younger days coincide with the time when Grimaldus (841—872) was abbot of St. Gall. This abbot had attracted the monk Iso from the monastery of Grandval in the Jura, and intrusted to him the direction of the cloister schools. Amongst Iso's most distinguished pupils were Tuotilo and his intimate friends, the already mentioned Ratpert (died about 900), and Notker Balbulus (*ob.* 912). Together with them Salomo also was educated, the same who afterwards became bishop of Constance, and in 890 abbot of St. Gall, and who died in 920. From this period of their pupilage began the lasting antipathy that the three friends entertained towards Salomo, who had been preferred to them by Iso. Their further education was completed by the Irishman Mongal, who had entered the monastery of St. Gall under the name of Marcellinus.

But Ekehard does not inform us by whom Tuotilo was instructed in the principles of Art. He may probably have been a pupil of Winihartus of

St. Gall, described by the Reichenau monk, Ermenricus (*ob.* 866), as a perfect Dædalus. (Springer, *loc. cit.* p. 38.)

In contrast to his friend Notker, Tuotilo was a man of great physical strength. Once, when set upon by some highwaymen, after his two fellow-travellers had been struck down, and being himself unarmed, he tore up a strong oak-sapling, with which he soon put his assailants to flight. He gave another proof of his Herculean strength when, during Salomo's government, a monk named Sindolf took it into his head to play the eavesdropper while the friends were conversing together, and then report them to the abbot, who was otherwise unfriendly to them. The three inseparables were accustomed, with the abbot's permission, to meet after vespers in the writing-room for the purpose of collating their transcripts. Tuotilo had already, more than once, observed that the spy was in the habit of listening at the window, and determined to pay him off. On the day appointed to take his revenge, he got rid of the somewhat faint-hearted Notker, placed Ratpert in ambush outside, and then stood waiting at the open casement. When Sindolf again crept up, he suddenly seized him by the scruff of the neck and drew him half through the window, while Ratpert belaboured him soundly with a discipline from without. The noise of his lusty bellows attracted the other monks; Ratpert vanished, but Tuotilo still held firmly on to the foe, and was, of course, greatly surprised to find that, after all, it turned out to be only brother Sindolf, instead of father Nick, as he had supposed. The discipline, he fancied, must have been administered by an angel from heaven, Notker and Ratpert having made off and left him in the lurch. Salomo, no doubt, had his suspicions, but was unable to do anything against the trio, who enjoyed such high repute in the community. He, however, consoled the tell-tale by making him overseer of the artisans.

Like his friends, Tuotilo was a good musician, had a clear voice, and played excellently both on string and wind instruments. Hence the musical department was intrusted to him, and amongst his pupils he boasted of sons of noble families. He was, moreover, able to write poetry both in German and Latin, and composed such hymns as "*Hodie cantandus est*," and "*Omnium virtutum gemma*," which he also put to music. These compositions earned for him the special favour of Charles the Great, to whom he had dedicated them, and who therefrom took the notion of writing poetry and composing together with Tuotilo. This Art-loving monarch held our master in such esteem that he execrated the person by whom such a man had been induced to become a monk. For, apart altogether from his æsthetic qualities, Tuotilo was also distinguished by a most lovable disposition. In serious and trifling things alike engaging, endowed with a playful humour and inexhaustible flow of spirits, versed withal in divine and worldly wisdom, yet, at the same time, devoted heart and soul to his vocation, zealous in the service of God, in

solitude collected and contrite, as became a monk, blameless in all his dealings. He was fond of travel, and had visited many strange lands, thereby enlarging his mental vision, and procuring many aids in furthering his scientific and æsthetic studies. But wherever he made his appearance, he knew how worthily to represent his far-famed monastery, while his learning and artistic talents, his fluency of speech, and strict morals everywhere earned for him the highest respect and consideration. But the sight of anything unseemly never failed to excite his indignation, on which occasions he was easily moved to violent and hasty proceedings, as shown by the anecdote related of him by Ekehard.



Ivory Relief on Cover of MS. No. 60, in the Library of St. Gall.

He had on one occasion to make a trip to Mainz, in order to purchase some woollen or serge stuffs. On his arrival he found that all the monks of the affiliated convent of St. Alban's were engaged grape-gathering. So he put up, meantime, at an inn in the neighbourhood of the cloister, sent his people to the market for food and fodder, then sat down to rest his wearied limbs after the journey. As the evening hour approached, the monk sent from St. Alban's to call the brethren back from their work looked into the same tavern, to see whether any of them happened to be loitering about. Finding the coast clear, and thinking the strange monk, seated in the corner, was sound asleep, he ordered a beaker of new wine, and permitted himself some liberties with the hostess, clipping her round the waist, and the like. Thereupon up springs Tuotilo in a terrible rage, knocks down the undutiful monk, gives him a good drubbing with his riding-whip, and cries out: "This,

brother, is what St. Gall sends you!" At the monk's earnest entreaty, however, he promises not to inform upon him, and reports himself to the abbot, who, on hearing the name, receives him with every demonstration of respect.

At the request of the community he wrought a golden "frontal," to adorn

their altar, representing on it, in relief, the Saviour throned in glory. The inscription running round, and composed by himself, as the chronicler does not fail to remark, was thus worded:—

“Ecce polo potior solio terraque scabello.”

This production still passed in Eckehard's time as an incomparable work of Art. And, in truth, however skilled he might be in music and poetry, he was much more highly gifted in the formative arts. He was an experienced architect, and, at the same time, a distinguished statuary, an excellent painter, and an eminent goldsmith.

The chronicler makes special mention of the works produced by him in the precious metals. Besides the altar-piece for Mainz, he wrought a similar one for Metz, of such perfect workmanship that people would not believe it could have been finished by him alone, but thought the Virgin Mary also must have had a hand in it. They related how two strangers had accosted him while engaged with this work, and asked him for some alms, which he gave them. On retiring they inquired of a priest who the glorious lady could possibly be, that kept handing the tools to the artist, and instructing him how to carry out the work, or whether it was his sister that was thus giving him help. The priest had seen nothing, but on returning to Tuotilo he also beheld the apparition, though only for a moment. When the miracle got abroad, Tuotilo hastily quitted the place without finishing



Ivory Relief on the Cover of the *Evangelium Longum* in the Library of St. Gall.

his work, and leaving unexecuted the inscription which was to have run round the picture. This was afterwards supplied, as under :—

“Hoc panthema pia cælaverat ipsa Maria.”

This work also, Ekehard tells us, was still extant in his time. Our artist received other commissions from his abbot, Bishop Salomo III. of Constance. During a journey to Italy, Hatto I., Archbishop of Mainz (891—913), had paid a visit to his friend Salomo, and had laughed him out of a valuable goblet, in return for which he deposited his treasures with Salomo for safe keeping, with the provision that, in case of his dying in Italy, they were to be applied to the good of both their souls. As soon as Hatto had got a little way on his journey, Salomo caused the report of his death to be spread abroad, distributed the money among the poor, and applied all the gold and silver objects to the decoration of his own church. Out of these Tuotilo wrought for the Cathedral of Constance a crucifix, all studded with gold and precious stones, garnished all available parts of the Virgin's altar and the lectern with gold, covered them in places with silver plates, and adorned them with gold reliefs.

The cloister of St. Gall also came in for a share of the plunder. It received an ivory diptych, remarkable for its unusual size, and which, being formerly lined with wax, had been used by Charles the Great in practising the art of writing (see Einharti, “*Vita Karoli M.*,” xxv.). One of the tablets had been already carved, and the other was now embellished by the hand of Tuotilo. This is the only undoubtedly genuine work we still possess of our master. Both of the ivory tablets of the diptych were afterwards used to adorn the cover of a MS. of the Gospels, which had been transcribed by the far-renowned monkish calligraphist, Sintram, and in which Salomo himself painted the two illuminated initial letters C and L. (“*Monumenta Germ.*,” ii. t. v.)

Hatto, as may be supposed, was not at all edified by this trick of his friend Salomo, but he allowed himself to be talked over, and died soon after, on May 15th, 913.

The year of Tuotilo's death is not mentioned by Ekehard, who merely expresses his belief that he received the reward of his blameless life in the next world. The notice of his death in the “*Codex Sang.*,” 915, states that “on April 27 (v. Kal. Maji) died the monk and priest Tuotilo; he was a most distinguished teacher and plastic artist.” He was buried in the Chapel of St. Catharine, which was later on designated as that of St. Tuotilo. It is uncertain whether he was formally declared a saint, though he was nevertheless considered as one in St. Gall; for had he not exorcized the devils and wrought other wonders? His epitaph is given by J. Mezler (“*De Viris Illustribus Sangallensibus*,” i. 24; in Pez, “*Thes. Anecd. Novissimus*,” i. 3, p. 571; Aug. Vind., 1721).

It ran thus:—

“Virginis almificæ pictor mira arte Tutelo,
 Excellens meritis et pietate potens.
 Nemo tristis abit qui te colit et veneratur,
 Fers cunctis placidam quippe salutis opem.”

Tuotilo never was abbot of St. Gall, any more than of Ratisbon, as Trautmann asserts in his “Kunst und Kunstgewerbe,” p. 61. The year of his death, as stated, is unknown. Springer, Lübke, and others place it in 912, but there is here a confusion with Notker Balbulus, the date of whose death is given by Ildefonsus of Arx, in his edition of the “Casus Sancti Galli.” The year 915, mentioned by Schnaase (“Gesch. der bild. Künste,” 2. Aufl., iii., p. 636) as given in the necrologium of St. Gall, is not to be found there, the figure 915 referring not to Tuotilo’s death, but to the number of the codex containing the necrologium. But E. Förster’s supposition (“Denk. der Kunst,” i. 7) that he died in 896 is utterly groundless, as he must have been alive at least so late as 913. Gfrörer assumes (“Karolinger,” ii. 458) that Hatto’s journey to Italy took place in the year 912, some time between March 14th and August 8th, as his name does not occur in the local records during that interval. There was scarcely time before April 27th, 912, for Hatto to have made the above-mentioned arrangement with Salomo, for the report of his death to have been given out, and for Tuotilo to have finished the various works connected with the transaction. Hence he can have died, at the earliest, in 913, though it is now impossible to decide whether actually in that year or not. In any case, he cannot have lived much longer after it, as he must have been already far advanced in years. Ratpert had died so early as 900, and Notker in 912, while Salomo, also his contemporary, lived on till 920. We may thus place the death of our master somewhere about this time, without attempting to fix it more precisely.

The question whether the “Evangelium Longum,” No. 53 of the St. Gall Library, contains the handwriting of Sintram, and is really ornamented with the ivory tablets from Hatto’s treasures, must, in our opinion, be unhesitatingly decided in the affirmative. An uninterrupted tradition has ever considered this codex, which has always been one of the gems of the monastery, as a present from Bishop Salomo, and as the work of two especially distinguished artists, members of the community itself. Anyhow, the penmanship belongs to the stated time, about 900. Lastly, the ivory tablets are in effect of unusual size, ten inches long by five and a half broad. Tablets of such proportions as these were, at least at that period, of extremely rare occurrence. Altogether we can see no valid reason for questioning the genuine nature of this memorial.

But which of the two ivory plates was carved by Tuotilo? Art-historians

generally, such as Schnaase, Lübke, Otte, Förster, and others, assume that both were executed by him, and the three last-named writers even reproduce the very tablet that, as seems to us, was certainly not the work of Tuotilo. Ekehard says expressly: "Of that diptych one tablet was excellently cut, the other quite smooth; this latter Tuotilo carved," and there are weighty considerations to prevent us, if so inclined, from successfully contesting this statement. Schnaase endeavours to show the carelessness of Ekehard's account by pointing out that the chronicler does not so much as mention the year of the master's death, which is yet given in the necrologium. But be that as it may, that both tablets were executed by the same artist, or that the work and method of their treatment is absolutely the same, a careful inspection of the ivory reliefs has failed to convince us. On the contrary, the plate with the Assumption of the Virgin seems to us much less skilfully wrought than the other, representing the Saviour enthroned. If this be admitted, all further ground is removed for questioning Ekehard's tradition, nor will it then be any longer possible to doubt that in St. Gall that tablet alone was executed, on which we find represented the Assumption, and the two scenes out of the life of St. Gall. A comparison of the two tablets was rendered difficult by the circumstance that the second, by Tuotilo, has been hitherto but once, and then not very exactly, reproduced in the publication of the Historical Society of St. Gall ("The Monastery of St. Gall," i., 1863). On the other hand, if we place the photographs of both carvings side by side, we see that the, in our view, older tablet, containing the Saviour enthroned, surrounded by the emblems of the Evangelists, with two cherubim on either side, in the corners the Evangelists themselves, above the personification of sun and moon, below that of earth and water, is much more freely handled, and, especially in the treatment of the draperies, shows to great advantage over the stiff execution of the Assumption. To us it seems probable that this older relief was not carved in Germany at all, but perhaps in Italy. But whether it is to be dated so early as the time of Charles the Great may be here left undecided, although the size of the ivory tablets is so far an argument that the diptych was very costly, and could hence belong only to some distinguished or wealthy person. At the same time, the passage of Ekehard here in question is somewhat obscure, and it is quite possible that he refers only to a diptych resembling that described by Einhart as in the possession of Charles.

Tuotilo's tablet (see p. 27) is divided by two inscribed lines into three compartments, of which the central one represents the Assumption, with the corresponding inscription: ASCENSIO SCE MARIE. The Virgin Mary is clothed in a robe reaching down to her feet, and over this she wears a second garment with sleeves, which falls below her knees. The head is enveloped in

a veil, and distinguished by a nimbus. She stands on a grassy ground with a tree suggested on her left. The arms are in a half-raised position, with the palms of the hands turned towards the observer, so that the intention is obviously to represent her in prayer.

On either side are two angels in animated motion, and apparently ready to waft her heavenwards. The head of the Virgin is stiff and expressionless; the features of the angels are more happily conceived, but all the draperies are very clumsy, especially that of the Madonna.

In the lower compartment, beneath this picture, we have a scene from the life of St. Gall. The composition is divided into two parts by means of a cross in the centre, to which is attached a reliquary. This cross St. Gall set up when he had found a suitable site for his monastery in the wilderness, and he hung the reliquary on to it when offering up his devotions ("Vita Sancti Galli," Mon. Germ. ii. 9). On the right of the cross we see the saint standing beneath a tree, with his left hand supporting himself on the well-known cambutta, or pilgrim's staff of the Irish* monks. His right hand is somewhat raised, as if to give greater emphasis to the order he is imposing on the bear, who stands in an erect attitude before him. The saint wears boots, a long cope, and over it a shorter garb, resembling a dalmatica, while his head is covered with a cuculla.

The bear is holding in his paws a great log of wood, which he has fetched at the command of the man of God. On the left of the cross we again see the saint with his left hand rewarding the bear with a loaf of bread, and with his right dismissing him with a blessing. The sleeping figure stretched out in the foreground represents the deacon of St. Gall, who was himself a witness to the miracle. The inscription runs: S·GALL: PANĒ·PORRIGIT·VRSO·

On the form of the human figures there is not much to say, nor can the evident desire to present a clear and vivid picture of the scene be said to be entirely successful. Far more happy is the drawing of the bear, which, in fact, gives proof of a, for the times, remarkable observation of nature. No doubt, bears were familiar objects enough to Tuotilo, for the woodlands in the valleys of St. Gall were in those days still largely frequented by them, and the strong and lusty Tuotilo was, doubtless, a gallant sportsman also.

* In the text "Schottenmönche." But St. Gall, like Kilian, Columbanus, Virgilius, Fursey, and so many other early preachers of Christianity on the Continent, was an Irishman, in fact a disciple of Columbanus. They are constantly spoken of as Scots, simply because Ireland itself was in those days known as Scotia, and, later on, even as Scotia Major, in contradistinction to Scotia Minor, or the modern Scotland. In the "Confession" of St. Patrick, a seemingly genuine document, we have the expression "una benedicta Scota" in reference to an Irish princess recently converted.—Ed.

The same observation is forcibly suggested by the contemplation of the upper division of our tablet. Here the artist has introduced no human figures, satisfying himself with relieving the smooth surface with some appropriate ornamental work. This scroll-work, remotely resembling the acanthus-leaf, agreeably enlivens this compartment, and here the master has undoubtedly imitated the ornamental work of the other ivory tablet. The form of the leaves and the motives are exactly alike, yet in that of Tuotilo the tracings are much clearer, and much heavy crowding of the foliage is avoided. In one of the curves of the stems he has introduced a little relief of two figures, a lion with a mighty spring pouncing on the back of an ox. In this composition also the effort to hit off nature is unmistakable. It is scarcely to be supposed that Tuotilo ever saw a living lion, and doubtless was acquainted with the animal from pictures only. But he may have often had occasion to observe the lynx, which was still in those times, beyond doubt, a frequent denizen of the Swiss forest lands. The idea of representing a beast of prey in this way, falling upon another animal, he probably borrowed from Byzantine models. Such pictures are of frequent occurrence in antique Art, and very familiar to the Byzantine artists, and he may have even observed them on consular diptychs, which often presented the hunting of wild beasts, and the like. (See Agincourt, "Sculpt.," xii., ii.)

But if the just described ivory tablets are the work of Tuotilo, to him must also be referred the carvings of the ivory plate that adorns the cover of Codex No. 60, in the Library of St. Gall, as in fact is done by Kugler and Schnaase. (See p. 26.) There also we meet with the same style of ornamental foliage, with the identical form of the leaves; and the six groups of animals, with but slight modifications, are also quite in the spirit of that above described.

But these few scanty remains of his works are far from sufficient to establish the position and importance of Tuotilo in the history of Art. One point alone is clear to us: he seems to have endeavoured once more to breathe some life into stiff forms, and though he may not have succeeded in ennobling and improving such forms, still the attempt to describe vividly and dramatically is manifested even in his productions, imperfect as they are. And this attempt itself is deserving of the highest appreciation, since, till that time, artists had remained satisfied with a more or less spiritless imitation of foreign models. But Tuotilo already seeks for an appropriate means of giving expression to his thought, and to this effort, which inspired later generations, and which is for the first time distinctly perceptible in him, is due the fact that Art once more gathered fresh strength, and became capable of blooming again.

It may be pointed out, in conclusion, that in the whole character of Tuotilo's

gifted nature an unmistakable resemblance is to be detected to that of Leonardo da Vinci. Both were distinguished by unusual physical strength, and by a pleasant, cheerful disposition; both were at once excellent musicians and poets, no less than prominent men of letters, skilled alike in all branches of the formative arts, and highly honoured and revered by their contemporaries. Lastly, both had this in common, that their best productions have perished, leaving nothing but relatively scanty remains whereby to estimate them at their true worth.

SAINT BERNWARD, BISHOP OF HILDESHEIM.

(Born about 960, died 1022.)

BY ALWIN SCHULTZ.

AMONGST the artists who were at work during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Germany, and who by their productions exercised a marked influence over the continued development of German Art, no one is so well known or so justly revered as Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, for whose excellent biography we are indebted to his trusty teacher and friend, Thangmar



Crook of a Bishop's Staff.
(Cathedral Treasures, Hildesheim.)

("Mon. Germ.," Script. iv.). On this authority we must now rely for every statement connected with his life, especially when, as is here the case, all reference to his political career must be avoided, in order to restrict ourselves exclusively to an examination of his artistic efforts and essays. At the same time we shall, of course, not fail to bear in mind the admirable treatises of Krätz, "Cathedral of Hildesheim;" of H. A. Kuentzel, "St. Bernward," Hildesheim, 1856; and of Franz Gehle, "De S. Bernwardi Vita et Rebus Gestis," Bonnæ, 1866.

Bernward came of a distinguished Saxon family. No mention is made of his father, but we learn, on the other hand, that his mother was the daughter of the Saxon Count Palatine Athelbero, that one of her brothers (Folcmar) was bishop of Utrecht (ob. 990), and that his aunt (Rothgardis) died on December 25, 1006, abbess of Hilwardshausen. Bernward's brother Thammo was held in great consideration by the Emperor Otto III., and, as well as his sister Thiatburga, was honoured with many marks of Imperial favour. A younger sister (Judith) became abbess of Ringelheim, and died in 1006. Kinsmen also of his were Erkenbald, who, on the death of Willigis in 1011, became archbishop of Mainz; Bishop Benno of Meissen; and Count Altmann of Stederburg. Bernward was himself born about the year 960; and, having

been destined by his family for the ecclesiastical profession, the gifted youth was placed by his uncle Folcmar in the school at Hildesheim.

Thangmar relates that this occurred at the time of Bishop Osdagus (985—989); but the transcriber of the biography must here evidently be at fault, as it is difficult to suppose the author himself can have been in error, so well circumstanced as he was to ascertain the exact sequence of events. He says expressly that Folcmar was at the time still a deacon, whereas he was already a bishop in 977; hence he must have brought Bernward to Hildesheim some time previously, that is during the episcopal government, not of Osdag, but of Othwin (954—984).

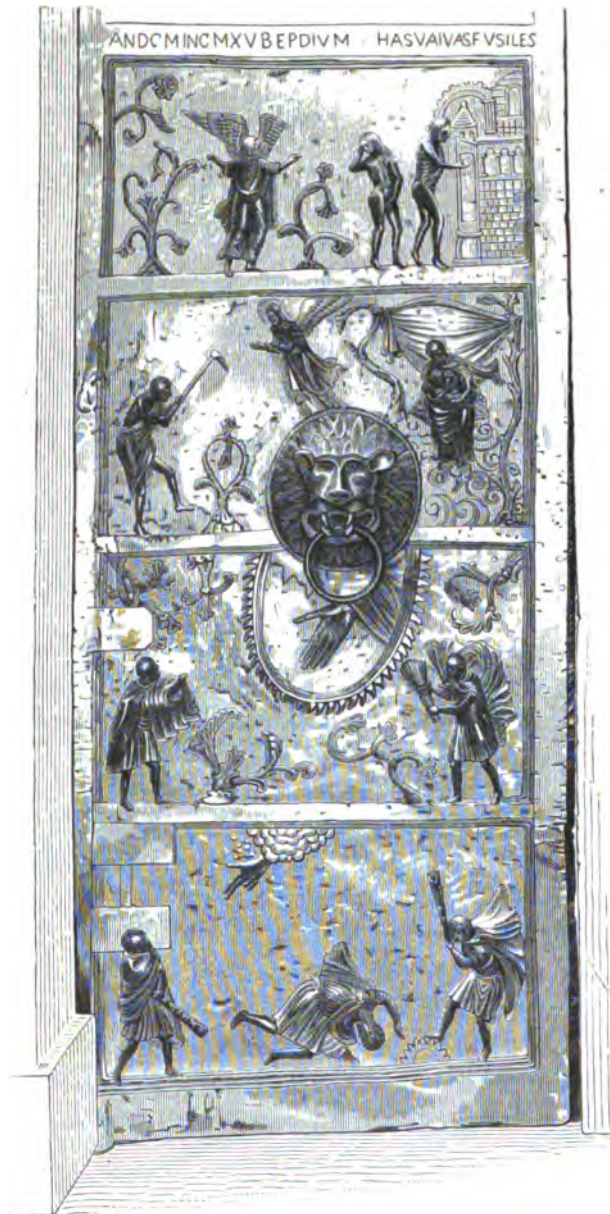
The youth was intrusted to the care of the director of the school, Thangmar, who fully recognised the rare parts of his gifted charge, and accordingly instructed him with more than usual attention. In order to be able to devote himself entirely to this duty, he took Bernward with him on his business journeys, and continued his instruction as they rode along together. Thus his pupil acquired a large amount of information and of solid learning. He seems even to have turned his attention to medicine. The Emperor Otto sent him some specifics from Italy in 1002; and Walthardus, Archbishop of Magdeburg, when laid up with an illness at Giebichenstein in 1012, applied to him for advice.

Besides these learned studies, the young Bernward occupied himself with the formative arts, acquired great skill in penmanship and painting, practised statuary, and had also considerable acquaintance with architecture; but he was especially famous for his skill in working the precious metals, and produced many excellent works in the goldsmith's and jeweller's art; and although he may have failed to distinguish himself equally in all branches of Art, still he possessed a thorough knowledge of the various techniques, and combined with a cultivated taste qualities which were, later on, of great service to him in directing the execution of the many artistic works undertaken by him.

Thangmar does not inform us who was his instructor in the Fine Arts. Bishop Othwin, however, seems to have himself taken an interest in such studies ("Ann. Hildesh.," 13), and there may have already even then been monks at Hildesheim skilled in Art, as Godehard, later on, brought together a number of clever caligraphists and painters in the monastery founded by him ("Ann. Hildesh.," 14).

After finishing his education, Othwin conferred minor orders on him, though, according to Thangmar, we should again have to read Osdag instead of Othwin. Supposing the last assumption correct, the ordination must have taken place not earlier than 985; but as Bernward already departs for the Imperial Court in 987, the interval of two years would seem rather brief, when we reflect that during this time he received the three higher orders from

Willigis, was to have been chosen by his uncle as abbot of Deventer, and within the same period, with childlike love and devotion, attended his aged grand-



Part of the Cathedral Door, Hildesheim.

father Athelbero in his last illness. It is not till after Athelbero's death that he sets out for the Imperial Court, where he becomes a clerk in chancery, and is appointed chaplain to the Emperor.

John, the Calabrian, hitherto intrusted with young Otto's education, having been elected Bishop of Piacenza in 988, the Dowager Empress Theophano named Bernward as his successor, a trust fulfilled with the greatest tact by the young ecclesiastic. In spite of his strict régime he succeeded in gaining, and for ever after retaining, the affection of the young Emperor. To the very last, Otto manifests the most touching deference and attachment for his aged preceptor, and even long after outliving the term of his pupilage, begs to be still favoured with his advice and warning counsel.

At the Imperial Court, better than elsewhere, Bernward was enabled to cultivate his artistic tastes. On his travels he enjoyed the opportunity of seeing foreign works of Art, and in the Imperial Treasury he found gathered together the very choicest objects that the æsthetic feeling of his own and of past times had been able to create. Thangmar states expressly that he devoted a careful study to the Irish vases, and other articles from beyond the seas, that came as presents to the Emperor. We know that the works of English goldsmiths, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, enjoyed the greatest repute, even in Italy; hence we may assume with Meiners ("Hist. Vergleichung der Sitten . . . des Mittelalters," ii., 58 and 61) that the transmarine vases here spoken of were the productions of English workers in the precious metals. At the same time the passage, like so many others in Thangmar's work, is far from clear. Were we to interpret it literally, we would have to suppose that Bernward again took these vases in hand, and added further ornament to them, a scarcely tenable hypothesis.

After he had been five years at the Imperial Court, Bishop Gerdag of Hildesheim dying in 992, Bernward was chosen as his successor, and on January 15th, 993, consecrated by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz. Thangmar, speaking of this event, still describes him as an "electum juvenem." But, though his teacher may have still looked upon him as a young man, he must have been at least thirty years old, else he could not have been consecrated bishop without a special dispensation. At the same time, he was evidently still in the prime of life, as implied by Thangmar's expression; hence we may with tolerable certainty assume that he was born somewhere about the year 960. But, as already remarked, this is not the place to dwell upon Bernward's services in the cause of religion, his devotion to the Emperor and the State, his unaffected piety and exemplary life; still less to inquire into the Gandersheim controversy, that embittered eleven years of his existence. Our notice must be confined exclusively to his artistic career.

From the time of his taking possession of the episcopal see of Hildesheim, he applied himself to fostering the Fine Arts in a special manner. Gifted young men he caused to be instructed in Art, personally watched over their progress, and furthered it by his own teaching. In order to give them experience, he

took them with him on his journeys to Court, or elsewhere, hoping that the numerous monuments visited by them on such occasions would tend to develop the creative faculty in their souls. He thus trained up a host of artists, fully competent efficiently to carry out the commissions intrusted by him to them, and which had mostly for their object the artistic embellishment of his cathedral town and diocese. In the immediate vicinity of his own residence he had fitted up workshops for the use of his workers in metal, and he would here daily, before dinner, inspect the work, testing, or, as Thangmar expresses it, weighing (*librans*) the quality of each article with the judgment of an expert. This should possibly be taken in the literal sense of his actually weighing the objects, in order to certify that they contained the due amount of metal. It is now, however, difficult to say whether he actually applied his own hand to their execution. But whether as bishop he still continued to work as a goldsmith or not—a point admitting of various interpretations—it is at least certain that nothing was undertaken that was not tested and approved of, inspired or furthered by him, and it has been already made evident that he was fully competent to discharge such duties. Unfortunately a great part of the monuments carried out under his direction has perished. Thus of the Chapel of Holy Rood, consecrated by him on September 10th, 996, nothing now remains except the foundations and the ruins of the crypt. Of the Church of St. Michael also, to which he devoted his whole attention during his last years, comparatively little survives that can be referred to his time. The crypt had been consecrated on September 29th, 1015, and the church exactly seven years thereafter. Of the original edifice there have been preserved, besides a portion of the containing walls, parts of the west transept, together with some pillars at the west entrance. Kugler (*"Gesch. d. Bauk.,"* ii., 370) supposes, seemingly with justice, that the transepts were disposed like that of the old Church of St. Peter at Rome, and that the profile of the mouldings of the architrave on the square capitals is copied from classic Roman models.

Whether Bernward paid more than one visit to Italy cannot be ascertained, but in the year 1001 he resided for nearly seven weeks in Rome, from January 4th to February 20th, and that he utilised this time for his Art-studies is shown by the copy of Trajan's Column, as well as by other essays. When he restored the farm buildings on the diocesan property that had fallen into decay, he endeavoured to impart a more agreeable appearance to them by the application of white and red stones. This he appears to have adopted from the Italian structures, adorned with such white and red layers, and for this purpose he more probably made use of blocks of red and white sandstone (a material common enough in the buildings of Hildesheim), rather than of glazed tiles, of which scarcely any example was to be found in this district.

His attempt to introduce tessellated pavements was also, no doubt, suggested

by his Italian reminiscences. On the other hand, he seems to have been induced, on purely practical grounds, to employ roof-tiles, for which his biographer assures us that he possessed no previous model. Wood being too much exposed to the risk of fire, and lead or copper too expensive, he cast about for some new and cheaper material. He may have met with tiles so employed on the occasion of his journey through France to St. Denis and Tours, in the year 1007. Even the fortifications of his episcopal town itself, with its walls and towers, he caused to be so beautifully executed, that scarcely anything like it could be seen in all the lands of the Saxons. In his cathedral also the walls and the vault were adorned with excellent paintings. It is not likely that he executed all these paintings himself, else Thangmar would not have failed to give the fact greater prominence. Possibly he may have intrusted them to his own artists; possibly also, and this is the merest conjecture, he may have secured the services of some famous artist of the period. When Otto visited Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 1000, he brought with him from Italy a renowned painter, the Lombard Bishop John, and commissioned him to paint the church at Münster. John also painted in the Cathedral of Lüttich, under Bishop Balderich (1008—1018), and died there. Hence it is possible that Bernward may have, through the Emperor's good offices, obtained the co-operation of this artist for the painting of his church.

Of contemporary paintings there are still preserved a few miniatures, with which the Deacon Gunthald illustrated the copy of the Gospels, transcribed by him by order of the bishop, in 1011, and the Sacramentarium, which he finished in 1013. These rather clumsy paintings seem to possess but little artistic importance. It is interesting to note that in the former MS. Bernward inserted with his own hand a malediction against any one daring to steal it. Both MSS., as well as the others of the same period, are still to be seen in the Cathedral of Hildesheim.

Amongst the still extant productions of the workshops which Bernward, as already stated, set up in Hildesheim, are generally, and apparently rightly, included two large brass works—the column, in 1813 erected in the Cathedral



The Bernward Candle-Stand.
(St. Mary Magdalene's, Hildesheim.)

Place, and the valves of the door at the entrance of the Cathedral itself. Thangmar makes no mention of these works, though a more recent notice in the life of St. Godehard affirms that the door was executed to the order of Bernward. About the column we have no reliable information of any sort; its style, however, points clearly to the Bernward period. Both monuments are undoubtedly closely connected. On the left valve of the door there are eight reliefs, representing the crimes of our First Parents and of Cain, the Formation of Eve, her Presentation to Adam, the Fall, the Announcement of their Punishment, the Expulsion from Paradise, Adam tilling the Soil, the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, the Murder of Abel (see p. 36).

To these eight reliefs on the left, correspond eight others on the right division, representing the leading incidents in the life of the Redeemer: The Annunciation, Birth, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Christ before Herod, the Crucifixion, the Women at the Sepulchre, and the Ascension. The twenty-eight reliefs running in spiral form round the shaft of the column complete the series of scenes from the life of the Saviour, imperfectly given on the right valve of the door. They begin with the Baptism of Christ, and carry on the sequence of events down to the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. On this ground alone we may assume that both monuments are intimately connected with each other. Hence it appears also extremely improbable that the column was originally surmounted by an iron crucifix, as the Crucifixion had already been represented on one compartment of the door, and would therefore have scarcely been again reproduced in the same series of works. Much more likely is the often suggested conjecture that the column was intended to serve as a colossal stand for the Easter candle. Such huge stands for the "*cereus paschalis*" Bernward may very well have seen in Italy, where many of the kind are still in use. In Germany, as far as we are aware, these Easter lights were never or but very seldom employed, and this might explain the fact that a later period, not knowing how else to utilise this gigantic stand, may have hit upon the idea of surmounting it with a crucifix. This crucifix was demolished in 1544, and the capital of the column melted down in 1650.

The column now remained till 1723 behind the altar of the Crucifixion, in St. Michael's Church. It seems to have been at first placed behind what was doubtless the high altar, after it had ceased to be of any use as a stand for the Easter candle. But, in any case, it stood originally before the altar, near the ambo, or raised pulpit—where it is still placed, for instance, in St. Clement's at Rome—consequently not very far from one of the main entrances, where perhaps the above-described valves may have been inserted. Hence it would be very important if it could be shown that the column was from the first destined by Bernward for St. Michael's. Gehle unfortunately omits to mention

his authority for the assertion that both the column and the church were consecrated by Bernward on one and the same day, September 29th, 1022, and Mithoff also makes the same statement without further proof or voucher. But although this circumstance, important as it is for our view, may not be sufficiently attested, still it seems probable enough that the column was executed under Bernward's supervision for St. Michael's, in which case there would be much to be said for the supposition that the brazen valves of the door, still in the cathedral, were also originally intended for that church. This seems



The Bernward Cross. (St. Mary Magdalene's, Hildesheim.)

confirmed by the inscription engraved in them, though possibly not incised for some considerable time after Bernward's death. It is thus worded:—

"Anno dominice incarnationis MXV Bernwardus episcopus dive memorie has valvas fusiles in faciem angelici templi ob monumentum sui fecit suspendi."

The "angelicum templum," the only important point in the inscription, can be no other than the Church of St. Michael, Prince of the angelic hosts. Apart from the fact that the crypt of St. Michael's was not finished till 1015,

and that the reference cannot therefore be to the valves of the main entrance door, Wolfher also, the biographer of St. Godehard (1022—1038), expressly states that Godehard himself set up this cast work at the behest of Bernward:—
 “Postremo principale nostrum monasterium (doubtless the Monastery of St. Michael) cripta quadam in occidentali parte obscuratum aperuit et valvas, quas domnus Bernwardus conflari fecerat, ibidem pulcherrime composuit.” (“Vita Godehardi,” cap. 37.) Hence the inscription cannot have been composed before 1038, when Wolfher wrote his first account of Godehard. It seems, in fact, to be much more recent, as the expression “dive memorie” would have hardly been appropriate before the canonization of Bernward, in 1192. Art-historians must therefore give up all hope of turning this inscription to any further account.

As already remarked, the artist had in his mind the Trajan or Antonine Column in Rome. The reliefs are, as a whole, well arranged, the figures, no doubt, awkward, and rather expressionless, but are still modelled in a manner suitable for representations in relief. Very different is the execution of the reliefs on the valves. Here the composition is wretched, the figures are stunted and thickset, the heads rendered rather repellent by their great goggle-eyes. Moreover, the artist does not at all understand how to model his figures in conformity with the requirements of relief. In many of them, while the lower parts are still tolerably flat, the upper portions are moulded in strong high relief, and the heads stand out almost completely rounded off. Thus the observer gets the impression as if they were being detached from the background, and threatened every moment to fall out.

This clumsiness of the Hildesheim artist seems all the more remarkable that the valves cast about the same time for the Cathedral of Augsburg show that the true and genuine relief style was then by no means an unknown art. Both the cast works referred to were not begun at least till after Bernward's return from Italy, that is till after 1001. That they are not the production of the same hand is shown by the marked difference in their technical treatment, as above pointed out.

At the same time, how little soever these works may be entitled to praise on the ground of their formal execution, still they become very attractive on a closer inspection. Precisely because the master was not blindly copying from some existing model, but composed his own subject, and set manfully to work to embody the thought hovering in his mind, and breathe life and feeling into the features and gestures of his figures, whatever pains it might cost him, and however indifferently he might succeed—in a word, because of this earnest endeavour of a gifted artist to find suitable expression for his conceptions, these monuments acquire such interest, and become so valuable in the history of Art. If he failed to produce a perfect work of Art, he had at least shown

the way by which later generations, after many wearisome efforts, succeeded at last in adequately reproducing their ideas.

Out of Bernward's foundry there came two light-stands also, now preserved in St. Mary Magdalene's (see p. 39), but which, according to the popular belief, had been found in the Holy Sepulchre. They have been minutely described by Springer, and it may suffice here to remark that the figures and ornamental work are rather cumbrously moulded. The inscription does not seem to have been as yet sufficiently explained. It runs thus:—

"Bernwardus. Præsul. Candelabrum. Puerum. Suum. Primo. Huius. Artis. Flore. Non. Auro. Non. Argento. Et Tamen. Ut. Cernis. Conflare. Jubebat."

That the stands were cast by an assistant, acting under Bernward's direction, is evident enough. The alloy, which looks like burnished iron, seems to consist of gold, silver, and some iron. Fr. Bock pretends to detect traces of gilding, and thinks that this alloy corresponds to the electrum of which mention so frequently occurs. But what mean the words: "*primo huius artis flore?*"

The silver crook of an episcopal staff (see p. 34), now amongst the treasures of the Cathedral, is wrought in the same style as these candelabra.

All the works hitherto described were carried out under the direction of Bernward, but scarcely by himself. Of those which, according to Thangmar, might have been attributed to him personally the greater part has perished. The chalice fashioned by him from the onyx given him by the Emperor Otto has disappeared, together with another formed out of crystal. The chalice with the paten wrought in gold, twenty pounds weight, and for which Bishop Othwin had collected the gold and precious stones ("*Ann. Hildesh.*," c. 13), was, no doubt, melted down in times of distress, and a like fate may have overtaken the costly censers. One of the light-holders in the Cathedral of Hildesheim, finished under Bishop Hezilo (1054—1079), may, at least in part, be referred to him.

Genuine may also be the gold cross, in which he placed a particle of the true cross, presented to him by Otto. It is now in St. Mary Magdalene's, at Hildesheim (see p. 41). The extremities of the arms of this cross are tipped with transverse pieces, producing the well-known form of the Bernward cross. Another silver crucifix in the Cathedral treasures is also ascribed to him, but the paten with the inscription "*Istam patenam fecit sanctus Bernwardus*" is not considered genuine by competent judges. The inscription, which cannot be earlier than 1192, merely goes to show that it was at that time held to be by the hand of Bernward.

It is difficult to believe that our artist executed the colossal crucifix in the Cathedral of Brunswick, on which the words "*Ernvardus me fecit*" have

been deciphered, at least unless we suppose that it found its way thither after Bernward's death. He can scarcely have produced anything himself intended for Brunswick, with whose duke, Bruno, he lived in constant enmity.

Of the sumptuous Gospels which he caused to be transcribed, some, as already stated, are still in the Cathedral of Hildesheim. But the library collected by him has either utterly perished, or the MSS. have been dispersed without preserving any clue to their identity.

It is doubtful whether he actually composed any scientific works. Krätz credits him with an introduction to mathematics, intended for Otto. This MS., however, contains merely a copy of the treatise on arithmetic by Boethius. But as it dates from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, it may have been collated and revised by Bernward. He is also supposed to have composed the essay on alchymy, "*Secreta Secretorum, &c.*," which was still in the Monastery of St. Michael so late as the year 1634.

Being himself a man of unwearied energies, he exacted the same ceaseless activity from his assistants, to whom he intrusted the execution of his artistic projects. He taxed both himself and them almost beyond endurance. Often indisposed, even at the time of the Gandersheim dispute, he was, later on, for five years a victim to fever. His last wish was to see the completion of St. Michael's, the decoration of which had in a special manner occupied him during the closing years of his life. On September 29th, 1022, he solemnly consecrated it with the assistance of three other bishops, and, on November 3rd, the Emperor Henry II. confirmed its charter.

But Bernward's failing strength was now utterly exhausted. Before his death he caused himself to be invested with the Benedictine habit, and breathed his last on November 20th of the same year, 1022. He was buried in the crypt of his beloved St. Michael's, and there reposed till, in consequence of his canonization in 1192, his remains were removed and gradually distributed. In 1864 the old tombstone was discovered beneath the more recent slab, adorned with the figure of a bishop. The epitaph reads:—

"Pars hominis Bernwardus eram, nunc condor in isto
Sarcofago diro, vilis et ecce cinis.
Pro dolor! officii culmen quia non bene gessi!
Et pia pax animæ, vos et amen canite."

Bernward was of the very greatest service to the cause of Art in Germany. Not so much that he applied his hand himself, or gave effect in practical works to his personal talents and skill, the objects still extant that may have been executed by him being in fact, notwithstanding their merits, of no very great importance in themselves; but because he trained up quite a swarm of clever men, with a view to the cultivation and spread of Art in the country. To each he assigned a suitable occupation, directed, urged on, inspired the

craftsmen by his own intelligent sympathy and co-operation, thus stamping the special bent of his taste on the whole school, so that it worked entirely in his spirit, and carried out his thoughts and sentiments exclusively. Exerting himself in this way, during his lifetime he cherished and encouraged an active artistic spirit in the chief town of his jurisdiction, and thereby exercised a lasting influence far beyond his own immediate circle.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries the attitude of the German ecclesiastical princes towards Art was altogether essentially different from that of an earlier period. The cultivation of Art was now no longer confined exclusively to the hands of the clergy. Under their direction laymen also had perfected themselves in it, and the more talented amongst them soon outstripped their former teachers, because they took it up as a profession, and devoted themselves entirely to it. Hence from this time forth laymen also are frequently employed in the erection of ecclesiastical buildings and on other artistic works. We cannot be too careful in avoiding the mistake of taking in their literal sense words such as Bishop So-and-so "*ecclesiam ædificavit, picturis adornavit, &c.,*" as if he, or the abbot, had personally occupied himself with the building, the painting, or the decoration of the church. In later times such expressions simply meant that these works were directed or superintended by them. Hence wherever mention is made of an individual at the head of a community, whether it be a monastery or a bishopric, we are not to assume that the abbot or the bishop himself is an artist, unless the fact is expressly stated by the chronicler.

It is somewhat different with simple clerks and monks, although even here there is need of precaution. At the same time it is not to be denied that the clergy still not unfrequently possessed a knowledge of Art. On the contrary, a prince of the church especially would have fared ill, were he incompetent to judge of architectural plans submitted to him, to support his own views on intelligent grounds, to form an opinion of the real worth of statues and paintings, to detect faults in them, and where necessary to furnish materials and subjects for representation.

But for this they did not require to be themselves practical artists. Bishop Benno of Osnabrück (*ob.* 1068), for instance, caused strongholds to be raised, personally superintended the laying-down of a roadway across a marsh, constructed the walls intended to protect the foundations of the Cathedral of Spire against the underwash of the Rhine, but for all that he was himself no artist, and, at the most, a skilled engineer. Later on, Otto, Bishop of Bamberg (1103—1139), directed for a time the works of the same Cathedral of Spire under circumstances here worth noticing. The Emperor Henry IV. had invited all skilled and active builders, carpenters, masons, and labourers from his domain, and some from other lands, made large yearly outlays, and yet the

works made no progress. He thereupon intrusted them to Otto, an experienced and industrious man. All the workmen were placed under his control, all moneys passed through his hand, and now the building proceeded apace; he simply put an end to embezzlement. But even though he may have submitted to the Emperor the design of a window, he need not have been a practical architect—he merely superintended the works; he was what would have been later on described as the “magister fabricæ,” but not the “magister operis,” master of the works rather than the master builder.

On the other hand Thiemo, Archbishop of Salzburg (1090—1001), seems in effect to have possessed great and varied personal experience, as his biographer tells us that he was thoroughly acquainted with all the mechanical arts, with painting, statuary, brass founding, architecture, and that he left works behind him which no other artist would have ventured to imitate or to rival. But these are still exceptional cases, and, as a matter of fact, the artistic works of those times, especially buildings, were mostly executed by laymen. A sufficient proof of this is the circumstance that Bishop Meinwerk (1009—1039) was able to employ Greek artisans on the Church of St. Bartholomew at Paderborn, and that Henry IV. succeeded in procuring so many builders for the Cathedral of Spire. Even then, as in more recent times, masters as well as labourers were in the habit of going from place to place, wherever they were likely to meet with profitable employment. The scanty allusions of the chronicles and annals to these itinerant craftsmen is explained by the fact that, as above pointed out, the writers of these records were exclusively ecclesiastics, who are seldom wont to mention with praise any outside their own order. Ansteus (*ob.* 960), an excellent architect, and afterwards Abbot of St. Arnulf in Metz, did not enter the Church probably till late in life, as was also the case with Manegold, who built the Monastery of Marbach, in 1094, and then joined the community there.

But, in any case, Thietmar was a layman, the “magister cæmentariorum vel latomorum,” builder of the church at Stablo under Abbot Poppo (*ob.* 1048), and praised as another Bezaleel. So also the famous master builder Otto, who, after the burning of Lorsch Abbey, in 1090, again brought to light the tomb of St. Nazarius. Even the above-mentioned Bishop Otto of Bamberg, in 1117, took into his service an architect named Babo, and intrusted him with the building of the Convent-church of Michelsberg.

The names of lay painters are not so frequently met with. Madalulf, the “pictor cameracensis ecclesiæ,” and who painted in the cloister-church of St. Wandrille, under Angisius (823—833), was probably a layman, though possibly an ecclesiastic. But it seems likely that the painter on glass Roger of Rheims, employed by Theodoric, Abbot of St. Hubert (1055—1087), to paint the windows of his church, was not in orders.

Thus we at last reach a period when Art was no longer the exclusive possession of the Church. In the next era it emancipates itself altogether from its state of pupillage, and from the thirteenth century forth it is cultivated almost exclusively by lay masters.

The cause of this revolution is not far to seek. As time rolled on, and as the various branches of Art continued to perfect themselves, in proportion as both critics and bespeakers became more exacting in their demands for finished work, it became less and less possible for one and the same man to attain to equal excellence in all departments of the profession. Hence the necessity of more and more restricting the field of his operations, in order to achieve perfection in some one line at least. Nor are such limitations even then always sufficient for his purpose. It becomes more and more evident that merely to keep pace with his competitors in any particular branch, he must fain devote his whole life and energies from youth upwards exclusively to its study. Thus alone can he hope to acquire that skill which may enable him to win honour and distinction, now that importance is attached as well to the efficient manipulation as to the spiritual conception of the subject. The mechanical execution has been already brought to such a pitch of perfection, that it can no longer be acquired in a perfunctory way. Hence if, as we have seen, it was formerly all but impossible for an ecclesiastical prince, or other Church dignitary, amidst his onerous spiritual and temporal duties, to occupy himself in a large way with Art, it became later on still more impossible for simple monks, or the inferior clergy, though less burdened with official cares, to compete with the technical skill of laymen, who made a livelihood of their artistic profession.

But though the clergy have already in the twelfth century ceased personally to execute works of Art, they still for a long time continue to reserve to themselves the right to direct the artists employed by them as to what they shall carry out, and to plan the style of decoration of their own churches and cloisters, intrusting to more skilled hands nothing beyond the embodiment of such plans and designs. The thoughtful and grand sculptures on the portals of so many churches were assuredly never projected by the simple stone-cutters themselves.

It is this joint hand-in-hand alliance of the inventive faculty, and of unsurpassed mechanical execution, that renders the monuments, especially of plastic art, in the thirteenth century so remarkable and so worthy of our admiration. The more independent the lay artists become after this epoch, the less they are controlled by highly cultivated and experienced minds, but, on the contrary, seek in their creations to embody their own conceptions alone, the more do their works lose in spiritual and inner life, becoming ultimately superficial, conventional, and characterless.

The tyranny of the guilds, especially in Germany, was already actively

tending to reduce artists to the position of ordinary artisans, as their rules and constitutions mechanically defined the limits of their work in accordance with the materials required in its execution. A stone statue must now be absolutely executed by the stone-cutter, a bronze figure by the brazier, a wood engraving by the designer or painter.

Happily, such a fatal limitation would seem to have been fully carried out in Germany only, and it is wonderful enough that, in spite of everything, so much excellent work was there produced. In Italy, artists were either from the first less trammelled, or were able sooner to shake off such shackles, and it was due to their example that, dating from the sixteenth century, their fellow-artists elsewhere in Europe were encouraged finally to get rid of such soul-compelling fetters. But till that epoch the chains were endured with patience, and in the next chapter we shall have occasion to inquire more closely into their oppressive character and consequences.

THE GERMAN MINSTER BUILDERS.

BY ALWIN SCHULTZ.

WITH the opening of the twelfth century the clergy, both secular and regular, seem to have gradually discontinued personally to cultivate the Fine Arts. They still paid some attention to painting, and, till the close of the mediæval period, preferred to transcribe, with their own hands, the costly missals and other books required for divine worship. These they embellished with miniatures and splendid initial letters, and even executed many other works in miniature. But they soon gave up all practical attention to architecture, ceased to prepare plans, or even personally to superintend their execution. As we have seen in the foregoing chapter, they left this department of Art more and more to the laity.

The names of some lay master builders already occur in the chronicles and annals of the twelfth century. Thus we read that, so early as 1117, Babo was engaged on the Monastery of Michelsberg, at Bamberg; that Enzelin, who was also a minster builder, built the bridge over the Main at Würzburg, in 1133; in 1140 Quarinus raised the Church of St. Mary at Verdun, and Geraldus the Convent-church of Grandmont, in 1141. So also the stone-cutter Wernher undertakes the building of the Church of St. George at Prague, in 1142; the layman Adalbert directs the reconstruction of the Lorsch Convent-church (1142—1152); Liutprecht is at work on the crypt of the Cathedral of Freising, and Albero, in 1219, roofs in the Church of the Apostles at Cologne.

Thus there is abundant evidence of the employment of lay masters in architectural works in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth the practice of



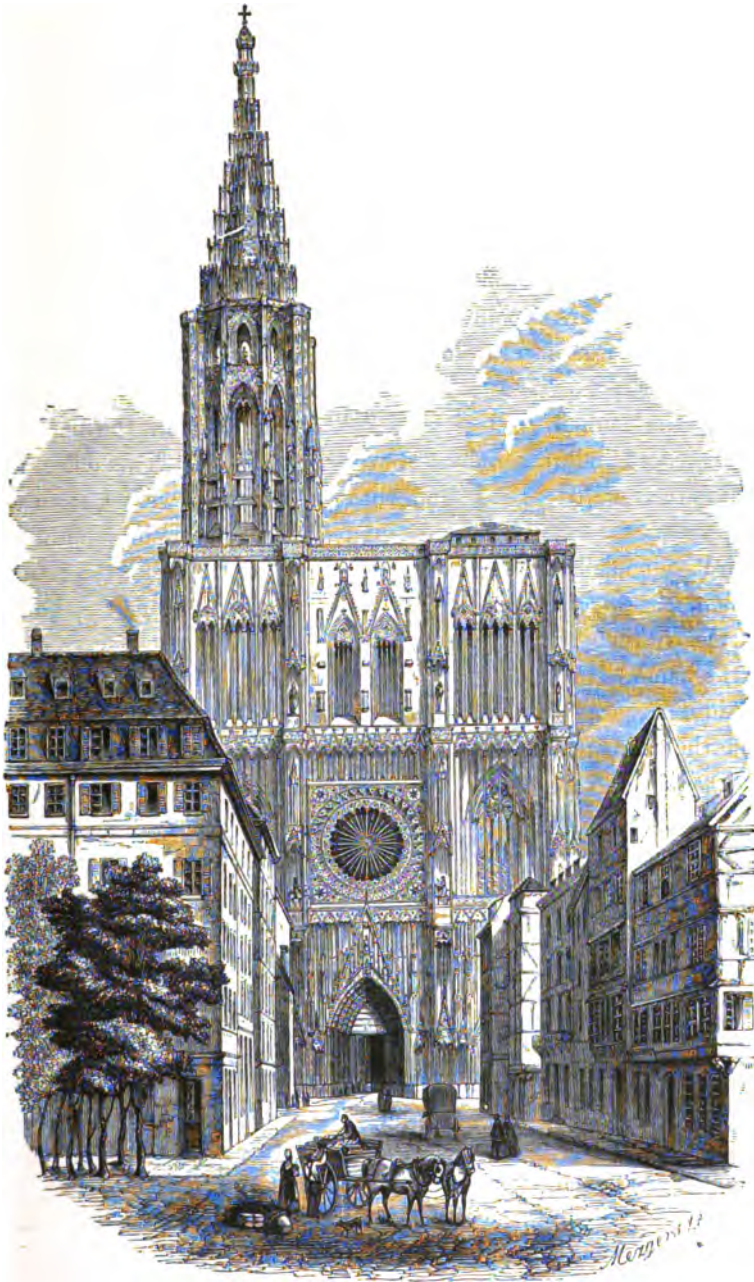
King Offa and his Master Builder.
(From a Miniature of the Twelfth Century.)

this art passes altogether into their hands. Henceforth clergymen are mentioned in exceptional cases only as architects, and even then there is need of much precaution to avoid misconceptions, as will be pointed out farther on.

The masters who raised Gothic cathedrals, churches, palaces, and private residences, were all of them, almost without exception, mechanics and stone-cutters, who were not only competent to carry out the work, but also jointly with their fellow-workers chiselled the decorative parts, statues as well as tracery and other ornaments. Of the lives and career of these men but little has been handed down to us. The very names of the most famous amongst them have passed into forgetfulness, except where kept alive by some accidental circumstance. Thus the name of Erwin would have scarcely attained to such celebrity, had not his memory been rescued from oblivion by an inscription on the Strasburg Minster. But this honour has been denied to many hundreds of other masters no less worthy of it than he was. However, it might still be possible to fix the names and epochs of many of those artists, if we could summon resolution to explore and draw what is noteworthy from the musty accounts and contracts, the contemporary civic and judicial records, the masses of correspondence, draughts, minutes, and the like having reference to their work. In this way alone can and must a vast amount of material be still collected calculated to throw light on that obscure period of German Art.

But however important for the history of Art, such researches would be far from sufficient even then to enable us to sketch the merest outline of the life of any one of those masters. We might doubtless ascertain the artist's name, and fix on authentic evidence the period in which he flourished. We might even glean a few facts concerning his family and his circumstances, but nothing by which to form a distinct idea of the man in his creations, his pursuits, his mind, and idiosyncrasy. The local chronicles, which might have helped to clear up the most obscure points, make mention here and there of the buildings, but never of the builder. While the monastic annalists took pleasure in vaunting the artistic merits of their brethren and associates, the local writers looked upon the masters, whose achievements still challenge our admiration, merely as mechanics, humble townsmen and artisans, who found employment in proportion to their skill and capacity, but who beyond their hire possessed no claim to any further recognition. This is the general feeling in Germany throughout mediæval times, and it explains how it happened that men occupying such an inferior position in society did not presume so much as to inscribe their name on their own work, while the self-conscious Italian artists often indulge in long and at times somewhat vainglorious inscriptions. Thus it is that, especially in the case of great structures requiring a long time for their erection, we are scarcely able with certainty to distinguish the share of each respective master engaged upon them; and even when this is possible, we can still venture

upon no safe conclusions as to the artistic peculiarities of such masters, it being



Façade of Strasburg Cathedral.

still impossible definitely to ascertain how much must be credited to them, and how much to their predecessors, who may have planned the work.

On all these grounds it is almost hopeless to attempt any detailed account of the career of any of the German minster builders, that is, provided we adhere closely to the facts, without endeavouring to supply the want of real material by idle conjecture. Hence it seems more in accordance with our purpose to forego all such attempts, and try instead to ascertain how the great mediæval minsters were constructed, and what position their builders occupied in connection with them—in a word, to describe in a general way and in detail the architectural life of the times.

The general supervision of the whole building was not intrusted to the master builder, but to persons specially chosen for this purpose by the trustees. The cathedral chapters appointed one or two of the canons, whose duty it was to inspect all the works. In cloisters and nunneries this office was discharged by one of the monks or sisters. The towns again had their building committees, selected by the council, the so-called *œdificatores*, and in the parish churches this function was undertaken by the patrons or *vitrici*. This office, in the case of churches, was called *fabrica*, and those who filled it were known as *magistri fabricæ*, *provisores*, *curatores fabricæ*—in a word, overseers or inspectors. These administrative officials are to be carefully distinguished from the head workmen or foremen, the *magistri operis*, who superintended the actual building, and were themselves experienced architects.

At the same time, these expressions were not always very accurately used in the Middle Ages. In the records of Cologne, the cathedral administrators, who had the management of the building funds, are at times described as *magistri operis*, directors of the works; and while Erwin bears in his epitaph the title of *gubernator fabricæ*, Gerhard of Rile, master builder of Cologne Cathedral, is entitled *rector fabricæ*. Hence it may easily happen, and, in fact, repeatedly does occur, that an ecclesiastic who had merely the management of the business department has been mistaken for a master builder. Here, therefore, the greatest care is needed, and, in the case of clergymen, it seems but reasonable, even when spoken of as *magistri operis*, not to assume that they really were architects, unless distinctly described as such in the original records.

The more important the structure, the greater was the burden and responsibility of the administration, and in such cases it seems not to have been unusual to appoint more than one *magister fabricæ*, especially when, as not unfrequently happened with the cathedrals, the bishop himself thought it desirable to make his influence felt in the direction of the works. In 1365 the Cologne Cathedral Chapter agreed with the bishop that both sides should name each of them an administrator, notwithstanding which their bickerings did not cease. They were constantly urging complaints against each other, until in 1472 the chapter decided to intrust the management to a prelate, or to one of the senior trustees, for a term of two years at a time.

The *magister fabricæ* had chiefly to look after the building fund, as well as all the property of the administration. From the collector, the *petitor fabricæ*, who was under his control, he took over the moneys contributed towards the building; these he had to invest, with the proceeds defraying all the expenses connected with the works. He purchased the building materials, engaged the craftsmen and other necessary hands, paid over the wages to the masters, kept an account of income and outlay, and submitted a yearly statement of the same to the chapter. Every church had a separate building fund, for which certain receipts were specially set apart. Thus, for instance, in virtue of a decree of the Chapter of Spire, confirmed by Pope Honorius III. on December 4th, 1220, the income of every vacant living attached to the cathedral was to be paid into the building fund. In 1280 the same chapter ordered that, in the case of protracted absence, the cathedral prebendaries should forfeit half their incomes to the same fund; here and there the revenues of particular altars were appropriated to the same object. Still all such sources of income would have been inadequate to meet the requirements of more serious undertakings; and, in truth, much larger sums accrued through bequests, donations, and foundations. Wealthy benefactors seldom forgot the building fund in their wills, especially when the works were still unfinished and stood in need of such contributions. Others made over large amounts, even during their lifetime, on the condition of deriving annuities from them for themselves, after which the capital remained absolutely at the disposal of the administrators, they in return binding themselves to provide for the celebration of masses in perpetuity for the souls of such benefactors on their anniversaries. Such donations are of frequent occurrence.

An exceptionally fruitful source of income was enjoyed by the Cathedral of Bâle. Pious folk in those days notoriously attached great importance to procuring a last resting-place for themselves within the church, and when that was no longer allowed, at least in as close proximity as possible to it. Now the cathedral cloisters at Bâle belonged to the building department, and enormous sums were exacted for the privilege of being buried within these precincts, and of obtaining a handsome monument erected to their memory, not by the ordinary undertakers, but by the members of the masonic guild. As the biers at the interments of wealthy citizens were also draped with costly palls, and occasionally with brocaded stuffs, all of which materials became the perquisites of the *fabrica*, unless redeemed by the heirs, this also yielded large profits. Lastly, the building administration was entitled to be reimbursed for the tolling of the bells, and for the loan of biers and hearse-cloths.

All these receipts, which were by no means inconsiderable, would now be doubtless enough, at least, to keep the building in good condition when once finished, and to meet the charges for slight casual repairs, but were by no

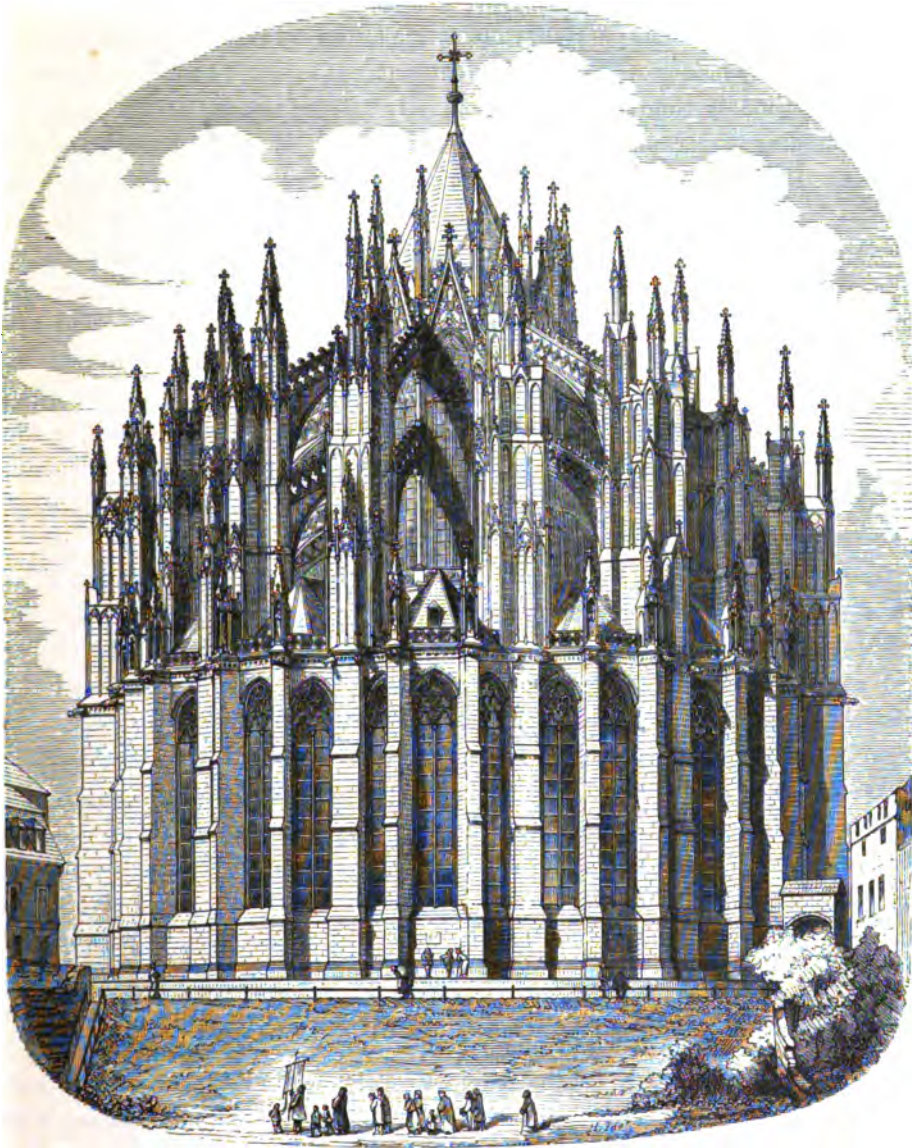
means sufficient for any more important fresh structures. Then an appeal would have to be made to the liberality of the whole diocese, and this always proved most successful, whenever they had the faculty of granting to the contributors indulgences for the punishment due to their sins. When a moderate collection was required to be made, an indulgence brief from one or more bishops might suffice, and cardinals would occasionally issue them at the petition of the church administrators. But it was always best when the Pope himself could be induced to grant them, as he was, of course, able to allow the most substantial remittances to the benefactors of the church. Before laying the foundation stone of the new cathedral, the Cologne Chapter obtained from Pope Innocent IV. a bull, dated from Lyons on May 21st, 1248, which awarded an indulgence of a year and forty days. Such briefs were also procured, at times, by smaller towns. When the inhabitants of Schwäbisch Hall began to build the choir of St. Michael's Church, they obtained from the Pope a dispensation from the obligation of abstaining from cheese and dripping on strict fast days, for all binding themselves to contribute the yearly sum of one shilling towards the fund. The citizens of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1300, procured from several bishops the concession of an indulgence in favour of all subscribers to the erection of the bridge across the Main.

As soon as a bishop had procured a major indulgence he made it known by means of a pastoral (*processus*), which was addressed in Latin to the clergy of the diocese, and by them read out in the vernacular to their congregations. The duty of collecting the donations then fell upon the collector, or *petitor fabricæ*, and his assistants. Tetzl himself was, properly speaking, nothing more than the *petitor fabricæ* for St. Peter's at Rome. According to a mandate issued at Spire in 1292, every parish priest, vicar, or curate was bound, under penalty of excommunication, to give his active support to these collectors.

For smaller works subscriptions were raised within the diocese only, but for larger undertakings the collectors might extend the field of their operations to other bishoprics, and even to foreign lands. Thus Henry III. of England, for instance, in 1257 orders the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other prelates of the realm to give a friendly welcome to, and in no way to let or hinder, the collectors of the Cathedral of Cologne. But in the case of such concessions the interests of their own cathedrals naturally received the first consideration. Bishop Nicholas of Constance, in 1343, licensed collectors to raise subscriptions in his diocese for the Church of St. Fridolin in Säkingen, but expressly stipulated that, should they meet his own collectors in any place, these last were to have the right of making the first appeal to the piety of the faithful.

Later on, the indulgence papers became procurable for certain fixed sums of money; and in order to enable the poorer classes to participate in the grace

conferred by them, the equivalent of money was accepted in such material contributions as church furniture, altar-cloths, gold and silver ornaments, the produce of the soil, fine linen, wine, provisions, and the like. In return the



Choir of Cologne Cathedral.

collectors would make them presents of little knives and gloves, on the part of the *fabrica*. In the churches there were also placed alms-boxes, which were cleared out by the collectors when making their rounds. Of the contents a

third fell to the parish priest, the sexton got a florin, and a pair of gloves was presented to the dean, who, however, had to entertain the collector and provide him with horses. For his services the collector himself was allowed thirty florins a year, five florins for clothes and shoes, besides other gratuities. On his return home he handed to the *magister fabricæ* all the money he had received together with the presents in kind, which were afterwards disposed of to the best advantage. The money was, as a rule, lent out on interest, and the interest of sums from time to time so invested generally sufficed to meet all the expenses of the building, the capital itself being but seldom encroached upon for the purpose. How considerable such revenues often were is shown by a return, made in 1513, of the finances of the Cologne Minster, the income of which was in that year about 17,400 marks, against an expenditure of 14,000 marks.

Still, the manner in which the funds were administered goes far to account for the great length of time required to construct such fabrics. Had the capital, instead of the interest, been made available for pushing on the works, they would, at all events, have been completed more rapidly. Later on, when operations were almost entirely suspended, the investments were placed to the credit of the ordinary, or in cases of urgency applied even to other purposes. The *fabrica* became henceforth little more than a sort of banking establishment, to be drawn upon, even for large amounts, whenever necessary.

The *magistri fabricæ* themselves received but little remuneration for their trouble—in Spire a yearly allowance of eighteen pennyweights, with the right to appropriate for their own use the chips and shavings of the timber used on the works. As already observed, the *fabrica* had to provide all the building-materials, as well as all tools, gear, and other necessary implements. As a rule it either owned some suitable quarry, or, at least, held it on lease. Thus the trachyte quarries at the Drachenfels belonged to the Cologne Minster, and those at Stein, between Lörrach and Schopfheim, to the Chapter of Bâle. Still, it was a great drawback when the stone could not be quarried in the neighbourhood, but required to be conveyed from great distances. Not every one was so well favoured by fortune as Bishop Gerard of Cambray, who, when in 1023 he wished to build the Church of St. Mary in his see, came upon a quarry close by, whereas they had hitherto been obliged to transport the stone from a distance of thirty miles. The stone for the Convent-church of St. Trond was shipped at Worms, brought by the Rhine to Cologne, and thence carted away to the place of its destination. The far from satisfactory state of the roads in the Middle Ages in such cases naturally greatly increased the price of the materials, and as the wages of stone-cutters were comparatively very low, it is easy to understand that the more costly stone, once procured, was worked up with the greatest care, unusual pains being bestowed on its ornamental treatment. Nowadays the value of the material is, on the contrary, very

trifling in comparison with the rate of wages; hence it is natural that the same attention is now no longer paid to the dressing of the stone, which would increase the cost of construction so disproportionately. For this reason alone it may be doubted whether the present era will ever succeed in reviving the so-called Gothic style, a style which can be effectively employed only by a considerable amount of hand-labour, while this very hand-labour itself has now become so exceptionally expensive.

The administration procured all other necessary materials, as well as stone, in a large way. When more was accumulated than was urgently needed it was often disposed of, at its value, to the managers of smaller churches in course of erection, or otherwise turned to account.

A work-place was fitted up close to the building for the convenience of the masons and stone-cutters, and such structures were, of course, the property of the *fabrica*. In the case of smaller undertakings temporary sheds were probably deemed sufficient for the purpose. But when it was foreseen that an edifice would take many years in its erection, these work-places, or "stone-huts," as they were called, were themselves built of lasting materials. These, as well as the timber-yards and all utensils, instruments, tools, and apparatus of every sort, belonged, as stated, to the *fabrica*.

The hardest task of the *magister fabricæ* was to discover an experienced architect, to whom he might intrust the technical direction of the building. He was bound on oath not to allow himself to be swayed by personal considerations, but to choose the most competent of the candidates for the situation. That there were many of the masters even then unsuited for such a responsible office, and who yet aspired to it, is evident from the experience of the Strasburg Chapter towards the end of the fifteenth century, when they found themselves called upon to dismiss for incompetency two master builders, Hans Meiger and another whose name has not been handed down.

Hence, on this account alone, the *magister fabricæ* was obliged to possess some knowledge of architecture. Though he may not have been capable of designing and executing the plans himself, he could, at least, test the capacity of competitors and decide for himself, when required to make a selection in such a serious matter. Acting on his report, the bishop would then conclude a covenant with the successful candidate. Thus the master Peter Brunnen of Obernai, who received a life appointment as master builder from Bishop Reinhart II. of Spire, in 1449, bound himself to direct all the buildings of the Cathedral Chapter, and, moreover, to cast guns and make powder. For this he received a yearly allowance of sixteen Rhenish florins, ten measures of corn, half a hogshead of wine, four loads of wood, and two court suits. But Brunnen cannot have continued long in this situation, as we find that Hans of Mingolsheim, who was afterwards engaged on the Church of St. Kilian at

Heilbronn, had to press a claim for two hundred Rhenish florins against the same bishop, when quitting Spires in 1455. So people do not seem



Interior of Ratisbon Cathedral.

to have been over-punctual in meeting their engagements at that time in Spires.

The council of the town of Freiburg in the Breisgau, in 1471, made a much more favourable contract with the Master Hans Niesenberger to conduct the building of the minster there. He received a yearly stipend of twenty florins, without being bound to be constantly on the spot, but only to inspect the works once every three months. He was thus enabled to undertake other



North Side Aisle in the Cathedral of Ulm.

lucrative contracts elsewhere ; besides which, whenever engaged in Freiburg, he received an extra allowance of two shillings and two pence daily. He had to provide an experienced foreman and efficient craftsmen, and also to take on more hands, or discharge them, according to circumstances and at the pleasure of the *magister fabricæ*.

In Bâle the master builder was bound on oath never to receive more than

two apprentices, nor to charge for their work at the same rate as that of the regular journeymen, a provision which, however, is met with in most of the constitutions of the stone-cutters. He was required to spend a certain time daily in the "hut," or "lodge," where he was obliged to provide himself with a work-board for his own use, make arrangements for the punctual observance of the time-table and the general activity of the men, keep the implements in good condition, and neither use them himself when working elsewhere, nor permit any of the others to do so.

In the quarries work was carried on, and all the raw material dressed up, during the summer season only. To the *magister fabricæ* he promised obedience for himself and his men, who were to keep him informed of everything connected with the building, and never order larger consignments of materials than were absolutely needed. As the master received a fixed yearly income, in case of illness he retained his daily allowance for a week only, unless the chapter should otherwise determine, and was bound even then, as far as possible, to look after the works.

In Spire similar obligations were imposed on the master builder. He was bound not to leave before the building was finished, to give, at least, a quarter's notice, and to undertake no other engagements without the knowledge of the chapter. On these terms Peter Kalhart was appointed to the office at Spire in 1479, though Ulrich Zimmermann of Udenheim resumed his position there in 1483.

Besides his yearly salary the master builder, as already stated, received a fixed daily allowance, which was greater during the summer months than in winter, the longer working days beginning with the feast of St. Peter's Chair, February 22nd, and closing on October 16th, when the hours were from five o'clock in the morning till seven in the evening, an hour being allowed for breakfast and dinner, and half an hour for supper. On Saturdays they broke off at five o'clock, and once a fortnight at three, to give the men time for a bath.

In the larger places, as in the chief town of the diocese, with the thirteenth century there began to be formed those corporations of masons and stone-cutters, which kept jealous watch over the strict observance of the statutes and constitutions confirmed to their body by the communes and municipalities. The Frankfort company even in 1355 claimed to have been of great antiquity. Whoever wished to work in any place as a master was compelled to marry, to prevent his leaving again on a sudden; also to become a citizen contributing his share of the taxes and other burdens, to pay the admission fees and suchlike charges to the society; in a word, to take upon himself all manner of onerous duties. These statutes had force of law throughout the whole city, so that any one attempting to get employment there without having complied with the

regulations of the guild, was treated as an interloper, a bungler and intruder, and was punished by the municipality itself, and, if necessary, banished the place. Thus the trustees of the churches were very much restricted in the choice of their master builders. They were obliged either to appoint one of the masters settled in the place, or else the architects, engaged by them elsewhere, were compelled to join the local guild with all its incidental burdens.

To mitigate this evil state of affairs, which gave rise to constant dissensions, some of the cathedral chapters came to an understanding with the incorporated masters that the *magistri fabricæ* should be unhampered in their choice, that their men should not be compelled to join the society, but that they should, on the other hand, accept work only within the district subject to the jurisdiction of the cathedral. Cases of this sort occurred at Spire in 1420, and at Constance in 1511. The artisans in the service of the cathedral administration were probably as free from charges and civic burdens as were the master builders in the employment of the State; as, for instance, Hans Spryss, appointed master builder to the Margrave Christopher of Baden in 1475.

Thus in the second half of the Middle Ages it becomes necessary to distinguish between two categories amongst the stone-cutters and master builders—the regularly incorporated masters, and the masons who went from place to place wherever they could get profitable employment, tarrying for a while, and then wandering away elsewhere, gathering on their way fresh experiences and lessons. Indeed, by travel alone had mechanics any hope of improving themselves, and of acquiring a certain perfection in their art. It is but natural to suppose that the church masons, if they may be so described, learned their trade often enough under incorporated masters, and that they often ultimately, when wearied of constant wanderings, settled down in some town, there joining the local company. But, as a rule, a certain jealousy seems to have sprung up between these two classes. The masters and journeymen engaged on the large churches naturally by far outstripped the society men in skill, artistic experience, and, indeed, in general culture. The cathedral master builders especially, and their men, had the best opportunities for perfecting themselves in their profession, and thereby acquired that consciousness and self-confidence which so well becomes those men of talent who possess the power within them of achieving some great work. And, in truth, the great work which they were privileged to take part in must of itself have exercised an elevating and inspiring influence on them, so that they were fully justified in looking upon themselves as something superior to the civic masons, to whom common works alone were intrusted. When the poet Michael Behem says: “After High Art aims mason, singer, poet,” he must have had more particularly in his eye the men engaged on the great cathedral works. A prominent position was claimed by the craftsmen engaged on the Cathedrals of Strasburg, Cologne, and Vienna,

inasmuch as those great churches themselves were pre-eminent, beyond all others, even in the fifteenth century, famous as it was for magnificent undertakings of the sort. They passed in a measure as the high school of constructive art, and the decision of any of the master builders directing those works was everywhere accepted as final. But however recognised their excellence and intelligence may have been, none of these masters, or their men, were in any way connected with the town companies; they dispensed with the protection afforded by the guilds to their members, and were accordingly thrown upon their own resources in upholding their rights and interests.

It was, in our opinion, the wish to extend the obvious advantages of association to the masters and men engaged on the great churches, that first induced the foremost of them to found a general guild throughout Germany, to invest its jurisdiction in the hands of the masters of the three above-mentioned cathedrals, and to place the master of Strasburg at their head. Thus arose in the year 1459 the great masonic organization, which was planned at the Diet of Ratisbon, accepted at the meeting held in Strasburg, and thence forwarded to all the other building corporations. This statute was confirmed, in 1498, by the Emperor Maximilian, and after him by all succeeding Emperors till the year 1707, when, Strasburg having been torn from the Germanic Empire, the Ratisbon Imperial Diet interdicted the German masons from further intercourse with the guild of that place.

Amongst the subscribers to the original statutes and constitutions we find, at first, the names of church master builders only. It was not till a later period, when the union had grown more powerful and more important, that the various local guilds seem to have entered into alliance, or become incorporated with, the confederation. People are, as a rule, disposed to see something quite exceptional in this general union of the German masons. No such organization had certainly been hitherto developed amongst mechanics throughout the empire; still the masters and journeymen of other crafts had, even before the masons, in sundry places associated together under common customs and usages. Thus similar leagues were formed by the bakers of eight Rhenish towns on September 17th, 1352, by the smiths of nine places in the same region on May 13th, 1333, and on August 4th, 1520, by the tailors of fourteen towns along the banks of the Rhine; and, doubtless, other examples of the same sort might easily be pointed out.

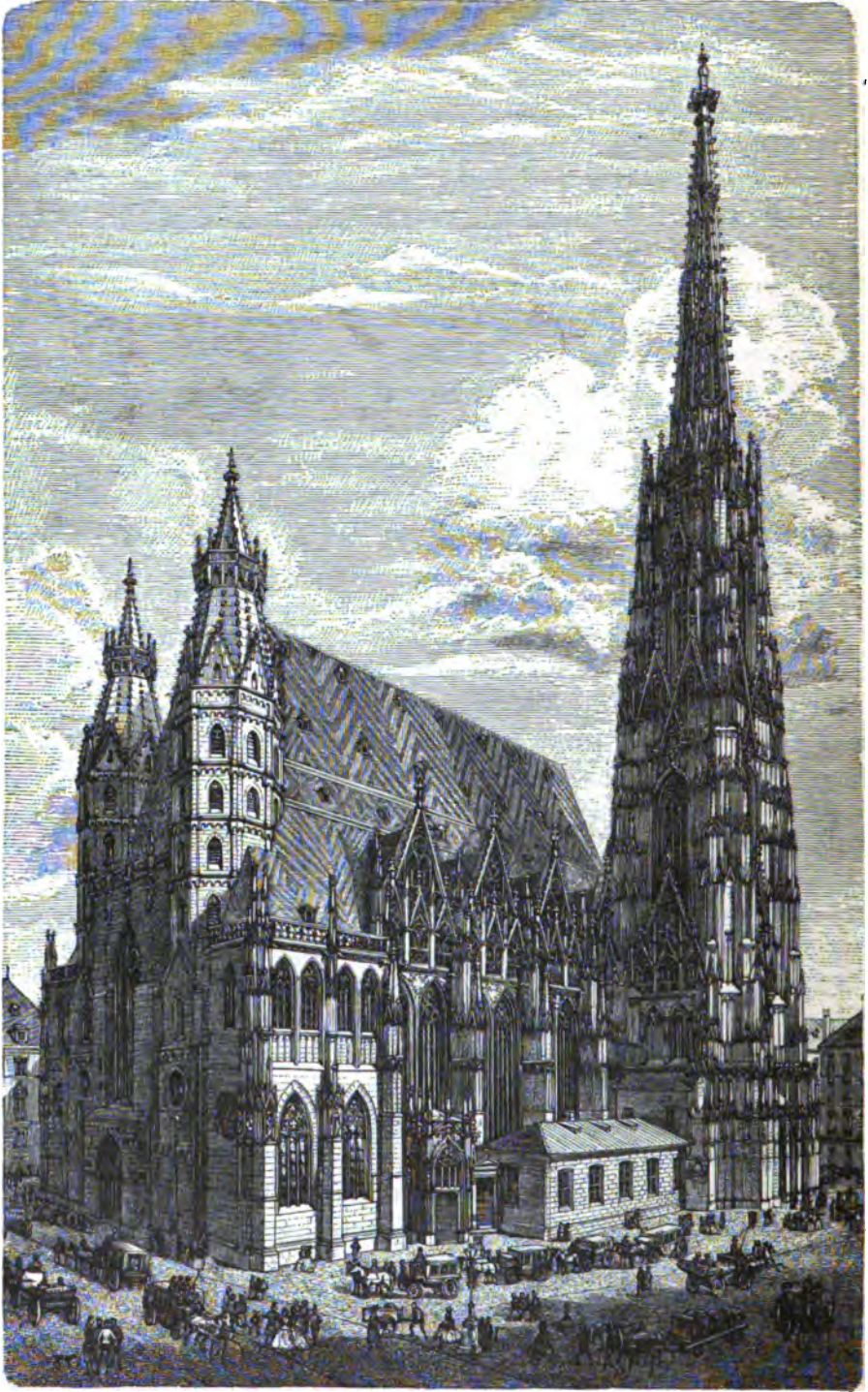
But if this masonic federation was no exceptional thing, it is equally certain that it contained no secret provisions. Any one wishing to discover such mysteries would have, in the first place, to interpret them; a feat which has, unfortunately, often enough been attempted, especially by people but little conversant not only with the language, but with the general conditions of labour throughout mediæval times. That the members were forbidden to

explain the nature of their constitution to outsiders is true enough, but this was merely to keep off intruders. Hence the members of the above-mentioned tailors' guild also were in the same way required to teach cutting to those only who belonged to their body. It was equally natural that the associates should not idly disclose the common terms of recognition and greeting current amongst them. By means of these expressions, known only to the initiated, and otherwise extremely simple in themselves, the itinerant journeyman established his title to, and received, the assistance he stood in need of. That the unauthorised should be able to procure such help could not, of course, redound to the interest of the union.

The essential points of the statutes were the establishment of a religious brotherhood, to be joined by all the members, and the ordinances affecting the judicial authority on all questions connected with labour. The need of associating on a religious footing makes itself constantly felt, especially amongst the working classes in the fifteenth century. All such societies have patron saints, and to nearly all of them are attached pious confraternities that on certain anniversaries meet together and worship in common.

But the men whose skill and industry raised up these grand religious monuments had the very greatest incitements to devotion, and it is precisely amongst them that we find such confraternities developing themselves even at a tolerably early date. A. Reichensperger has made public a Triers document, dated October 30th, 1397, in which are recorded the statutes of the local masonic confraternity. In Bâle we meet with a similar society in 1497, while the Strasburg association establishes one universal brotherhood for all masons throughout Germany. The members bind themselves to remit certain yearly contributions to the Strasburg guild, which with the proceeds has masses celebrated in the Cathedral on the feast of the four crowned martyrs, the patron saints of the craft. According to the legend published in 1870 by Wattenbach, with elucidations by Benndorf and Büdinger, and again with further comments by A. Ilg, in the *Mitth. der k. k. Commission* for 1872, p. xlvii., these four crowned martyrs, Claudius, Castorius, Symphorianus, and Nicostratus, were four masons who suffered martyrdom for the faith under Diocletian.

Every mason wishing to enter the union was obliged to join the confraternity, and further, to bind himself to submit all disputes with his fellow-workmen not to the *magistri fabricæ*, nor to the secular magistrates, but to the jurisdiction of his brethren, and from them to demand right and judgment. Differences between journeymen were to be settled by the masters, and contentions amongst the masters by the chief guilds of the circuit, a final appeal being allowed to that of Strasburg. The Germanic empire was divided into four circles, at whose head stood the lodges of Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, and Bern, or, later on, Zurich.



Exterior of St. Stephen's, Vienna.

It is now almost impossible to say in what relation the various guilds stood with respect to the decisions of Strasburg. Of the documents throwing light on this point but few, and these, in part, to the last degree unsatisfactory, have been published; while the number of those who have the patience to consult such records, and are at the same time capable of reading them correctly, is, unfortunately, extremely limited.

The Bohemian guilds were subordinate to that of Prague, but whether this was itself subject to the Vienna centre has not hitherto been ascertained. As already stated, the Strasburg lodge had forwarded the decrees of 1459 to all the others throughout Germany, accompanied by an invitation to accept them. Such a summons had also reached the masters of the Meissen and Thuringian lands, which should, in any case, have belonged specially to the Strasburg circuit. The result was a general meeting of the masters from Magdeburg, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Mühlberg, Merseburg, Meissen, the Harz, the Voigtland, and Thuringia. They came together on August 24th and September 29th, 1462, in Torgau, and adopted the Strasburg regulations, but expanding particular clauses, so that these documents, published by Stieglitz in his "*Contributions to the History of Architecture*," p. 114, and frequently elsewhere, contain the most important information respecting the life and work of the mediæval masonic associations.

Like the Strasburg statutes, they fixed the period of apprenticeship at five years. Even journeyman masons wishing to learn stone-cutting were obliged to comply with this provision, so that no master of the union could engage any one who was unable to show that he had served the full term of five years, nor was any journeyman allowed to accept employment until he had regularly completed his time. This gave occasion to all manner of heartburnings and bickerings. Some local statutes, such as that of the Breslau guild passed in the year 1475, exacted three years only from masons, and four from stone-cutters, so that masters were frequently suspected and injured in their work, whenever any doubts were expressed by other masters or their men as to the regularity of their apprenticeship.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century such differences were quite the order of the day, and to them we are indebted for a number of revelations on the usages of the craft, and occasionally also for sundry data important in the history of Art. Thus, for instance, when the municipality of Görlitz had to decide a question of the sort, they took the opinion of the master builders of Magdeburg, Vienna, and Passau, and we thereby glean from the archives of Görlitz certain particulars respecting masters, of whom we should otherwise know nothing. In the Torgau ordinances it is expressly laid down that the master shall consign to his apprentice, on completing his time, a particular private mark, which the journeyman is to cut on all stones dressed by him,

after they have been tested by the master or his foreman, the object being to facilitate the settlement of payments.

But we cannot here afford to dwell upon the other regulations affecting masters and men. It will be sufficient for our purpose to mention that, according to these rules, both sides were bound to treat each other with mutual deference and consideration. The masters were forbidden to entice men into their employment by undue means, to supplant each other, to disparage or at all to injure the work of a predecessor. They were, on the contrary, enjoined to follow up the general plan of the building, to utilise the materials already dressed up and available, nor even to modify their own designs without the consent of the trustees. Such provisions, however, are certainly not new, being based upon old usages and customs of the craft, which are merely now again brought into operation.

To the continued observance of the rules just referred to must be attributed the degree of harmony that prevails in the various parts of a structure, the erection of which may have spread over centuries, the continued development of forms and styles being conspicuous in relatively secondary places only. The masters were, in fact, tied down to a definite plan which they were not allowed to alter without the express sanction of their superiors, that is, primarily, of the *magistri fabricæ*.

From all that has been said it is evident that the position of a cathedral master builder was that of an ordinary master mason, however pre-eminent his genius, as shown in his works. Owing to the social relations of the times, it was simply impossible for any one to raise himself from the inferior caste of the mechanical classes, and acquire recognition not merely for his work, but for himself personally. Writers have endeavoured to show that, because the cathedral master builders of the thirteenth century are described as *magistri*, they were therefore *magistri artium liberalium*, and were accordingly held in greater consideration on account of their scientific education. But it would indeed be wonderful if a young man, during the five years of his hard apprenticeship, could have either acquired, or even retained, such a scientific culture as would have, in after times, entitled him to obtain this degree from a university. However, all discussion on the point is idle; all who are familiar with mediæval documents are aware that the expression never is, John, the master stone-cutter, but Master John, stone-cutter—"Magister Johannes, lapicida,"—that is to say, they are merely masters of the craft. Hence the attempt to give them a higher position in the social scale is futile; they remain simply artisans.

From this it is now clear, as at first stated, why we know so little of these masters personally. Scientific research, do what it may, will never succeed in doing much more than establish with tolerable certainty, in their regular

succession, the names of the masters of some few cathedrals, such as those of Strasburg, Cologne, Vienna, Ratisbon. And even were all such preliminary inquiries already completed, we should, no doubt, possess more accurate details concerning the career of many individual masters, and perhaps be in a position to form an estimate of particular guilds in Germany and Italy, and even in Spain, but we should glean but little regarding the lives of particular masters that would be of any interest to others than the professed antiquarian.

In his researches Fahne has made public several documents concerning Gerhard of Rile, the first known master engaged on the Cologne Cathedral; yet his account of the master's life is after all based on purely arbitrary assumptions. The only really important record is that of 1257, in which the cathedral chapter mentions his services in connection with the works. But when he was engaged on them, whether the plan was designed by him, as well as the year of his death, is alike unknown. Fahne's surmise that Gerhard was appointed master builder in 1254 rests on the false premiss that the first master was the *petitor structurae*, Heinrich (Sunere), whom this writer makes a "candidate" for the position.

And how little is to be gathered respecting the life of Erwin also, notwithstanding the laborious researches of Gérard, in the first volume of his "*Artistes de l'Alsace*"! It is well known that the intimation of the name of Erwin of Steinbach occurred on the now lost inscription on the west façade of Strasburg Cathedral, which stated that this master began that "famous work" on the Feast of St. Urban, 1277. Of course, it would have scarcely been described as a "*gloriosum opus*" during the lifetime of Erwin; hence it is probable, as Gérard conjectures, that this inscription was not placed there till long after his death, perhaps not till 1439, when the tower was finished, in memory of the master by whom the façade was designed. If this be so, the adjunct "of Steinbach" itself becomes uncertain enough. It does not thus occur for one hundred and twenty years after his death, while on all contemporary records, whether inscriptions or documents, he appears simply as Erwin. Hence it would be idle to quarrel about which Steinbach he was born in, or to argue with Gérard that his real name may have been Hervé de Pierrefonds, for the presumption of an error on the part of the author of the inscription would now no longer be so very unreasonable.

More interesting is the inquiry, the result of which is communicated by Adler in the paper read by him on January 2nd, 1875, before the Scientific Society of Berlin, and reported in the *National Zeitung*, Nos. 3 and 5, 1875. That this master had studied in France was already known. But that he studied, and in his designs availed himself of the Church of St. Urban at Troyes, erected between 1262 and 1269, is a highly interesting discovery

which, if confirmed, promises to be of far-reaching importance for the history of architecture in Germany.

This is not the place to discuss the point whether Adler's hypothesis is likely to be established that the church at Wimpfen im Thal and the tower of Freiburg Minster were built by Erwin, and that he also took part in the erection of Ratisbon Cathedral. It is, in any case, certain that the west front of Strasburg Minster and the plan of the Cloister-church at Haslach were planned and partly executed by him. Of his life we otherwise know nothing beyond the fact that he died on January 18th, 1318, leaving behind him his wife, named Husa, and several children. In the epitaph his wife is called "*Domina Husa*," and must have, therefore, been entitled to this epithet, which was restricted to ladies of rank. It is generally supposed that Erwin left a son, who succeeded his father on the Strasburg works, and died in 1339. Before Gérard all inquirers had in the most unaccountable manner taken this for granted, and even Adler accepts it as an unquestioned fact. Yet the whole statement rests on a wrong interpretation of the epitaph on the tomb of Johannes, which is close to that of the elder Erwin and his wife. This Johannes belonged apparently to the family of Erwin, and in the epitaph occur the words: "*Anno, etc. . . . obiit magister Johannes filius Erwini magistri operis huius ecclesiæ.*" From this it is evident that Johannes was, no doubt, a master, probably also a *magister*, but not a master builder engaged on the cathedral. This was the position of his father, who was obviously still living, else, according to the well-known mediæval style, it must have run: "*filius Erwini quondam magistri operis*," son of Erwin, whilom master builder, &c. Hence this Johannes is probably a grandson, but not a son, of the elder Erwin. The third son of the famous Erwin died in 1330, as master builder of the church at Haslach. His tombstone is still preserved, and the inscription, of which the name only is illegible, runs: "*Anno Dni m.ccc.xxx. non. decembris obiit . . . magister operis huius ecclesiæ f. Erwini.*"

Of the lives of the other master builders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is very little to relate. What we know of their careers is mostly restricted to a few barren contemporary references; and even if we were in possession of full particulars concerning them, it might be questioned whether the account of lives so entirely devoted to labour would present anything in itself very attractive. And they would be the less interesting, inasmuch as a personal original character in their artistic tendencies was scarcely to be expected at a time when the greater number of them, at least, as would now appear, attached less importance to the creation of individual and characteristic work, than to the achievement of the highest degree of excellence, and of what was practically useful within the particular style of Art that happened to be in accordance with the taste of the times. The really

original artists do not make their appearance until the generations with whom we are here concerned had long been reposing in the grave.

A material aid to the architecture of the latter part of the Middle Ages was the existence of a fully worked out doctrine of proportions, subsequently to a great extent forgotten, and never since again brought to light. In virtue of these laws it was easy, by means of geometrical constructions, by the application of the square, the equilateral triangle, and the arc, to ascertain the proper dimensions, the relations of the various elevations and widths of the structure, the strength of the walls, the resisting power of the abutments, and thus, by an easily acquired method, to determine not only all the beautiful adjustments of the different parts to each other, but also the stability of the work itself. That such contrivances were really adopted by the master builders of the Middle Ages, has been abundantly shown by Viollet-le-Duc, in the "*Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*," vii. 532, art. "Proportion." Besides, Heideloff assures us that he was acquainted with stone-cutters' books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from which he took examples of constructions of various sections of churches, communicated in the "*Kleine Alt-deutsche*," iii. plates x—xvi. (Nuremberg, 1851). It is to be regretted that after Heideloff's death these books were not secured for some public collection. We might have then been able to ascertain the precise value of those communications which, as we know, have often been contested, and this would not have been without significance for the subject under discussion.

Lastly, we possess a fragment of such laws of construction in Mathias Roriczer's "*Büchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit*," published by A. Reichensperger, Triers, 1845. We need not here decide the question whether, as Heideloff and others with him maintain, with the help of these proportions a complete edifice might be designed on a given scale. The fact still remains that the mediæval builders constantly availed themselves of geometrical constructions, not only in planning the outlines of windows and of similar forms combined of arc and segment, but also, by means of them, were able to determine both the æsthetic and structural relations of the parts.

That to these geometrical figures, the equilateral triangle, the square, and the like, a certain symbolical meaning was given, seems also quite certain, and, indeed, very natural, when we bear in mind the deep religious sentiment by which, as above shown, the ecclesiastical master builders in particular were animated. The old saying :—

"Zirkels Kunst und Gerechtigkeit
An Gott Niemand usslait,"

"Compass' Art and Justness
Without God no man expounds,"

has reference to the feeling that the true believer and the initiated alone are

capable of understanding the mysticism involved in such plans. But even to this symbolism by far too much importance has been attributed. It had, after all, no practical bearing, and was more in the nature of a play or a puzzle, quite in accordance with the current tastes of mediæval times.

On the other hand, some definite information on the nature and the significance of those laws of proportion, if still attainable, might prove of the greatest value for a right understanding of mediæval architecture. If, as indeed seems probable, a knowledge of such laws enabled the stone-cutter to determine by simple constructions those beautiful and practically worked out relations, it became no such great artistic achievement to erect a building which satisfied the ordinary conditions of beauty and stability. This would at once sufficiently explain the phenomenon how the greater number of the so-called Gothic mediæval structures, even when erected, not by eminent artists, but merely by skilful mechanics, still produce an impression which satisfies the æsthetic feeling, while at the same time complying with all the requirements of durability in conformity with the best rules of architecture. The actual existence of these laws of proportion will, no doubt, be established by diligent research amongst the records of the masonic guilds. But the much more difficult question will still remain to be solved, how that doctrine originally took its rise. It would have been scarcely possible by mere calculations to determine the dimensions of the walls, the strength of the abutments, the form and thickness of the buttresses; for all this the aid of the mathematical science then available would not have sufficed. Hence it seems most probable that reliance was placed on the conclusions of experience, and that the doctrine in question was, in fact, the result of empiricism. By repeated trials, some of which would, of course, prove failures—for even in the Middle Ages not a few buildings gave way—it was ascertained what strength, for instance, the walls and buttresses should possess in order to present the required resistance to the thrust and pressure of arches and vaults. These empirical results seem accordingly to have been utilised in planning the general scheme of proportion. But all attempts have hitherto failed to determine where and when such a scheme was first devised. Neither can it be now ascertained whether the same method was observed in all the guilds, or whether various systems of construction were in use. According to Viollet-le-Duc, similar contrivances seem to have been in operation while the Romanesque style still flourished. But if so, they must have been entirely remodelled in order to be made applicable to the Gothic style. The doctrine of proportion as applied to this last style cannot have been the work of any one individual, but must have been gradually developed. All its main features, however, were already understood in the thirteenth century, though during the two following centuries they may have been subjected to further modification, according to

circumstances and to the tendencies of taste. Indeed, they were probably at no period slavishly conformed to. Consideration for the material and other outward relations may have often necessitated deviations; while talented artists may have added or omitted much, according to their own views and experiences.

But the ordinary master builder found in the scheme a guide and support which it was impossible for him to overrate. So long as he adhered to the well-attested model, his general design could scarcely by any chance prove a failure. Were we now in a position to ascertain how the master builders of the latter part of the Middle Ages proceeded in carrying out their plans, we might succeed in detecting many points of resemblance with the art of the master minstrels. These adopt as their poetic models the classical works of the Minnesingers, and by simply counting the syllables and attending to the purely outward forms of those masterpieces, constructed, so to say, the framework of their compositions, and on its basis concocted their lays, which, though often spiritless, were still, for the most part, technically correct. In the same way, the builders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to have turned to account the models of the previous century, and to have utilised the laws of style deducible from them. They can claim as unquestionably their own those repeated perversions only, and those sins against good taste, which are so constantly observed, more particularly in the decorations of the monuments of the fifteenth century. The endeavour to give effect to their own individuality, and the straining after new and original devices, led the builders of the period of decadence, that is, of the fifteenth, and still more of the beginning of the sixteenth century, into the strangest, and for the most part, unfortunately, also the most tasteless vagaries. What is still good in the buildings of those times is due to the observance of the inherited rules of style. The substance of the structure is planned in conformity with tradition, even when the wildest eccentricities are conspicuous in the ornamental accessories.

Till about the close of the fifteenth century there is evident a decided fondness for excessive and overladen decoration, which later on becomes all the more tasteless and jejune. The productions of the Gothic Art at that time might be compared with the rococo style of a subsequent era, and those of the sixteenth century with that which flourished when pigtales were fashionable.

The introduction of the Italian method at last emancipated architects not only from the tyranny of the guilds, but also from the oppressive shackles imposed upon them by laws of proportion, at one time so wholesome, but at last followed only under compulsion. The new school gave them the opportunity of giving full scope to their imagination in the creation of that richness of ornamentation which was fully justified by this style.

The former enthusiastic love of grand and sumptuous ecclesiastical edifices

had already begun sensibly to fall off in the second half of the fifteenth century. The works already begun were wearily continued, and, at last, altogether suspended. The building funds were, of course, seriously affected by the spread of the Reformation, donations became less frequent, the collections less productive. But, as stated, even before these events, it was evident that the new era had little heart for the aspirations of the olden times. The introduction of the Italian school now caused all interest to cease for the monuments of a great artistic generation that had passed away. Such productions began soon to be looked upon in Germany, and earlier in Italy, as works of a Gothic, that is, of an old Frankish obsolete, barbaric conception of Art. All these, combined with many other influences, caused such minsters, cathedrals, and churches to remain unfinished as had not been completed at or about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It was reserved for a later period, which had again begun to appreciate the beauty of old Germanic Art, to resume and bring to a satisfactory end at least some of the interrupted monuments of their forefathers.



MARTIN SCHONGAUER.

(Born about 1440; died 1488, at Kolmar.)

BY W. SCHMIDT.

THIS master, "the handsome Martin," *pictorum gloria*, is the most remarkable and the greatest artistic genius that appeared in Germany during the fifteenth century. Important as a painter, but still more so as a copperplate engraver, a loving and careful observer of external form—at one time fantastic, severe, and harsh, at others soft and delicate; now flying in the face of all feeling of the beautiful, and again producing the most exquisite female heads; now full of mannerism, and again characterized by the most unconscious fidelity to nature—he has exercised a most extraordinary influence on early German art, and stands before us as a genuine precursor of Albert Dürer. Indeed, it is difficult to realise a Dürer without a Schongauer, at least in such a very special line of development. His buoyant spirits doubtless taught the former how to wield the brush, but he was inspired far more by the spirit of Martin.

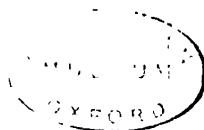
The artist's name is derived from the hamlet of Schongau, situated on the left bank of the Lech above Augsburg, but nevertheless included in upper Bavaria. The family evidently came hence to Augsburg, where we find them ranking amongst the patricians. Christian Meyer, archivist of this place, informs us that "the Schongauers were already settled in Augsburg as early as the thirteenth century, and had taken a prominent part on the side of the turbulent burgesses in their struggles with Bishop Hartmann." They bore the red crescent on a white field, as we gather from a MS. work on heraldry by Liebmacher, now in the Royal Library at Munich. We find the same coat-of-arms on Schongauer's portrait in the Munich Pinakothek, and the old slip of paper on the back of the same tells us expressly that the artist belonged to a good Augsburg family. "There is a street," says Meyer, "that still popularly bears their name, where they had their residence. From them there sprang a collateral branch in the fourteenth century, which subsequently fell into poverty, so that we find their descendant, Ulrich Schongauer, in 1428 turning his back on his native town and betaking himself to Alsace. This Ulrich was the father of Martin, who, however, was born in Augsburg, either in the 'Frauenthorthurm' or in some house in the immediate vicinity." But the memorandum above referred to makes our hero born in Kolmar itself; and the goldsmith, Caspar Schongauer, whose name appears in the registry of the burgesses of Kolmar in 1445, and who died there in 1468, is more probably the father of Martin, who may have been the grandson of Ulrich. Assuming this to be the case, Caspar had besides Martin four other sons, of whom Lewis became a painter, and Caspar, Paul, and George, goldsmiths.

We would gladly mention the date of Martin's birth were we ourselves acquainted with it; nor is it merely a question of a couple of days or months, but of some twenty or thirty years, about which the learned dispute. Not only does Martin omit to mention the actual date on the portrait already referred to, but he has written the year (if at least it is in his hand) with an *eight* which many take for a *five*. Hence the discrepancy of no less than thirty years—1453 or 1483! The copyist of this picture in Siena, as Harzen assumes, has misread the cipher, which must have been an *eight* of which the stroke remained open, for it can still less be taken for a *five*. Now allowing some forty years for his life, he must have been born in 1443. Fortunately there are some other data which in some measure support this conclusion. In the first place Schongauer as a copperplate engraver is posterior to the master E. S., who has marked several plates with the dates 1466 and 1467. But at this time Martin must have been a young man, still occupied in completing his studies, rather than a man of fifty-four or even fifty-five years, which age may be assigned to the master E. S. In the second place, the well-known connoisseur Heineken was in possession of a design by Schongauer, on which Dürer had written

“Diess hat der Hübsch Martin gerissen im 1470 jar da er ein junger gesell was. Das hab ich Albrecht Dürer erfarn, vnd Im zu ern daher geschriben im 1517 jar :” that is, “This was sketched by the ‘handsome’ Martin in 1470, while still a young man; which I, Albert Dürer, have ascertained and written down to his honour.” But a man is no longer young in his fiftieth year, and Dürer, who had met Schongauer’s brothers, might have been acquainted with the fact.

Master Caspar may have guided the hand of the young Martin as he grew up in years. Possibly Martin may have sat in the workshop and taken part at the engraving, and who can say whether some still-existing work of the jeweller’s art may not have been designed by the rising artist? Two of his teachers are known to us, Luprecht Rüst and Roger van der Weyden. The first is pictured to us by Bernard Jobin, of Strasburg, who, in the preface to his work, “*Accuratæ effigies pontificum maximorum*” (Strasburg, 1573), gives us some interesting particulars concerning German artists. He informs us that Schongauer was directed to the art of engraving about the year 1480 through his two teachers, one of whom was L. Rüst. There is certainly an error in the date, and this Rüst is otherwise unknown to posterity. The second is mentioned by the painter Lambert Lombardo in a letter to George Vasari, with the address Lüllich, April 27, 1565. Schongauer’s art—his types, his strained figures—remind us of the Brussels master; and it is at all events certain that he visited the Netherlands, and endeavoured to get an insight into the secrets of the painting, design, and composition of the Flemish artists. Hence it is that his style is mainly based on the Flemish school. Especially, as a copperplate engraver, he is a pupil of the master E. S.; but whether he studied with him before or after his visit to Flanders, or merely fashioned himself after his plates, we cannot decide, though it is probable that he was personally acquainted with both masters; for the master E. S. was in any case a South German, and, to judge from the language of the sentences on his plates, he may have lived not far from Kolmar, and perhaps even worked in Alsace itself. However this may be, on his journey to the Netherlands about 1461, the brown-haired youth probably passed through Cologne, and there obtained a sight of Master Stephens’ altarpiece for the chapel of the Town Hall, and the charming style of this artist may not have been without influence on Schongauer. In Brussels he made the acquaintance of the great master “Roger,” who, although not on a level with the brothers Van Eyck, yet at that time held the foremost position amongst the Flemish painters. We have already alluded to his great influence over Schongauer, whose female heads, in their delicate softness and grace, rather resemble Hans Memlinc,* with whom he may have worked in Van der Weyden’s

* The well-known *Hemling*, as the name is generally though wrongly written. About the correctness of the initial *M* there can be no doubt, and the last letter seems to have been a *c* rather than a *g*.—[Ed.]



study. At that time Schongauer was witness of a strongly-developed Art in Flanders, the greatest perfection in oil-painting, sharp angular forms, careful execution, sacred objects conceived altogether in the light of the everyday life of the Netherlands, without any attempt at idealization, and withal a *genre* painting already making its appearance here and there. And what fresh inspirations must his enlightened mind not have conceived in the stirring life by which he was surrounded in the brilliant Flemish towns! Here were gathered all the varied products of the Levant, of Africa, and of Europe; here echoed the sound of many a strange tongue; here were presented to his view a multitude of varied types, which he so well knew how to reproduce in such manifold forms. In his sketchbook that elephant may have even then been traced which he afterwards transferred to copper. Italy, the Promised Land of Art, Schongauer seems to have barely visited. Hence, like his teacher, Van der Weyden, he can have derived but little benefit from the grander ideas of the great Italian masters.

His supposed father, the goldsmith Caspar, died at Kolmar in the year 1469. His son also settled in that Alsatian town, which enjoyed the advantage of direct dependency on the Empire. He lived in comfortable circumstances. Three houses are mentioned as belonging to him, amongst which one in Schedel Street, which was partly his and partly his friend Peter Muntpur's. Schongauer now displayed extraordinary activity: he painted and engraved on copper. Bartsch mentions no less than 116 of his plates, nearly all of which come within the short period of eighteen years. His name acquired a European fame, and his works, as Wimpheling relates in his "*Epitome rerum Germanicarum*," seventeen years after Schongauer's death, found their way into Italy, Spain, France, England, and other countries. These were, no doubt, mostly his copperplates, which, being easily circulated, were best adapted to secure for him a widespread reputation. They were diligently studied by artists, as, amongst others, by the young Michel Angelo, who, according to Vasari, made a drawing of "*St. Anthony's Temptation*." Young men went to study under him, and although his influence was greatest in the engraver's art, still it was, to some extent, felt also in painting, at least, in South Germany. According to the statement of Sandrart, in his "*Teutscher Akademie*," "he kept up friendly relations with Pietro Perugino, and they both mutually benefited each other by the frequent interchange of their sketches." This may have well been the case, as Perugino, who was born in 1446, at Città della Pieve, was of about the same age as Martin. But when Sandrart goes on to say that "each of them appropriated the best of the other, as judges of Art may readily perceive from the works of both," this can scarcely be accepted, since between Martin's and Pietro's style there prevails an enormous difference.

Schongauer seems to have also cultivated the goldsmith's art, although he can have had but little time to devote to it. But it is certain that he executed many commissions for jewellers, and even on one occasion immortalised the thrashing of two goldsmiths' apprentices, which occurrence he may have studied from the life in his own workshop, or in that of his brothers, Caspar, Paul, and George. That he also executed works out of his own town is shown by the letter of a Strasburg monk to a nun of the Clarissa Convent, of Söflingen, near Ulm, in which he requests her to inform the abbess that he has learned from Martin at Kolmar of his intention to proceed as soon as possible to Söflingen, in order to complete his work for the convent. Unfortunately this is the only notice of the kind; as for the rest, very little has come to hand concerning Schongauer's life.

This master died on the 2nd of February, 1488, and not eleven years later, as stated by the slip on the already-mentioned picture in the Pinakothek. The researches of His have made this point clear.

So far concerning the events of his life. Some idea of his outward appearance may be gleaned from a few portraits by his own hand. At an earlier period he made a pen-and-ink sketch of himself, which is now in the University Library at Erlangen. Dr. A. von Eye, who, in his "Life and Works of Albert Dürer," gives the earliest information concerning it, informs us further that the sheet has a drawing on both sides: one of them represents the Holy Family in an open landscape, the other is the portrait. Both are sketched with the pen with astonishing sharpness and spirit, quite in the style of Schongauer's copperplates, so that we at once recognise the master as their designer. The features bear a most striking likeness to the above-mentioned portrait. The face is somewhat long, still showing the delicate traits of youth, and has a sickly, almost consumptive appearance. It is turned straight to the spectator, in the position of a person in the act of drawing himself from a mirror; one hand, long and thin, placed flat against the head, firmly pressing it as if to support it in the same position. Behind the hand there flows down on the neck his long smooth hair, which is cut short on the forehead and covered by a light cloth cap. Beneath the head, by a later hand, are the words "Martin Schön conterfait," and close by, in red chalk, "1455"—which, however, in all probability, is merely a catalogue number, as we have several other sheets similarly marked.

The portrait in the Munich Pinakothek shows us the artist at a later period. The face has become rounder, the traits are more firm, the expression is more conscious and animated. The head, in half-profile, is turned to the left, the eyes looking straight in the same direction. The clean-shaven face shows a round soft outline, the nose is somewhat curved in and blunt, the colour healthy with distinctly ruddy cheeks, the eyes and hair of a bright brown, the latter

flowing down on the neck. A broad dark-blue cloth cap covers the head, and the upper garment is of a reddish brown. A second copy of this portrait on a larger scale exists in the gallery of the Academy at Siena. On the back of the Munich one is the frequently-mentioned slip of paper which dates in any case from the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is certainly somewhat imperfect, but seems to retain all that is essential. It is subscribed by Hans Burgkmair, the well-known Augsburg painter, who here declares himself to be one of Martin's pupils. In his "*Teutscher Akademie*" Sandrart presents us with another portrait, very different from this assumed one—a very aged man, with a large bald head, full beard, and hooked nose, which gives him a Jewish cast of countenance. This copperplate likeness has of course nothing in common with the appearance of Schongauer, nor is it at all in the manner of the fifteenth century.

Schongauer bears the epithet of "*Schön*" or "*Hübsch*," both conveying the same meaning of beautiful or handsome. Wimpfeling, already so early as 1505, gives him the first of these sobriquets, while the slip of paper describes him as the "*Hübsch Martin*," and he seems to have been so called rather in reference to his art than to his personal appearance. He is also known to Dürer by the same title. The Italians named him *Il Bel Martino*, and the French, *Le Beau Martin*. But the name has been at times fearfully mangled, as, for instance, by the Abbé Marolles, who calls him "*Ipsem Martin le Tudesque*," while Father Orlandi even confounds him with Marinus the Zealander (*Zeeuw*) van Reimerswalen, describing him as *Martinus de Secu*, known as *Romessiolaen*. We pass now to the description of this master's peculiar style. In the sixtieth year of the fifteenth century, the predominance of the Flemish school of painting was still undisputed even in South Germany, where we find masters such as Herlin and Wohlgemut in the full vigour of their powers. Hence the merit of having transplanted Flemish Art to Upper Germany cannot be awarded to Schongauer; and even in Kolmar, Caspar Isenmann, who died in 1466, was already working under the influence of the school of the Van Eycks, it need scarcely be said without having borrowed it from Schongauer. In a contract which Isenmann entered into in the year 1462 to supply an altarpiece for the Church of St. Martin, it is stipulated that it is to be executed in the best oil colours; and the seven side altarpieces in the Kolmar Museum, bearing the date 1465, and justly identified with this work, give abundant evidence of the influence of the Van Eycks. But, as is the case with the German painters generally, Schongauer also is inferior to the Flemish artists in respect of high finish; and the old Lambert Lombardo was right when he states, in his letter to Vasari, that Schongauer did not equal his master Van der Weyden in colouring. It was altogether a borrowed art, and the full, firm, traditional Flemish style fell off when transferred to foreign soil. Martin's treatment does not reproduce its full and exquisite finish; his modelling is

more feeble, his colouring less massive, and his drapery, although fashioned after the angular Flemish method, in consequence of a certain expansion and rounding off of the corners, is still more creased and disagreeable. Yet Dürer's admirable arrangement of the folds was inspired by him, and, in spite of everything, Schongauer was decidedly the foremost German painter of his day, leaving Herlin of Nördlingen and Wohlgemut of Nuremberg far behind him. Herlin is in general little more than an insipid copier of Van der Weyden, and Wohlgemut a rough clumsy Kupman. No wonder that the rising young artists of Upper Germany sought after Schongauer and copied his works. For the rest, our master can scarcely have painted much, his engraving leaving him little time for painting; and it may be taken for granted, that as his numerous orders came in he often handed over the greater part of them to his workmen. He designed and rough cast, leaving the execution to them. Here and there he also painted a head or two, or whatever else he happened to fancy, and with good pay his energies were stimulated.

Wimphelin describes Schongauer's paintings in the churches of St. Martin and St. Francis; but of these the French Revolution swallowed up whatever had escaped the Reformation, and possibly also the restoring, or rather destroying, hand of the whitewashing period which has made such havoc with Art in Germany, as elsewhere. Amongst others, a number of objects at Münster, near Kolmar, including some paintings of our master from the convent-church, were trampled under foot and burnt in the open market-place in the year 1796! In the same way have perished the "Crucifixion" of St. Martin's Church, and the painting in the sacristy, the "Holy Trinity," mentioned by Heineken so late as the year 1786. St. Martin's still possesses by Schongauer one painting only, the "Madonna of the Rose Hedge," universally recognised as his, however differing in its style from his other productions (page 80). When seen by Heineken, it was so blackened by the smoke of the wax lights that its manner could scarcely be recognised, and in 1830 it was cleaned with spirits by a certain Stadler, from Munich; hence it may well be supposed that its present state of preservation leaves much to be desired.

The old German Art, in its idyllic tendencies and feeling for nature, is fond of material and outward form. Very famous is the little painting by the Master Stephen at Cologne, "Mary a tender Flower amongst the Flowers," whose sweetness charms the heart of the spectator. Schongauer represents the Mother of God somewhat larger than life-size, seated on a grass bank, and holding the infant Jesus, who is clinging to her neck. Her long hair falls in luxuriant fulness over her shoulders, and she looks down on the spectator with a mingled expression of grace and meekness. At her feet spring up wild flowers and the bloom of the strawberry, whilst she is screened in the background from the outer world by a thick rose hedge, in which little birds are

and Joseph. To the left of this, and in the background, appears a mountain landscape, with streamlet and flock of sheep; in the foreground, more strawberries and other flowers, very carefully painted in the Flemish manner—the whole treatment clearly betraying the immediate reflex of Schongauer's Flemish studies. How modest and maidenly Mary is here represented, and with what a timid veneration she gazes on the child! A thousand pities that the little picture, on its transfer from the Schleissheim Gallery to the Pina-kothek, has quite recently undergone "restoration," whereby the face of the Madonna, and especially her red dress, were injured by a tasteless coating of paint.

No less beautiful is the little "Madonna with the Grapes," which was acquired in 1866 by the Belvedere at Vienna from the Böhme Collection. The Virgin, seated on a wooden bench, holds in her left hand a bunch of grapes, from which she is picking one with her right hand for the little Jesus, who is standing on her lap and embracing her neck with his arms. In the background appears the holy Joseph bringing some straw, and gazing with sympathy on the group, of which ox and ass also form a part. In the niche to the right of Mary are some house utensils, and at her feet a basket of grapes. The whole is a splendid idyl, so genuinely peaceful and homely that one seems to see in thought the Alsatian land of wine in the background. The colour is very harmonious, and the head of the foster-father especially is magnificently drawn.

A little "Madonna with Child," seated in the midst of a landscape, now in the Kensington Museum, is considered by Waagen as a genuine Schongauer, as is also the "Death of the Virgin" in the London National Gallery.

Of his great altarpieces, two are still in the Kolmar Museum (page 82). One of them shows the Annunciation of Mary in two compartments on the outside; on the inside, Mary herself worshipping the Infant, who lies in the folds of her dress at her knees, God the Father above; and in the next compartment St. Anthony, with the donor—all life-size. Especially magnificent is the delicately-conceived figure of Mary kneeling before the Child, and breathing a holy humility and devotion; St. Anthony, on the other hand, is stamped with a statuesque dignity, with noble traits, and the drapery, although broken in its flow, is admirably arranged. The whole is treated very broadly, and in its bold outlines the drawing is unusually striking.

These volets belong to the Isenheim Convent, but the next, with its sixteen compartments, in the same museum, comes from the Dominican Church at Kolmar. They all bear the unmistakable traces of rapid execution, and have no doubt been mainly carried out by the workman's hand; still, they are undoubtedly from the studio of Schongauer, whose influence on them is manifest, as several features of the pictures are again met with in the series illustrating

the Passion. The master designed, traced, and here and there perhaps filled



Altar Wing in the Kolmar Museum.

in; and Waagen considered the "Descent from the Cross" and the "Burial"

as altogether worked out by him. The outside of the compartments, unfortunately in a badly-preserved state, contains representations from the legends of the Virgin; the other paintings represent the Passion.

But if we can identify but few of Schongauer's paintings, the case is very different with his copperplates. Bartsch, as already stated, has described no less than one hundred and sixteen of them—certainly no inconsiderable number for such a brief term of existence. By them alone is it possible to understand the full importance of Martin—and, in fact, on them his reputation mainly reposes. They were disseminated far and wide, and through them he became known to the artistic world. Engravers made them the object of their studies, and painters poor in invention utilised them as models for their paintings. And here also his resemblance to Albert Dürer is very striking. Had Schongauer been nothing but a painter he would never have acquired much more than a local celebrity, though still in its way important and lasting. It was through his engravings that he obtained a far-reaching significance: he it was who chiefly prepared the way for the most renowned and most influential of German masters, through whom Schongauer stands at the head of the engraver's art. And when we consider the attempts in this direction before his time, his importance becomes greatly enhanced; we cannot but admire a genius that attained to such perfection with such humble beginnings. In his special province he possesses a ray of that inventive genius by which the Van Eycks revolutionized the world of Art.

This master is certainly not the inventor of copperplate engraving, as was at one time partly supposed, and as the famous Florentine goldsmith and autobiographer, Benvenuto Cellini, suggested. It is beyond all doubt that centuries before Schongauer handled the graver, copperplate had been discovered—that is, of course, in our special sense of the term, namely, the art of tracing with the graver on metal plates for the purpose of taking impressions from them on paper; ordinary metal chiselling is of course a prehistoric art.

The beginning of the strictly technical art of striking off impressions is involved in great obscurity, which it is scarcely to be expected will now ever be cleared up; yet so much is certain, that neither can the Florentine goldsmith and enamelist, Maso Finiguerra, be looked upon as its discoverer. Vasari pays him this honour in the second edition of his "*Lives of the Painters*," published in 1568, whilst in the first edition he is still totally ignorant of this circumstance. Benvenuto, who began to apply himself to the goldsmith's art so early as 1515, is silent on the point. Yet he of all others must have been acquainted with it, had the important discovery been made by a fellow-townsmen and fellow-workman; for, as he tells us, he received his information concerning the old enamelists, and especially Finiguerra, from the aged masters then living. In truth, this art was a German invention, and, as far as can now

be surmised, the probability is in favour of the south-west rather than of the lower Rhine or the Netherlands. That it grew out of the goldsmiths' art there can be no doubt; and we must not forget that Schongauer himself belonged to a family of jewellers. Even long afterwards copper plates were continued to be supplied by the goldsmith, but he was soon deprived of this employment by the painters. Amongst the more distinguished predecessors of our master was the



"The Annunciation." (From the Copperplate.)

artist concealed under the monogram E. S., whose plates date in part at least fully a decade before the year 1466. It is a very natural thought to suppose that Schongauer may have served his apprenticeship in the workshop of that excellent engraver. But though this may not have actually been the case, Martin at all events fashioned himself after him. But what an immense stride both in mechanical and mental respects! Schongauer marked his lines

more firmly, cast them in more varied forms, and gave them greater compass. Nor is his superiority over his predecessors less marked in drawing, composition, and expression.

None of his subjects are chosen from the Old Testament, the myths of the heathen world, or from history, most of his productions being devoted to the illustration of Christian mythology. This he conceived quite in the same spirit as the Van Eyck school. His saints are chosen from amongst the human beings of his time and surroundings, whilst his religious narratives are drawn from the life and manners of his day. A certain idealization has been unreasonably attributed to him. He well understands how to select fair forms for his female types, but this is no elevation of the human figure in the sense of classic art. He is doubtless at his best in the idyllic; for animated scenes he was too deficient in free play of fancy. He also displays little skill in the composition, but the expression and variety of features are all the more wonderful. His human figures show a meagre, strained treatment. Very remarkable is the display of the joints, particularly in the hands; which, however, are usually very delicately traced. His drapery is full of mannerism, the folds, which fall straight down, and are rounded in at their edges, giving it a stiff stony character. It also often sadly mars the proper expression of the individual, although it must be allowed that there is frequently something grandiose in its general outline. This, for instance, is especially the case with the magnificent plate "God the Father and Mary" seated on a throne of stone. How submissive is here the countenance of the Virgin (Bartsch, 71). This plate is otherwise a masterpiece of engraving. Amongst the finest may also be reckoned "The Annunciation" (Bartsch, 3). Here the composition is quite peculiar, although the way in which the angel kneeling behind Mary announces to her the gladsome tidings can scarcely be described as altogether skilful. But the small face of the Virgin is amongst the most charming that are anywhere to be found in this art. A pure youthful innocence and modesty is forcibly stamped upon it (page 84). A most admirable plate is No. 25, "Christ on the Cross," reproduced in our woodcut (page 86). No less excellent is the "Adoration of the Three Wise Men" (Bartsch, 6). This plate affords us, moreover, an example of the way in which Schongauer endeavours to reproduce the material of the dress. Thus we recognise the velvet robe of the kneeling king by its shading. Velvet and fur are also, as a matter of course, the material of the mantle of St. Martin (Bartsch, 57), which he divides with his sword to share it with a beggar.

The characteristic heads of the Apostle series are more interesting than those of the wise and foolish virgins. The impression produced upon us by the plates of the Passion is very varied. At the first glance they are certainly somewhat repulsive. The drastic, unpleasant faces, the awkward action, the angular drapery, create at first a disagreeable effect. Our eye has been

accustomed to the perfection of form of the classic and Italian types. But when we have once succeeded in shaking off that feeling we are soon constrained to admire. Strength of expression and painstaking observation of nature



"The Crucifixion." (From the Copperplate.)

go hand in hand. The nude is certainly badly drawn, but all the more excellent are the heads. These are rarely grotesque, notwithstanding their repulsiveness, where the intention of the artist is unmistakable, rendering the Redeemer all the more glorious by force of contrast. These defiant, bold traits to which our

modern refinement is still a stranger, were met with by Schongauer in his daily experience, and he has reflected them with wonderful subtilty. Thus, in the



"Temptation of St. Anthony." (From the Copperplate.)

"Flagellation," what a rough sense of gratification is stamped on the faces of the two officials, one of whom is binding Christ and the other preparing the crown of thorns! And how vividly is depicted the exertion on the

countenances of the scourgers ! To the history of the Passion also belongs the large plate (Bartsch, 21), "Christ on the way to Golgotha," already even then remarkable on account of its unusual proportions. Interesting, also, though far less satisfactory, is the "Battle of the Moors" (Bartsch, 53). Here the want of free control over the personal form is very keenly felt, and there has been far too much vigour displayed in mangling the bodies. Here a head is wanting, there a leg, and the wounds gape frightfully.

From the plates here mentioned we readily understand how this master forms an era in the art. And what an influence must the famous plate have had representing St. Anthony held up in the air and tormented by nine devils (page 87) ! In the wonderfully fantastic forms of the tempters, Schongauer has, beyond a doubt, supplied the model for Jerome Bosch in his dreadful visions of the lower regions, and the extravagances of his imagination may confidently be said to rival those of the Hollander.

Our artist, however, has not restricted himself exclusively to the legends of the saints. He has also left us some genre paintings—animals, amongst which an elephant, designs for the goldsmith and for heraldry, nearly all of the latter most admirably executed. His observation of animal life is certainly more striking in the domestic animals, especially dogs, that here and there occur on his plates, than in this elephant, which, owing to his little familiarity with such creatures, is, if not altogether unnatural, at all events strained and formal. On the plate (Bartsch, 14), "Pilate washing his hands," are two dogs playing together. In the one the excitement is depicted to the very tips of the ears, whilst the little "Affenpinscher," with his round face and curly hair, is seated in the most comical attitude of gravity. Amongst the designs supplied to working artists very famous is the thurible or censer (Bartsch, 107), in which the motion of the hanging chains has been most ably handled.

The landscape element plays no prominent part with Schongauer. According to the taste of the times, he is fond of representing rocky views and the like, which produce a very wonderful effect. This is partly due to the perspective, the laws of which, not being yet fully understood, are very imperfectly treated. On all the plates of this master described by Bartsch, with the exception of "St. George rescuing the Princess from the Dragon," occurs the mark **M&S.**—which, however, has been also fraudulently attached to many not by his hand.

ALBERT DURER.

(Born 1471 in Nuremberg, died there in 1528.)

By W. SCHMIDT.



Madonna of 1516. From a pen-and-ink sketch in the Suermondt Collection, Berlin Museum.

DURER came of a Hungarian stock, which in early times, as he tells us himself in his family chronicle, had supported themselves "on oxen and horses," that is to say, were grazers and tillers of the soil. His grandfather, Anthony Dürer, who had learned the goldsmith's craft, had a son Albert, born to him in Eytas, a hamlet near the town of Gyula, in Hungary, and who adopted his father's calling. This induced him to leave the dull regions of his native home, to visit other men and other lands, and fashion his hand and his taste by their higher culture. Thus he made his way through Germany and the Netherlands, tarrying here and there with the great artists of his own profession.

During the course of these wanderings he reached Nuremberg, on March 11th, 1455, at the very moment when the rich patrician, Philip Pirkheimer, father of the famous "humanist," was keeping his wedding feast, with merry-making in the open air and dancing beneath the great linden-trees.

Here he worked for twelve long years with the goldsmith, Jerome Holper or Holber, and in 1467, that is, when already forty years old, he was rewarded with the hand of his teacher's daughter, then but fifteen years of age, and with the freedom of the city of Nuremberg. Of this union there were born no less than eighteen children, most of whom, however, died in their childhood.

Albert, who was destined to become the pride of his country, was the third, and saw the light on May 21st, 1471. On account of his father's Hungarian descent, Magyar writers have considered themselves entitled to claim the great artist as one of their own race, which would make him not an Aryan, but a member of the Finno-Lappic, or Tchudic branch of the Finno-Tatar family. But they forget that the name itself is directly opposed to this theory, the ending

er bearing an unmistakable German stamp. It is moreover highly probable that the Dürers were descended from some of those German peasantry, who during one of their frequent migrations thither, had found a new home in Hungary. But even were this not so, Dürer himself was nourished at the breast of German Art, and is emphatically a child of the Nuremberg connection. What he would have become in Hungary may easily be imagined. Besides, the elder Dürer must have acquired a considerable position in his new home, as the famous printer, Anthony Koberger, stood godfather to his son, and in 1490 he was appointed captain of the watch in the street where he resided.

But though by hard work he had earned an honourable standing in the place, yet he never succeeded in rendering it an easy or a comfortable one. This was of course partly occasioned by the large number of his offspring, who, though so many died young, must have still been a constant and heavy charge upon him. In the family chronicle, composed by his son, we are told that he passed his life in much toil, and heavy, ceaseless work, enjoying no income beyond what he was able to earn with his own hands for himself, his wife and children, on which account he remained very poor to the end. From the same source we learn that he did not escape from many other troubles, trials, and crosses, yet was ever highly esteemed by all his acquaintance, for he lived a Christian life and was ever resigned, gentle, peace-loving, and thankful to the Almighty. In this description, in spite of all its simplicity, the character of Albert's father is clearly portrayed. He comes before us as an earnest, upright man, little caring for the pleasures of this world. He appears in the same light in his portrait, painted by Albert in 1497, that is to say in his sixtieth year—a simple, thoughtful, sterling old citizen, no genius, but with a decided character. He stands before us in simple garb, the under garment of a dark, the upper of a yellow brown colour, with wrinkled features, bony hands, lean figure, in his circumstances having doubtless had little time for growing corpulent. It is much to be regretted that there are no known specimens extant of his handiwork in the goldsmith's craft, more particularly on account of Albert himself, who studied under his father, and whose peculiarities, at least to some extent, may perhaps have had their source in the works of the latter. Nor may these works themselves have lacked a certain artistic worth, at least if the elder Dürer had ever visited the Netherlands, that famous land of promise of German artists. He could scarcely have returned from such a visit a mere bungler, more especially as his features, though breathing no very lofty inspiration, by no means convey an expression of restricted mental powers. His son himself calls him an "artful" man, or, as we should now say, a man of artistic taste.

The talents of the young Albert did not escape his father, who, as the son tells us, always loved him best on account of his assiduous application to his work. He was therefore put to school in order to learn reading and writing,

which were in those days by no means a general accomplishment. It need scarcely be remarked that even during his school life young Albert was kept at his drawing, a proof of which we possess in the sketch in the Imhof collection



Dürer's Portrait, by himself. (Munich Pinakothek.)

representing three heads said to have been executed by him in his eleventh year. The same is evident from his portrait by himself in his thirteenth year, for a person who could already draw so cleverly must have been engaged for

some years at the study. This precious sheet has passed from the Imhof collection to the Albertina in Vienna, where are preserved the very finest sketches and drawings of our master. On it Albert wrote with his own hand:—"I drew this from a mirror reflecting myself, in the year 1484, whilst I was still a child." The design gives rather more than the bust; the right hand is outstretched, the long hair flows down his shoulders, and the head is covered with a cloth cap. It is a pretty, fresh, boyish face, to which the fine curved nose at the same time imparts a somewhat more significant air. We see how the little artist is still feeling his way with narrow, but slightly curved strokes, and especially how he has misplaced the eyes; besides, the hand is very ugly, for which the hands common to contemporary pictorial art may have been answerable. At the same time it is not a little remarkable that in spite of this imperfect treatment, which also affects the drapery, a certain genial spirit makes itself felt, much more so than was often afterwards the case.

In the same or at least within the two following years, was produced the chalk drawing on white paper in the engravings department of the British Museum. It represents a female figure with a bird on the left hand, and with the words: "This is also (?) old Albert Dürer made me before he was a painter in Wolgemuth's house in the upper story in the back room (?) in presence (?) of Cunrat Lomazens Piligen."

While still in his thirteenth year he was apprenticed to his father, in order to learn the goldsmith's art. But he soon felt drawn more towards painting, and on his disclosing this, his father had sufficient foresight to yield to his wishes, although looking upon the time spent at the goldsmith's craft as now quite lost. On November 30th, 1486, he was therefore placed under Michael Wolgemut, with whom he was to devote three years in acquiring the noble art of painting. It is evident from this that the elder Dürer was a reasonable man, for how many in like circumstances would have acted differently? Nor is there any occasion to quarrel with him for reasonably regretting the time spent by Albert at his own profession, though it is perfectly true that this apprenticeship was in reality of the greatest possible service to him. The goldsmith of those days was himself no mean artist; he required to draw sharply and neatly, to design models, to engrave, gild, enamel, inlay, use his compass, his graver, and the like. The severe draughtsmanship and the careful execution of Dürer's paintings must doubtless be to a large extent attributed to those preparatory studies, and the artist thereby acquired that skill in the use of the graver which laid the foundation of his subsequent skill at copperplate engraving. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether under different circumstances he would have at all applied himself to this branch of Art. It is not impossible that to this first period should be referred the engraving of "The Conversion of Paul," the great "Courier" and the "Violent Old Man," which

still betray the touch of the novice. Unfortunately, nothing is known of any works of Art in the precious metals executed by Dürer, with the greater or the less aid and guidance of his father. Tradition alone speaks of the seven scenes from the Passion at that time wrought in silver by him.

The master Wolgemut was in all probability the most distinguished painter of his day in the imperial city of Nuremberg. At the time of his birth (1434) the older German school, with its lime-water colours, its weak expression and feeble treatment of the draperies, was still flourishing here ; but little progress had been made in the more careful study of nature. Paintings from the neighbouring town of Bamberg bearing the dates of 1423 and 1443 leave no doubt on this point. Then at last was proclaimed the new gospel of the Van Eycks. Works of the most perfect execution, closely true to nature and carried out in glowing and varied oil colours, were revealed to the astounded eyes of the observer.

Wolgemut's artistic tendencies render it pretty certain that he drew from the fountain-head itself. He probably visited Cologne, the Lower Rhine, and Flanders, there imbibing the spirit of the new realism. In his features and draperies is especially to be seen the influence of Roger van der Weyden. But what the latter carried out with perfect finish remained raw and awkward in the hands of the Nuremberger. His modelling is ruder and more superficial, his colouring more crude, his expression less deep and varied. We have but little relish for this worthy master's style, although it cannot be denied that many of his heads are very expressive, and many of his paintings not lacking in delicate finish ; but even here far from reaching the high standard of the Flemish artists. In a word, Wolgemut was a mechanical artist, without any deep artistic feeling ; a worthy German citizen, untrammelled by any far-reaching views or high inspirations.

In his workshop everything was carried out in a strictly mechanical spirit. Orders were executed by the dozen ; his more advanced pupils worked jointly with him even on his own paintings, on which account they seemed mostly so crude and unfinished. Some few of these men struck out quite peculiar lines for themselves.

The rough life led in such a workshop, no doubt in the spirit of the times, is revealed by Dürer's remark that he had much to endure at the hands of his comrades. They doubtless treated the other pupils also badly enough ; but Dürer's quick and peculiarly developed artistic skill may have largely contributed to stir up their hatred and envy. It was deplorable that such a genius should have had to undergo such trials and experiences. What might he not have become had he been able to draw his earliest inspirations from the genially developed Italian Renaissance school, with all its grand forms and conceptions animated by the spirit of the antique ?

Wolgemut's teaching was rather hurtful than otherwise to Dürer, who was

doomed for the rest of his days to drag after him the shackles of this wooden art. All the more, however, must we admire a genius that under the pressure of such training was yet enabled to reach such a high pitch of excellence.

His teacher's features have been preserved in several ways, as, amongst others, in a medal attributed to Dürer, of which copies have frequently been made, and again in a drawing also by Dürer in black chalk on white paper, shaded with white tints (in the Albertina collection), a preparatory study for the famous picture in the Munich Pinakothek (1516), which is amongst the characteristic works of our master. From these repeated representations of his teacher we may conclude that though Dürer had a right to complain of his instructions, he was otherwise treated well by Wolgemut, and remained on a good understanding with him. The portrait of 1516 shows us Wolgemut as a venerable old man, eighty-two years of age, with thin and wrinkled features.

After his three years' apprenticeship with this master, it seems that Dürer was to have entered the studio of Martin Schongauer, whose fame as a painter and engraver at that time filled all the land. But this was prevented by Schongauer's death in 1488. Thus, at least, we understand a statement of Dr. Chr. Scheuerl in his "*Vita D. Antonii Kressi*" (1515). For though this writer mentions 1486 as the time when Dürer was to be placed under Schongauer, this arrangement could not have been prevented by the death of the latter, as Scheuerl expressly states, for Schongauer did not die for two years thereafter.

After completing his studies under Wolgemut, his father started him on his travels. Before setting out he executed the excellent portrait of his father (1490), now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence. He departed after the Easter of that year, and did not return till after the Whitsuntide of 1491, at the old man's request.

Here we stumble upon a serious gap in the history of our master. Whither did he wander forth? With what masters, in what towns, did he work? We are only enabled to conclude with some certainty from Scheuerl's statement that he came to Holmar and Basle in 1492, and that he met with an honourable welcome and friendly entertainment in the first town from Schongauer's three brothers, the painter Ludwig, and the goldsmiths Paul and Caspar; in the second from his fourth brother, the goldsmith George. And even if there were no positive statement on the point, we might well imagine his regret at not finding the "handsome Martin" alive, whose pictorial repute, however, would have still no doubt attracted him to Kolmar. To no man in all Europe could he have felt himself in the same way related as to him.

He must have also spent some time in Strasburg, as shown by the portraits of his master and his master's wife there, that of the latter in 1494, at least if Willibald Imhof's inventory can be relied upon. But during this first tour Albert did not visit the Low Countries; at least no trace has been hitherto detected of any direct Flemish influence, which could have otherwise scarcely

failed to have made itself felt on the young artist. Yet such influence would have been of great importance to him. The peculiar pictorial skill of the Flemish painters would have given him that firmness, especially in the treatment of colour, which unfortunately is so wanting in him. The circumstance also that in the diary of his visit to the Low Countries he nowhere alludes to an earlier residence there points directly against such a supposition.

On the other hand the most recent authorities are generally in favour of a visit to Venice and Upper Italy, which must have taken place about this time. At least the passage in the letter addressed by Dürer from Venice to W. Pirkheimer on February 7th, 1506—"And the 'thing' that so greatly pleased me eleven years ago pleases me now no more; had I not myself seen it, I could have scarcely credited it from another"—hardly bears any other interpretation except that the works of Art (in his language the "things") which he had formerly seen and admired there, were now no longer approved of by him, in the light of the great progress meantime made by painting, as well as of his own more enlightened views. It is especially to be remarked that he introduces this passage in the midst of sundry observations on Venetian painting. Hence the "thing" must refer to works of Art, and not to some former mistress now grown old, as a French writer has supposed. On the other hand that letter, as already stated, was written by him in 1506, reckoning from which time eleven years backwards we should come to 1495, when he was certainly home again, though it might seem pedantic here to insist too nicely upon precise dates.

He may have accordingly made his way direct from Strasburg to Lombardy, where he was, however, soon overtaken by his father's summons to return home. His residence in Italy cannot in any case have been a lengthy one, else more marked traces of it would be visible in his works; more especially when we remember that he was at that time still a young man, and therefore more susceptible of fresh impressions than in the year 1506. He seems to have chiefly seen the works of Andrea Mantegna, and it is worthy of remark that in 1494 he designed two copperplates after the Mantuan painter, the "Bacchanalian" (Bartsch, No. 17), and the "Battle of the Tritons" (Bartsch, No. 20). These engravings are now in the Albertina collection. It is also probable that he at this time met the "lovable painter," Giacomo of Venice, who showed him the proportions of the human figure, male and female, as worked out by himself. Dürer had never heard of anything of the kind before, and they accordingly produced a great impression upon him. This was his first stimulus to enter upon those long and protracted studies on the laws of proportion, which, however, produced but little fruit. For the rest Master Giacomo dealt largely in mystery, and was not at all inclined to make the matter quite clear to the stranger ("Seinen Grunt nit Klerlich antzeigen"). It is also very noteworthy that when seeking admission to the Nuremberg painters' guild,

Dürer drew a subject chosen from ancient mythology, "Orpheus ill-treated by



"The Four Apocalyptic Riders"—Rev. vi. (After the Woodcut.)

the Bacchantes." It is evident that this also points at a previous visit to Italy, where he might have met with such materials.

But few works of certain date are mentioned in connection with these travels. A portrait of himself is spoken of, painted in 1492, with an old cap ("eine alte kappen") on its head, and which was in the possession of Willibald Imhof. Another likeness of himself, dated 1493, was seen by Göthe, in the year 1805, in the hands of the celebrated Sonderling at Helmstädt. He gives a warm description of it in the "*Annalen oder Tages- und Jahreshften.*"

And so immediately after the Whitsuntide of 1494 Dürer, now in his three-and-twentieth year, obeyed his father's commands to return home. Steps were now also taken to provide him with a partner for life. The Nuremberg burgess, Hans Frey, came to an understanding with his father in the matter, and so our hero was united to Frey's daughter, Agnes, on July 7th, 1494. She brought him a dowry of two hundred gulden. He at the same time got elected a member of the Honourable Guild of Painters in Nuremberg, by means of the already-mentioned drawing of "*Orpheus ill-treated by the Bacchantes.*"

During the next few years the principal event in his career was his father's death on September 20th, 1502. This induced him to adopt his brother Hans, now twelve years old, whilst Andrew, who had reached his eighteenth year, was sent abroad to learn the goldsmith's craft. Two years thereafter his mother also entered Albert's household, for she had now no further means of her own, as he expresses it, hence it was impossible to keep up two separate establishments. In 1503 he fell ill, but remained in Nuremberg till the end of 1505, when he undertook his journey to Venice. And this, apart of course from the years passed at his apprenticeship and in travelling, brings to a close the first period of his artistic career, which may here be passed in review.

There are first of all to be mentioned his portraits by himself. One of these, dated 1497, a water-colour on linen, and formerly in the Imhof collection, was already described as in a decayed state in 1633, and like nearly all other works of the kind has probably since ceased to exist. On the other hand the portrait of 1498 has been preserved and is now in the Madrid Museum, that at Florence being only a copy of it. In this Dürer shows us himself, half-length, wearing a fantastic black-and-white striped cap, beneath which his hair flows down on his shoulders. Here we may well perceive how noble his features must have been, and we learn from Camerarius that his figure also was very fine. The famous portrait in the Munich Pinakothek is two years more recent. It is a bust, in which Dürer looks straight at the observer, his chestnut hair falling in long locks over his fur-trimmed robe. The artist had evidently in his mind those conventional portraits of the Saviour gazing directly at the spectator; hence the conception is very unfavourable, or, to speak plainly, decidedly tasteless. By another disposition the features might have been artistically toned down, whereas they now stand out with an unpleasantly stiff, staring effect. The over-painstaking execution also contributes not a little

in producing this impression; the hair has an unnaturally wiry look, the flesh tints are disagreeably metallic, and the hand particularly unsightly.

At this time our artist enjoyed a high repute especially as a portrait-painter. The likeness of his father of 1497 has already been mentioned, and to the same year belong two portraits of Catherine Fürleger, a young lady of a distinguished Nuremberg family. But though she then passed for a great beauty, this could scarcely be concluded from the portraits by Dürer, who had otherwise but little sense of feminine types of beauty. But the first of these alone is an undoubted original. It belongs to Baron von Speck-Sternburg, of Lützschena, near Leipzig, and shows her with her hair bound up and a rose in her hand. In the other, now in the Stadel Institute at Frankfurt, she appears with her hair falling in long flowing locks down her shoulders.

Two years later on he painted the likeness of Oswald Krell, now in the Munich Pinakothek. It is drawn with much spirit, and, in spite of the unseemly and unnatural landscape and the tasteless arrangement of the dress, decidedly superior to the disagreeable head of an unknown young man, dated 1500, in the same gallery. In 1503 he painted the Imperial private secretary, Sixtus Oelhafen, a copy of which portrait was to be seen in the Derschau collection at Nuremberg. On the other hand a male portrait of the year 1505, now in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, and representing the artist's friend, W. Pirkheimer, is according to Waagen an excellent original.

Of the religious works belonging to this first period, we should have to mention before all others the "Madonna praying" (1497) in the Augsburg Gallery, were it genuine. A copy also is the "Weeping for Christ," bearing the date of 1500, and now in the Pinakothek. On the other hand, the little "Christ on the Cross," (1500) in the Dresden Museum, is both genuine and a masterpiece. Most admirable are the intensity of expression and the delicate execution, rendering this work one of the most precious treasures of that collection, abounding as it does in priceless gems of Art. The Madonna of 1503 in the Belvedere at Vienna seems, on the other hand, altogether wanting in taste, the heads both of the Mother and Child she is soothing being quite pinched and unsightly. To this early period also Waagen refers the "Birth of Christ," with the donors, Stephen and Luke Baumgärtner, now in the Pinakothek. The composition and the figures of the centrepiece are ugly, but the features of the donors on the contrary full of character. Lastly, to the year 1504 belongs the "Adoration of the Three Wise Men," in the Tribuna at Florence, a work which is also utterly opposed to the true principles of beauty.

We now pass on to his copperplates: It cannot be stated with any certainty when he first applied himself to the engraver's art. The first work of this sort with a date, the so-called "Four Witches," belongs to the year 1497. But it already betrays such mastery in the use of the graver, that it must have neces-

sarily been preceded by other works of the kind. The least perfect of these seem to be the already mentioned "Conversion of Paul," the "Violent Old Man," and the great "Courier," the treatment of all being still very unskilful and tentative. As they at the same time bear no signature, nor are otherwise authenticated, there is ample scope left to the fancy of every one in attributing them or not to Dürer. Possibly they may, as already remarked, belong to the time of his pupilage with his father.

We begin to stand on more firm ground when we come to the engravings Nos. 3-20 in *Rettberg*, which were mainly produced between 1494 and 1497. "The Holy Family with the Locust" seems to have been the first executed, and this was followed by "The Love Scene," one of those themes often treated in the art of those days, showing how an old man wins the affections of a young woman by the power of gold, and of course conceived in the realistic spirit of the times. Dürer during this period was especially fond of such subjects in the *genre* style, as shown for instance by the "Soldiers," the "Walk," the "Cook and his Wife," the "Three Peasants," and the like. He at the same time consulted the tastes of the vulgar by his "Turkish Family" and "The Monstrous Progeny of a Swine," engravings which doubtless found a ready sale at fairs and markets. But he also produced the expressive engraving of "The Prodigal Son and the Swine," besides other religious subjects, as well as an allegory after the antique, "Fortune," typified as an ugly woman standing on a ball and leaning on a reed.



"Fortune." (From the Copperplate.)

His command over the graver was now rapidly developed. How delicately are "The Two Sebastians" and "The Young Woman and Page" engraved? But in the four naked women of 1497 he has acquired such an exquisite touch, that he already stands forth as the first copperplate engraver of the day. This work moreover presents a difficult problem to the shrewd observer. Four naked women, at whose feet human limbs, in a sort of bath-room, the devil keeping watch on the left! They are generally taken for witches, and it is possible they may be witches, but they are not clearly defined as such. One interpreter calls them night owls, but in the mind of Dürer they are meant to be anything

but ugly. Possibly he wished for once to depict undraped women in various attitudes; but to allay the scruples of the godly he introduced the symbol of death and of the devil, in the spirit of—

“ those panels
Of doors and altar-pieces the old monks
Painted in convents with the Virgin Mary
On the outside and in the inside Venus!”

The whole composition thus assumed a certain moral tone, as in the Dance of

Death, a tone which at all events was quite in keeping with the time of the spread of the terrible syphilitic disease.

But amongst the very finest engravings of this period are the charming idyl of “The Holy Family with the Ape,” in a landscape, and the delightful “Holy Family” of 1504. With what love the surroundings are here carried out, and how exquisite are the miniature little figures! Especially noteworthy also are the nude figures of Adam and Eve, his own high opinion of which is betrayed in the inscription containing his name in full: “Albertus Dürer Noricus, faciebat 1504.” And in truth, although the figures are not beautiful, the engraving itself is almost unique. Interesting also are two mythological subjects: “The Family of the Satyrs” (1505) and “Apollo



“Two Peasants dancing.” (From the Copperplate.)

and Diana,” which appear to have been produced about the same time. It is not impossible that Dürer, as Eye conjectures, may have been directed to such studies by his intercourse with the learned scholar Wilibald Pirckheimer.

In his first period he scarcely executed any designs for wood-engravers. We do not meet with any woodcuts till the year 1496, and already two years thereafter he had developed an extraordinary activity in this art with the much admired fifteen illustrations of Revelations, to which an introductory or title

picture was added in the third edition of 1511. He had never before produced anything like this series ; but now a new and splendid era was dawning for him. It is not to be supposed that the artist himself cut the designs into the wood ; he merely draughted them on the block, the cutters tracing the lines after him.

But according to the simple rules of draughtsmanship then in vogue, these workers had their duties strictly defined, and it is accordingly obvious that the perfection of woodcutting kept pace with that of drawing itself. The effect produced by the apocalyptic engravings on his contemporaries must have been very great. That we certainly do not here find any approach to symmetrical beauty, or any clear expression of the thought, is readily explained, partly by the course of Dürer's artistic development, and partly by the nature of the subject. But apart from this and when contrasted with the earlier productions of German Art, Dürer's real significance is here at once made evident. How little, for example, can Schongauer's "St. Anthony" bear comparison with the vigour and the sharpness of expression displayed in these works ! Representations such as "The Four Riders," "The Four Angels," "St. Michael," and others, are justly reckoned amongst the most precious productions of German Art. They reveal its full strength, though certainly also its harshness and crudity.

Dürer's second great production in the wood-engraver's art is "The Life of the Virgin Mary," one scene of which, "Joachim and Anna beneath the Golden Gates," bears date 1504, whilst two others concluding the life of Mary—her Death and Coronation, were not produced till 1510, and the title-piece not till 1511. But the bulk of all the rest must be certainly referred to about the year 1504, and in any case they were executed before Dürer's journey to Italy. The whole forms a striking contrast to the Apocalypse—the one marked with wild and extravagant conceptions, the other portraying the simple and affectionate scenes of family life. The artist treats them as incidents of his own time without any attempt at idealization. However true it may be that this is far from being the highest purpose of Art, it must on the other hand be also admitted that these very family scenes were at first quite compatible with a pure and simple conception of the subject, so long as the artist was restricted to giving embodiment to strength and depth of inward feeling, and to varied expression of character. And this was the case with Dürer, who depicts German family life and national types more truly and more impressively than any other artist has succeeded in doing. The materials for such compositions were supplied by his own shrewd observation of nature. The finest of these is certainly "The Holy Family" (Bartsch, 90). Here we have a vivid picture of a Nuremberg carpenter's household. St. Joseph is hard at work hewing out a trough, while the woman is spinning and rocking the child's cradle. The only indication that we are contemplating a religious subject are, God the Father appearing above with the dove, and the angels mingling with the family—the smaller especially of

these, some of whom are at play, and others gathering the chips and bits of wood into a basket, are genuine artless little beings. Extremely fine also are "The Birth of the Virgin," "The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt," and other clear and faithful illustrations of contemporary life, all the more charming for their very simplicity and innocence.

Of the drawings executed by him at this time the most noteworthy are the twelve sheets in the Albertina Gallery, embracing "The Passion of Christ," all dated 1504, except "The Crucifixion," which is one year later. They are drawn on a green ground with a pointed pencil in black and white colours. Sandrart considered them as the best of all the designs for the Passion executed by our master.

Thus we see him in the year 1505, now a man thirty-four years of age, already the foremost of German contemporary artists. But now he can bide no longer at home: he takes the pilgrim's staff and bends his steps towards Italy, then as now the paradise of artists. The actual motive of this journey has not been ascertained. Vasari indeed relates that Marco Antonio had counterfeited his "Passion of Christ," and even attached Dürer's signature to it, so that these copies were sold as originals. He was so enraged at the news of this that he set out at once for Venice, where the Italian engraver was then residing, and entered proceedings against him, with no other result, however, except that Marco Antonio was thenceforth forbidden to mark his works with Dürer's signature.

But the real motive of his journey to Italy was certainly a very different one. In all probability he was anxious once more to visit a land where a higher order of Art flourished than he could anywhere find in Germany. He would have gladly taken his brother Hans with him, who was then in his fifteenth year; but the women would not let him go, fearing lest the sky might fall and crush him, for the youngest seems, as usual, to have been his mother's darling. The ways and means were supplied by friend Pirkheimer, a horse was also provided, and so he set out on his pilgrimage in the year 1505.

He seems to have made his way through Vienna and Laibach, at least if to him is really to be attributed the sketch of "The City of Vienna," which was in the possession of Imhof's heirs, and if a manuscript of the sixteenth century is correct in stating that our artist fell sick at Stein (near Laibach) and was there received with open arms by a local painter, whose house he gratefully adorned with a painting in return.

In the then flourishing city of Venice he met many fellow-countrymen, the German merchants possessing there a chamber of commerce, and a church of their own dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Soon after his arrival they commissioned him to paint, for 110 florins, an altarpiece for this church. Concerning his further residence in the Queen of the Adriatic, we have a number of details

in nine letters by him addressed to Pirkheimer, covering the whole time between January 6th and October 13th, 1506. It is to be regretted that Pirkheimer's answers have not also been preserved, as they would have thrown light on many points which are now merely matter of conjecture. With all his friendliness, Dürer treats the learned statesman, who was a member of the Nuremberg Council, with a certain amount of respect. He addresses him as "Your worship," and gives him the title of "the Honourable and Learned Master Wilibald Pirkheimer, my well-disposed master."

However, the "Honourable and Learned" was not an over-nice observer of the sixth commandment, as is clearly evident from the correspondence, and was moreover an exceedingly finical and troublesome person. He worried the unfortunate Dürer about things which he understood very little of, and accordingly fell an easy prey to all manner of cheats and impostors in the purchase of stones, rings, gems, plumes and the like. No wonder that he at times loses his temper, and tells his patron if such articles be not to his liking, to break them to pieces and cast them to the swine, using even stronger language, and adding: "How do you suppose I can trouble myself with such trumpery? In Venice I have become a 'gentiluomo.'"

This Italian word "gentiluomo" was not employed without good reason in a correspondence which is otherwise full of coarse and very broad humour indeed. He felt it incumbent on him to turn out in a stylish dress in the gay and fashionable Venice, so bought himself a French cloak and an Italian coat, and did not fail to plume himself upon it in his letters to Pirkheimer. He wanted even to learn dancing, at a time of life when the legs are usually no longer supple enough for such exercise. But after two lessons the dancing-master relieved him of one ducat—an unconscionable charge for the current value of money; so nothing could induce him to take another lesson. Nor was he spared other pecuniary losses. A piece of woollen cloth, for which he had given eight ducats, was burned in a great fire, and one of his debtors made off with a like sum.

Very curious are Dürer's simple descriptions of life in Venice, more especially that of the painters. He made many friends during his stay in this city. "There are so many pleasant folk," he writes, "amongst the Italians: reasonable, learned men, good lute-players, fifiers, Art-connoisseurs, people of noble and upright feeling, who greatly honour and show me much friendship. On the other hand, amongst them are to be found some of the falsest, most lying, thievish knaves in the world. And if you did not know them, you might take them for the most courteous people on earth." They flocked round him in such numbers that he was often fain to keep out of sight. The subjoined passage is interesting, as illustrating the unreserved way in which people yielded to their emotions in those days: "The fiddlers,"

he says, "here play so delightfully, that they shed tears over it themselves."

He, of course, associates much with his fellow-artists, but has little good to say of them. His friends warned him against eating and drinking in their company. They had him thrice before the court, which obliged him to pay four florins into the funds of the painters' guild. Giovanni Bellini alone makes an honourable exception. He praised Dürer's work, called on him,



"The Angel appearing to Joachim." (From the Life of Mary.)

and wished to bespeak something of him at a fair price. "And every one tells me," he writes, "what a right-minded person he is, so that I am well inclined towards him. He is very old, and yet still the best at painting." But the others abused Dürer's style roundly, and thought it was not "antique" enough—a reproach which was not quite groundless. In truth, his works contrast sharply with the ideas of Greek Art, and although the Venetian of all the Italian schools partook least of the spirit of the antique, still it did so to a much greater extent than the honest Nuremberg artist.

But for all that, the Venetians did not fail to notice his work in the churches, and where they were able to lay hands on them, to "carry them off." This refers, of course, to his copperplates and woodcuts, which they wished to study for the purpose of deriving motives and suggestions from them. Our highly inventive master must have precisely in this respect given a good example to the Venetians, and shown his superiority over them, no less by his keen grasp of nature than by the more delicate touch of his pencil.



"The Visitation." (From the Life of Mary.)

On completing the above-mentioned painting for the German church, after five months' hard work, he thought he had silenced all the painters who had said he was no doubt good enough at engraving, but understood nothing of colours. Now every one admitted, he tells us, that finer colouring had never before been seen. This was, no doubt, a delusion on the part of Dürer, who may have mistaken conventional or fulsome compliments for genuine praise. At least, in a city where there flourished a colourist such as Bellini, and where the great Titian, now in his twenty-ninth year, was

already at work, any really educated eye must have looked upon Dürer's glaring, garish play of colour as little short of barbarous. It need scarcely be remarked that withal there still remained good qualities enough to excite wonder and consideration. The Doge himself and the Patriarch viewed the picture. Still Dürer was obliged to complain of the loss he suffered by accepting the commission, having received eighty-five ducats only for the work, whereas he might have earned two hundred in the time he was engaged upon it.

The painting illustrates the so-called "Feast of the Crowning with Roses." Mary appears crowning the Emperor Maximilian, the Infant Saviour, the Pope, the Angels, and all the rest of the assembled multitude. On the left we see St. Dominic, founder of that devotion, and in the background to the right Dürer himself and Pirkheimer on a reduced scale. Bellini's influence is specially to be recognised in the angels playing on the lute. Later on, the great friend of Art, Rudolph II., procured the painting, and, as is said, had it brought to Prague by four men, carefully packed, to protect it against possible damage. There it is still to be seen in the Strahow Convent, but in a deplorable state.

At Venice he also produced within four days the "Christ and the Scribes," now in the Barberini Palace at Rome. But here the effect is not pleasant.

And now the question of his return home became daily more pressing. The Venetian Council offered him a yearly allowance of two hundred ducats if he consented to remain, so that it was not without some reason that he wrote in his last letter:—"Oh, how I shall shiver after all this sunshine! Here I am a lord, but at home a mere nobody." Still he could not quite make up his mind to turn his back altogether on his country. At one time he had an idea of going to Rome, but gave it up and went instead to Bologna, where some one wished to teach him the art of "secret perspective" (*Heimliche Perspektive*). This he hoped to master in eight or ten days. From Bologna he returned to Venice, where he was still residing at the beginning of the year 1507. Here he painted the portrait of a woman with a cap, as stated in Imhof's inventory, after which he returned home by the way of Innsbruck.

There is not much to record concerning his subsequent career previous to his undertaking his journey to the Low Countries in the year 1520. With the money he earned in Venice he paid his debts, and henceforth his fortunes took a more favourable turn, so that he was able in 1509 to buy a house in the Zissel Street, which is still shown as "Dürer's house." He purchased it with his own means, and without any help from his wife. In the same year he was chosen a member of the Supreme Council, and proofs of his attention to his official duties are still preserved in the records of Nuremberg.

On May 17th, 1514, he lost his mother, who died after one year's illness. How greatly he was affected by her death is shown by his allusions to it, which also speak eloquently for his own noble and kindly nature. "Her most assiduous practice was church-going," he writes, "and she always scolded me sharply, whenever I had misbehaved, and she had ever the greatest anxiety to keep me and my brothers from evil ways. And whether I went out or came in, her parting or greeting was always the same—'In the name of Christ.' She constantly gave us pious exhortations with much zeal, and had continually the greatest care for our souls' salvation. Her good works, and the mercy and piety shown by her to every one, I cannot sufficiently praise, as well also as her good repute. This my dear, good mother had borne and brought up eighteen children, was often taken with the plague, and suffered many other grievous and heavy illnesses, great distress, also derision, jeers, contumely, many frights, and great crosses of all sorts. Yet she never bore malice towards any one." Here follows the account of her death, after which he continues: "Whereat I have felt such grief as I cannot tell in words. God be gracious to her! Her greatest pleasure was ever to speak of God, and ever rejoiced at the enhancement of his honour. She was in her sixty-third year when she died, and I have had her honourably buried, according to my means. The Lord God grant me also a happy end, and may God with his heavenly hosts, my father and my mother, kinsfolk and friends also be all present at my end, and God Almighty give us everlasting life! So be it."

At last, in September, 1515, the same mark of distinction, although in a more restricted sense, was conferred upon him in his native place that the Venetian Council had offered him nine years previously. Maximilian I. ordered the city of Nuremberg to pay him a yearly sum of one hundred florins, on account of the Imperial treasury. After Maximilian's death, the Council refused to continue the subsidy until Dürer procured from his successor a decree, dated November 4th, 1520, which insured to him its further payment, and he accordingly continued to enjoy it till his death.

In 1518 he attended the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, and in November of the same year he purchased of his brother Andrew his share in their father's house. Two years thereafter, on July 12th, 1520, he at last set out on his journey to the Low Countries, an event destined to form a new epoch in his life and works.

Italian Art had less affected Dürer than might have been supposed. He remained to the end of his life still substantially the same, and the undeniable influence of the Venetians remained to the last more or less on the surface. Still, from this time forth his art, as a whole, strikes a somewhat grander key, especially in his draughtsmanship, although the strange crease of his

draperies was never quite laid aside. But the colours still remained glassy, although even here improvement is to be detected. For the rest it is not a little remarkable that the years immediately ensuing on his visit to Venice are noted for a comparatively greater wealth of paintings strictly so called, and that the first executed by him was that of the naked and almost life-size figures of Adam and Eve, the preparatory studies for which had been made in Venice itself. The transcripts or duplicates in Madrid and Florence



"The Parents of the Saviour." (From the Life of Mary.)

both claim to be the originals. The figures are truthfully modelled, nor is the effect altogether disagreeable, especially the head of the Eve, which for Dürer does not lack delicacy.

In the year 1507, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, bespoke the oil-painting of "The Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand," probably induced to give the order by the woodcut treating this subject. For this work Dürer draughted a sketch, now in the Albertina, one of the most spirited of the kind, whereas the painting itself must be considered one of the most jarring and

unsatisfactory ever executed by him. The composition is straggling, the scenes of execution are depicted with a far too close adherence to nature in their nude reality, while lacking that grander conception which can alone impart to such subjects a really artistic life. In the colouring Venetian influence is clearly perceptible. Together with his friend Pirkheimer, Dürer has introduced himself with a bandrol in his hands, bearing the inscription :—
 “Iste faciebat anno domini 1508 Albertus Dürer Alemanus.”



“Knight, Death, and Devil.” (From the Copperplate.)

The Elector paid him two hundred and eighty Rhenish florins for the work, and had it placed in the Church of All Hallows, at Wittenberg. But his successor, John Frederick the Magnanimous, seems, during his imprisonment at Brussels, to have presented it to the Chancellor Perrenot, from whose heirs it passed into the possession of the Emperor Rudolph II. It is now in the Belvedere, at Vienna, though certainly in a bad state.

While still engaged on this work, he received a fresh and more extensive order from the wealthy cloth merchant, Jacob Heller, of Frankfort-on-the-

Maine, who wanted an altarpiece with volets, for one hundred and thirty Rhenish florins. Unfortunately, the execution of this second work was attended with all manner of annoyances. He began it in the most conscientious spirit, but soon finding that it could not be produced for the stipulated sum, asked Heller to make it two hundred florins. As the work continued at the same time to be delayed, a somewhat lively correspondence sprang up, but Heller stuck to the two hundred florins, which Dürer still protested was too small a figure, as he might have disposed of the painting to another for one hundred florins more. At last, towards the end of August, 1509, it was finished and sent off to Frankfort. The artist had provided the centrepiece with a frame at his own expense, and did not fail to accompany it with full instructions for its due preservation. Heller was now so well satisfied that he sent a handsome gift to Dürer's wife, and two guldens to his brother. He presented the work to the Dominican Church at Frankfort, where he had chosen, and ultimately found, his resting-place. Here it became one of the sights of the place, and the brethren made considerable profits from the presents they received of Art-loving visitors for allowing them to view it. The soles of the feet of a kneeling apostle more particularly were so admired, that there were amateurs who would have been willing to pay a large amount for permission to cut them out. The Emperor Rudolph II. offered for it the, at that time, extraordinary sum of ten thousand florins, which, however, was declined by the townsfolk. Ultimately, however, that other great friend of Art in those days, the Elector Maximilian I. of Bavaria, was lucky enough to obtain the centrepiece in the year 1613. Unfortunately, this jewel perished when the Munich princely residence was burnt in 1674. This was an irreparable loss, as Dürer in no other of his works had lavished so much care, as shown by the great number of his preparatory studies for it. The actual execution, to judge from his letters to Heller, must have also been very perfect. He was altogether very proud of this work, which he loved with the affection of a father.

The subject was the Assumption of the Virgin, the lower portion showing the Apostles gathered round the empty tomb, and the upper the Queen of Heaven crowned by God the Father and her Son. In the background he had again introduced himself with a tablet in his hands, whereon the words:—"Albertus Dürer Alemanus faciebat post Virginis partum 1509." It is, at least, so far fortunate that a copy has been preserved by Juvenel.

The wings on the inner side contain the Martyrdom of SS. James and Catharine, and on the exterior saints in an erect posture. These were painted in Dürer's studio, so that his brother Hans may have had a principal share in them. The portraits of the donors alone are exclusively by the great master. The copy of the centrepiece and the right volets have now been placed together in the Frankfort public gallery.

During the progress of these great works some smaller ones were also produced, such as in 1507 the excellent portrait of a youth, now in the Vienna Belvedere, and possibly also the Madonna which Dürer in 1508 sold for seventy-two florins to Count John Thurzo, Bishop of Breslau. However, he became somewhat put out with painting in general, in consequence of his troubles with Heller. Owing to the conscientious nature of his workmanship, he found it rather unprofitable employment, on which account he declined the offer of a certain George Tauss, who wanted a Madonna in a landscape, painted with the same care and on the same scale as Heller's work, all for four hundred florins. Of commonplace paintings, he wrote to Heller, he could turn out such a number in one year, that no one would believe one man could possibly get through so much work; but that careful workmanship did not answer—he would, therefore, stick to his graver, and had he done so hitherto, he would now be the richer by a thousand florins.

We accordingly meet with no great pictorial work again till the year 1511, when he painted the “Adoration of the Wise Men,” which, with the “Four Apostles,” must be considered the most important of all the works that have been preserved of him. The wealthy brazier Matthew Landauer ordered it for the chapel of the Holy Trinity, in the Home of the Twelve Brothers, founded by himself and Erasmus Schiltkrot in Nuremberg. In 1601 the chief magistrate presented it to Rudolph II. at Prague, whence it found its way to the Vienna Belvedere. Above is God the Father holding the crowned Saviour in a glory of angels, whilst the Holy Ghost, typified by the dove, hovers over them. Below this group we see on the right Mary with the saintly and blessed women; on the left John the Baptist with the holy men. Beneath them all is a broad, sweeping landscape, in which is visible the artist on a reduced scale, holding his little tablet with the inscription:—“Albertus Dürer Noricus faciebat anno a Virginis partu 1511.”

This painting still shines in the full freshness and brightness of its colours, the execution is masterly, in the genuine Dürer style, the draughtsmanship spirited, yet highly impressive, the composition clear, although naturally rendered somewhat hard by the angular movements and draperies. The features of the saints are admirably characterized, those of the men especially in part breathing a certain grandeur, while those of the women seem to be somewhat lacking in grace and beauty.

About this time, or at all events during the next few years, he may have also produced the portraits of the Emperors Charles the Great and Sigismund, which are still to be seen in Nuremberg, though in a most deplorable condition.

Better preserved is the “Madonna with the Infant” (1512), now in the Belvedere. She is represented as an ordinary citizen's wife, betraying her

maternal feelings towards her child. It is one of the most carefully treated works of the master.



The Heller Altar Centrepiece. (From the Juvenel copy in Frankfort.)

Two years thereafter occurs his correspondence with Raphael. He had

sent him in 1514 his own portrait in lime-water colours, together with sundry copperplates and woodcuts. The great painter of Urbino hastened in the following year to forward him some drawings in return.

In the year 1516 was produced his highly spirited portrait of Wolgemut, of which we have already spoken. Here Dürer felt himself perfectly at home. In these wrinkled old features he was able to give full scope to his masterly



Title-piece to the great series of wood engravings of the Passion.

drawing. About the same time he also finished the massive and expressive heads, in lime-water colours, of the apostles Philip and James, now in the Uffizi at Florence. To the year 1518 belongs the repulsive "Lucretia" in the Munich Pinakothek. How could Dürer have hoped to reproduce in anything like satisfactory manner a nude female figure, more especially one of the olden type?

Very questionable also is the "Christ weeping," now in the Maurice Chapel in Nuremberg. Lastly, to the years 1516 and 1517 must be referred the painting of the great room in the Nuremberg Town Hall, with the Triumphal Chariot of the Emperor Maximilian I. It is impossible to decide whether this work was entirely executed by Dürer himself, as the fresco was retouched in 1620, but its composition at least is his. In 1519 he painted the Emperor himself, of whom he had made a sketch at the Augsburg Diet the previous year. The drawing is in the Albertina, and the oil-painting in the Belvedere.

As our master painted so much in oil during the first years after his residence in Venice, as we have seen, it is astonishing that he could have also found so much time for the slow and laborious art of copperplate engraving. Retberg refers the two wonderful plates, "The Witch" and "The Dream," to about the year 1507. To the year 1508 belongs, amongst others, the impressive work, "Christ on the Cross." During these two last years he also produced several of the engravings of the "Copperplate Passion," which numbers altogether sixteen. Others appeared in 1509 and 1511, but the majority not till 1512, and the last of all in 1513. Here we are not to look for the divine Redeemer, who offers himself for mankind as the only-begotten Son of God, but rather the innocent man done to death by his wicked enemies, and whose passion is surrounded by sundry marvels and wonders. But apart from the expression of the features, which yet marks the perfection of plastic conception, we must still feel amazed at the vigour and great variety of individual types and at their striking representation, though occasionally partaking of the coarseness of an earlier period of German Art. This Passion in fact marks the last degree of perfection attained by that school in the treatment of its most favourite subjects.

About the same time were produced his "Nemesis," "Marine Monster," and "Hercules," engravings of a less satisfactory nature, Dürer's conception of such themes being utterly at variance with the grand forms to which Greek Art has accustomed us in the treatment of these mythological characters. Indeed, such classic conceptions are mostly deformed to mere caricature and cloudiness by the old German artists, for which, however, we are here and there indemnified by an occasional attractive and fairy-like conception. Much more successful is "St. Eustachius praying before the Stag," a heavy, stiff, but genuine knightly figure, and withal a marvel of copperplate workmanship.

Somewhere about this time also, our artist tried his hand at a lighter technical expedient. It consisted in slightly scratching the design on the plate, constituting what was known as "work with the cold needle." The "St. Veronica" of 1510 seems to have been his first attempt of the kind. It was followed by "The Holy Family," "St. Jerome," and "The Man of Sorrow," the last two in 1512. This method naturally permits of but a limited number of tolerably good and fine impressions being struck off, but these in return possess a light

and pictorial effect. He was not, however, well pleased with this technique, and again laid it aside.

In its place there now appeared, during these years so fruitful in productions of his graver, those magnificent engravings: the "Veronica held up by two Angels" (1513); "The Knight with Death and the Devil" (same year), one of his most famous works, a wonderful effect being produced by the contrast between the earnest, impassive knight and the terrors surrounding and threatening him; also the "St. Jerome in his Study" (1514), showing the learned Doctor of the Church busily writing, the sun streaming in through the quaint casement, the Pomeranian dog and the lion, not much bigger than a good-sized tomcat, with his mild, sleepy look; but this time no "Affenpinscher," which he was otherwise so fond of introducing, all its hair clipped lion fashion.

To the same year belong the frosty allegory of "Melancholy," the theme supplied probably by Pirkheimer, or some other learned friend, a veritable *crux* for the commentators; the lovely "Madonna on the Crescent;" the expressive figures of "The Apostles Paul and Thomas;" "The Bag-piper and the two Peasants dancing." In this last how delightfully the rude musician leans against the old stump of a tree and thinks he is doing wonders, and what notes he produces from the instrument, while the couple are stamping and kicking out for dear life, that one fancies he hears the earth groaning beneath them! Altogether a fruitful year was this 1514, such as the engraver's art has scarcely again witnessed.

Dürer now seems to have felt the need of repose after displaying so much glorious energy. At least he once more took up a lighter technical method, which consisted of etching on steel or iron plates, as he might have learned to do of the armourers, who had long since sought for every means of embellishing their wares. Works of this sort are: "Christ on the Mount of Olives;" "The Man of Sorrow," both in 1515; the "Veronica held by an Angel" and "The Temptation" (1516); the undated study of five figures; landscape with cannon (1518). This last especially is distinguished by the splendid and by no means artificial landscape, brightly lit up by the sunlight. But this art he also abandoned, though his essays, even if they were not actually the very first true etchings of the kind, proved to be fruitful in results. Etching continued to widen its sphere, until, combined with the "dry needle," it reached its highest perfection in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

But to this period also belongs some of his regular graving work, such as his "Christ on the Cross," which he carried out in gold for the pommel of the Emperor Maximilian's sword, as also the lovely "Madonna crowned by two Angels" (1518). Somewhat peculiarly conceived is the "St. Anthony" of 1519, buried in his cowl and absorbed in reading in the midst of a landscape, a city with a lofty tower rising in the background. To the same year belong also the

charming engravings of the "Little Cardinal" (that is, the bust of Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg), and the "Market Peasants." Next year two more Madonnas were produced.

During this period Dürer displayed no less industry in wood engraving than in copperplate work. It is truly wonderful how at the very time when engaged upon his "Copperplate Passion," he could have also produced another series of the same subject, with ever varied and effective treatment. Between 1509 and 1511 was produced the "little" Passion, consisting of seven-and-thirty, and in 1516 the "great" Passion, comprising twelve scenes. What has been said of the copperplates is true of the wood engravings also. Especially remarkable are both the title-pieces, more particularly that of the great Passion, where one of the soldiery jeeringly presents a reed sceptre to the Saviour, who is seated with his hands clasped and gazing at the observer with an expression of the bitterest grief. Here there breathes at once a certain simplicity and grandeur seldom elsewhere reached by Dürer. Very famous also is the "Bearing of the Cross" in the same series, from which Raphael borrowed several motives for his celebrated painting, "Lo Spasimo di Sicilia."

But the masterpieces of wood engraving executed at this time are far too numerous for us to do justice to all. We may, however, also mention the following: "The Saints under Discipline" (1510); "The Holy Trinity" (1511); the strikingly original "St. Jerome in the Cave" (1512); the lovely "Madonna with the Angels" (1518). But the important works executed by him for the Emperor Maximilian require closer consideration. In 1515 appeared the great Triumphal Arch of the Emperor, the design for which was furnished by the learned and poetical Stabius. As a whole it seems heavy and rather mean, Dürer's genius being anyhow but little suited for such monumental subjects. But even here, when examined in detail, we can but feel amazed at the exuberance of fancy lavished on a by no means suggestive theme. The skilled engraver, Jerome Resch, cut the plates. About the same time must have also been produced the "Austrian Saints," as well as the four-and-twenty engravings for the "Small Triumphal Chariot" of the Emperor, attributed by Thausing to our artist. In the year 1517, the Emperor also commissioned "The Great Triumphal Chariot," for which Pirkheimer supplied the design. The drawing, of which mention has already been made, was sent to Vienna in 1518 and is now in the Albertina. But the Emperor did not live to see the completion of the wood engraving, this cold allegory not having appeared till after his death. In 1519, the year of this event, Dürer executed two forcible portraits of him.

For Maximilian also was produced in 1515 his greatest work in ornamental drawing—the illuminated borders for the Emperor's prayer-book, of which he himself supplied forty-two, and Luke Cranach the eight at the end, which, although in Dürer's style, do not equal those of the master. These are

undoubtedly amongst the most precious and characteristic of his works. Here we are certainly not to look for strictly correct borderings according to rule and measure, as they are nothing but spirited capriccios and fancies thrown off with the pen; yet with what humour and confidence they are carried out! At the Diet held at Augsburg he drew the Emperor himself "up at the Castle in his little chamber, as we reckon 1518 after John the Baptist." On the same occasion his sketch-book was filled with a number of likenesses of noble and distinguished personages attending the Diet. They are designed for medals in profile turned towards the left, and are now partly in Berlin, partly in Bamberg and Weimar, unfortunately in a very sad plight. So great is the number of other drawings and studies from nature, that we are obliged much to our regret to pass them over in silence.

On July 12th, 1520, as stated, Dürer set out on his journey to the Low Countries. The immediate occasion of this fresh trip he has not recorded, but he was doubtless induced to undertake it by the high repute then enjoyed by the Flemish school of Art, as well as by the hope of obtaining a good sale for his own productions there, and of making them generally better known. He may have also wished for an interview with the young Emperor Charles V. respecting the pension which the town of Nuremberg had refused to continue. He took with him a great number of his engravings beside some of Hans Baldung and Hans Scheufelein's, and was accompanied by his wife also with her maid Susanna, who after the manner of womankind encumbered themselves with an inconvenient number of traps. They came by Forchheim to Bamberg, where the bishop gave them a free pass, exempting them as far as Cologne from further charges at the almost incredible number of toll-houses and other stations down the Maine and the Rhine. On August 2nd the travellers reached Antwerp, the great metropolis of Art, and here found shelter and comfortable lodging with Jobst Plankfeld.

Great honours here awaited him. On August 5th the painters invited him to their hall, and as he was conducted to table, the people stood on either side, as if he were some great prince. He visited the renowned Quentin Matsys, and formed relations both with Joachim Patenier and the distinguished statuary Conrad Meyt. He beheld many wonderful and unheard of sights, such as the houses of the Burgomaster and other magistrates, the Cathedral, the triumphal arch erected for the entry of Charles V., the grand procession, and the like.

On August 26th he came by Mechlin to Brussels, where the famous scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam presented his petition to the Emperor. Here also he fell a wondering at many spectacles, particularly at the curiosities brought from America for the Emperor, and at an enormous skeleton of a fish. He was also able here to feast on the works of R. van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes. The Vicegerent Margaret showed herself very gracious towards him,

and he made the acquaintance of B. van Orley, who introduced him to other distinguished persons.

On September 3rd he returned to Antwerp, where he waited till the entry



"The Offerings of the Three Wise Men." (From the small series of wood engravings of the Passion.)

of Charles V. To Margaret he gave a complete impression of his works and drew two subjects for her, in order to secure her favourable intercession on his behalf with her nephew. It is not without interest that he on the same occasion

became acquainted with one of Raphael's pupils, Tomaso Vincidore of Bologna, the meeting resulting in each painting the other's likeness. He availed himself of this opportunity to send a complete copy of his works to Rome, whence he received in return the engravings forwarded by Raphael.

In the beginning of October he went, unaccompanied by his wife and maid, to Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to urge his suit with the Emperor, on the occasion of his coronation on the 23rd of that month. But here also he failed to gain his point, on which account he proceeded to Cologne, where great festivities were also taking place in honour of the young monarch. Here at length, "after so much worry and trouble," he obtained a hearing, and on November 4th the Emperor ordered the town of Nuremberg to pay up all arrears and to continue his yearly allowance of one hundred gulden. Here Dürer did not fail to visit Master Stephen's great painting, the wonderful altarpiece now hanging in the minster of Cologne under the name of Stephen Loethener or Lochner.

On November 4th he went by water to Bommel, whence on a country hack to Hertogenbosch, and on November 22nd rejoined his wife at Antwerp. But on December 7th he was off again, this time to Zealand, in order to see a huge whale which had been cast ashore by the tide. However, he missed the sight, as it had been again washed away by the receding waters, and he found himself, on the 14th, back in Antwerp, where he spent the winter, mingling largely in society and everywhere highly honoured. Thus on February 10th, 1521, he was entertained, together with his wife, by the goldsmiths, and the same evening attended the banquet and masquerade of the ex-mayor of the city, G. van de Werve, followed by more feastings and masqueradings next day.

With the advance of spring, on April 6th, he accompanied Hans Lieber and the painter Jan Ploos to Bruges, and thence to Ghent, in both of which places he was most honourably welcomed by the painters, and had an opportunity of admiring the works of Jan van Eyck, R. van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes, and Hans Memlinc. The 11th of April saw him again in Antwerp, where he continued to cultivate the society of Patenier, Vincidore, Meyt, and others, and where he also met the miniature painter, Ger. Horebout, whose daughter's artistic talents he highly admired. But in the midst of these stirring scenes, interrupted only by a violent fever in April, probably caught by him from the malaria of the Zealand fens, the news of Luther's arrest came upon him like a thunder-clap. He gave vent to his grief by a somewhat lengthy outburst of feeling in his diary, which is a striking proof of his participation in the work of Church reform, whilst also bearing eloquent witness to his own trusty and loyal heart. "Lives he still?" he cried out; "or if they have murdered him, then has he suffered in the cause of Christian truth, for he was the scourge of the unchristian papacy, which with its heavy burden

of human ordinances is opposed to the emancipation of Christ. And he has also suffered that we may be as heretofore plundered and utterly stripped of all the fruits of our sweat and blood, the same to be consumed in the most shameless and impious manner by the lazy and the idle, while the thirsty and sick perish of hunger. And above all will this be the hardest lot to endure, that God may perhaps suffer us still, for a while, to continue under their false, blind teaching, the invention and fabrication of men whom they call the Fathers, and whereby God's precious word is in many places wrongly set forth, or else not at all delivered to us. . . . Do thou take pity on us! . . . And if we have indeed lost this man, who has so much better written, and to whom thou hast given such an evangelical spirit, then do we beseech thee, O heavenly Father! yet again to breathe thy Holy Spirit into some one, who may once more gather everywhere together thy Christian Church, that we may again live together in Christian unity, and that all unbelievers as there be, Turks, heathens, and idol-worshippers, turn of themselves to us through our good works, and receive the Christian faith. But thou wilt, O Lord! ere thou judgest, even as thy Son Christ Jesus was doomed to die at the hands of the priests, in order to rise from death and thereafter ascend into Heaven—thou wilt that it be so with thy disciple Martin Luther also, whom the Pope with his gold and in treason to God is circumventing to his death. But thou wilt again quicken him. And as thou didst ordain, O Lord! that Jerusalem be overthrown utterly, so wilt thou destroy this haughty, self-made, overbearing sway of the Roman See. Ah! good Lord! give us thereafter the new and glorious Jerusalem, that cometh down from Heaven, of which is written in Revelations, the holy and pure gospel unclouded by human teaching. And sees not each one that reads Martin Luther's books, how clear and penetrating is his teaching, where he sets forth the holy gospel? And therefore are those writings in great honour to be held, and not to be burnt. Then were all his gainsayers, who ever oppose the truth, and who will make gods of men, these rather to be cast with all their teachings to the flames, and then should we see that a new impression be made of Luther's books. O God! if Luther be dead, who will henceforth expound thy holy gospel so clearly to us? Ah! good Lord! what might he not yet have written for us in ten or twenty years to come!"

On June 7th he went with wife and maid to Mechlin, where the Vicegerent Margaret showed him her Art treasures, amongst which works of Jan van Eyck and Jacopo de' Barbari. But though she had received many presents from Dürer, she was hard-hearted enough to dismiss him empty-handed. Next day the trio were again back in Antwerp; but the time for returning home was now approaching nearer and nearer. The Antwerp Council had offered him a yearly pension of three hundred gulden, immunity from taxes, a well-

built house, and an extra allowance for whatever he might produce for the town; all this if he consented to settle there. But Albert could not bring himself to forsake his beloved Nuremberg, which yet, Heaven knows, had acted the part of but a sorry step-mother towards him. From the time of his permanent settling there till the year 1524, he had not received commissions from it to the value of five hundred gulden, of which not the fifth part was actual profit. On July 2nd, just as he was about to start, the fugitive king, Christian II. of Denmark, gave him a sitting, and next day brought him in his train to Brussels, where Dürer took part in the festivities interchanged between the emperor and the king, and where he executed an oil-portrait of the latter.

At last, on July 12th, he left Brussels for Pegnitzstadt on his homeward journey. In spite of all the honours heaped upon him, he had suffered pecuniary losses in the Low Countries, so that he was obliged to borrow one hundred gulden to make his way back. This, however, need not greatly surprise us, as our master was anything but a clear head at figures; he dispensed his favours with open hand to his friends, and purchased freely and largely, especially all sorts of curiosities, in which he was often sadly overreached.

The storms of the Reformation now began to be felt more and more in Nuremberg. We have already seen how entirely he was on Luther's side, nor, considering his intimate association with enlightened men, such as Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler, can we be much surprised at this. In a letter written in 1523 he sends greeting to Ulrich Zwingli; and with Melancthon, who in 1526 passed some time in Nuremberg, he was on still more intimate terms. Meantime, owing mainly probably to his wife's thrift, he seems to have begun to feel more easy in respect of money matters, so that in 1524 he was in a position to advance a sum of one thousand gulden at five per cent. to the Nuremberg Council. In the document having reference to this transaction he complains of growing bodily weakness. The intermittent fever contracted in Zealand never again left him, and to this consumptive symptoms seem to have supervened. At last, as Pirkheimer expresses it, he became "as dried up as a truss of hay."

Notwithstanding this declining state of health, his end, which had been preceded but by a short illness, took every one by surprise. He died on April 6th, 1528, worth altogether 6,840 gulden, which for the times must be looked upon as rather a handsome fortune. This hardly-earned amount is certainly not much when compared with the sums that modern painters, who trouble themselves little with formal and technical studies, draw from millionaires and Art dealers. He was buried in St. John's Churchyard, where Pirkheimer caused a simple inscription to be placed on his tomb. Sandrart restored the

tombstone in 1681, and added a fresh inscription. At length his statue, modelled by Rauch, was unveiled at Nuremberg on May 22nd, 1840.

In the colour and nature-loving Netherlands a new world had been revealed to Dürer. He became convinced that his earlier works, with their many-



coloured and often quaint forms, had not reached the highest goal of Art, but embodied a somewhat narrow view of nature and her simplicity. So he expressed himself plainly to Melanchthon, nor did his thought remain altogether theoretical. To his last years above all we are indebted for some of his most glorious works; his composition now became grander and his treatment of colour more sound. No very great improvement is certainly to be detected in the altarpiece of 1523, now partly in the Munich Pinakothek and partly in Frankfort and Cologne. The figures, especially of SS. Joseph, Joachim, Simon, and Lazarus, are ugly in outline and glassy in the colouring. Nor is the "Madonna with the Infant," now in the Uffizi at Florence, very attractive, although the modelling is here certainly excellent.

But we readily see in the famous "Four Apostles," described also as "The Four Temperaments," that his new perceptions had now been thoroughly thought out and realised in practice. The artist wished in those figures to embody his evangelical confession of faith, and his adherence to the principles of the Reformation, as is clearly evident from the inscriptions which he caused Neudörfer to prepare. And con-

sidering the spirit of the times, what could he have had more at heart than to represent those types of "temperament" developed by the times themselves

in their tendency towards a much-needed and more clearly defined distribution of the various sections of society? That this was his object there can scarcely be any doubt.

The work consists of four men of God, John and Peter in the left compartment, Paul and Mark in the other, so disposed that Peter and Mark appear respectively to occupy the second place only. For excellence the prize must be awarded to the John, who is thoughtfully and devoutly studying the Word of God, which he holds firmly in his hands. His features are noble and full of character, the hair flowing in curls round his head. And with what simplicity the whole position is treated, in broad lines, without the wonted creases in the fall of the drapery, which yet clearly reflects the proportions of the figure! The Paul is not quite so successful, and though his features are grand and forcible, still the eye gazing out is in this peculiar attitude not free from a certain mannerism, while the white cloak, in spite of its broad folds, is still somewhat suggestive of the robe we often see thrown over a lay figure. In every respect the influence of the Low Countries is obvious—in Paul's white mantle and bluish shading, in his stony expression, no less than in John's red outer garment and in the nude, all with their round modelling and pictorial handling clearly betraying the results of his residence in Flanders. The work has, as a whole, been fairly well preserved, though it is to be regretted that the green under-robe of John has suffered from the well-known molecular derangement, thereby disturbing the general harmony of the picture. Dürer had good reason to be proud of this work, and he was fully justified in writing to the Nuremberg Council, when presenting the picture to it, that he had lavished more care and study upon it than upon his other productions. The Council on its part acknowledged the gift with one hundred gulden to himself, twelve for Dame Agnes, and two for his assistant, "*pro bibulibus*." He had wished to bequeath to his native place a worthy memorial of his genius, and yet the ungrateful city, in 1627, allowed this crowning work of his art to pass into the hands of the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria! The latter, however, made amends by ordering the painter, J. G. Fischer, to make transcripts for the city, and these, with the original inscriptions, are still to be seen in Nuremberg.

Altogether, the year 1526 was exceptionally fruitful, the artist, besides the above-described works, having produced three other portraits. Of these, especially famous is that of Hieronimus Holzschuher, taken in his fifty-seventh year, and still in the possession of this ancient and patrician family in Nuremberg. How his eyes flash with energy, his hair and beard already tinged with the silver of years! And how excellent is the drawing and the modelling, how grand and yet how simple and natural the conception! A masterpiece also is the likeness of the Burgomaster Jacob Muffel, which formerly hung in Pommersfelden. On the other hand that of John Kleeberger, now in the

Belvedere, Vienna, produces a much less happy effect. Dürer portrays him half-length, in a round form; an unfortunate idea, as our artist's conception of form is at variance with the rules of plastic art derived from the antique. The truth of the colouring is sacrificed to the modelling, the flesh tints seem pale and the shading grey.

To Dürer's last years probably belongs the Christ with the Globe now in the possession of the Art dealer Posonyi, at Vienna. But as the Carnation, since unfortunately re-touched up, was only partly painted by Dürer, and as his monogram had not yet been attached, this work is probably the unfinished *Salvator* mentioned in Imhof's inventory.

During this last period he also produced some important copperplate and wood engravings. With his *St. Christophorus*, in any case a somewhat thankless subject, we are not particularly taken, but all the more pleasing is the series of saints—*Bartholomew* and *Simon* in 1523, and *Philip*, whose conception has much of the grandeur of the "Four Apostles." Prominent also are the copperplate portraits produced between the years 1523 and 1526. Unsurpassed amongst these are especially the great Cardinal *Frederick the Wise* and the highly finished *Wilibald Pirkheimer*. On the other hand the *Philip Melancthon* appears too staring and lifeless, while the *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, with his clumsy hands, is coarsely conceived and lacking in spiritual depth.

Of the large engraving of Christ on the Cross he had only time to complete the sketch, and for the John he availed himself of the drawing of 1523, which is an unmistakable likeness of Luther. At variance with other similar embodiments of the Christ, on which account it has been considered spurious, the Redeemer here appears, not as the Man of Sorrow, awakening our sympathy, but as the triumphant Son of Man, commanding our awe and veneration.

Amongst the wood engravings very remarkable is the *Holy Family* of 1526; but distinguished above all others is the portrait of *Ulrich Varnbüler* (1522), the grand conception of which irresistibly rivets the gaze of the observer. Many other wood engravings, which cannot here be further remarked upon, are found in his under-mentioned writings.

To his visit to the Netherlands must also be traced a number of drawings; but even in a still later period were produced a great variety of works, particularly some masterly portraits. In the Ambrose collection is preserved the coloured drawing of a dream which he had in the night of the 30th and 31st of May, 1523, and which he looked upon as prophetic—great bodies of water pouring down on the earth.

But besides painting, drawing, and engraving, Dürer turned his attention to statuary also, although only incidentally. But that he practised it we have his own evidence in a letter addressed in 1520 to Spalatin, in which he offers to make two lamps from the antlers of a stag. He also presented the Portuguese

"Factor" in Antwerp with a "little carved infant," which had probably been worked by himself. Many pieces of sculpture are still attributed to him; not one of which, however, we believe to be well attested.

He had also a knowledge of architecture, though he can have scarcely carried out any actual structure, at least on a large scale. At this period such many-sidedness need not greatly surprise us, for it was a time when many artists were painters, sculptors, and architects all in one. He occupied himself even with fortification, on which he wrote a treatise. His keen, observing glance inspired him with suggestions, some of which were not carried out till the present century under the new Prussian system of fortification. Thus the polygon, detached forts, and other such points were long ago suggested by him, although military engineers were content long after to keep to less scientific plans. However, that his projects were not reduced to practice may in part also be owing to their exaggerated proportions, which took too little account of the due fitness of things. The work in question appeared in the year 1527.

Three years previously he had published his "Treatise on Geometry," and in the last year of his life his "Doctrine of Proportions," with which study he had long been occupied. From all this it would appear that his closing years, especially 1527 and 1528, were devoted mainly to writings and compositions of various sorts. It may be remarked by the way that he tried his hand at poetry also, although with but indifferent success. Lines composed by him in the years 1509 and 1510 have been preserved.

Let us in conclusion take a glance at the general condition of things by which Dürer's special bent was determined.

In Italy the Renaissance had already made itself fully felt in his early years, a time of life most susceptible to the impress of new ideas. But in Germany the Gothic, and that in its worst form, still reigned supreme. It is doubtless true that at this very time there arose highly original, picturesque, and imaginative buildings, but the genuine lover of Art must still confess that even these structures were not true to the purer idea of Art. By restricting the broad wall surface in the churches and occupying the space mainly with windows, Gothic architecture could not fail to give to painting a narrower field and a smaller scope in the north. Hence painting was here prevented from assuming a broader style, in harmony with the severe forms and spacious dimensions of southern architecture; for the freer and higher conception of the other arts flows avowedly from that of monumental art itself. The Gothic style doubtless brought painting on glass to its acme. But however willing we may be to acknowledge the charming effect of this art, with which no other can compete in its way, it must still be confessed that in point of artistic perfection it cannot be compared with fresco or easel painting. The brittle material ever imparts to it a certain mechanical appearance. In any case the effect is so far unfavour-

able that its varied, shimmering wealth of colour prevents the due development of the sense of harmonious feeling, on which account it at last encouraged the rivalry of oil painting. A picture painted in the style of Rembrandt could not well be conceived as possible during the flourishing period of glass painting.

It must undoubtedly be admitted that the peculiar colouring of the old German painting was largely due to a conscious or unconscious imitation of glass painting. And it must unfortunately be confessed that Dürer was one of the very worst manipulators of garish, glassy colours; indeed, amongst the better painters of Germany it would be scarcely possible to name a worse.

Thus it was that Gothic architecture produced quite a peculiar effect on the sister arts, and the decline of the school of architecture could not fail at the same time to give undue prominence to those meaner forms, to those rude naturalistic, or quaint and phantastic types of ornament in the other arts, the more so that no counterpoise was here produced, as in Italy, by the models of antiquity. And although even in Italy itself works of the Roman period were alone almost exclusively known, still even these reflected the perfectly harmonious and undying artistic conceptions of the Greeks with sufficient strength to act as a check to such vagaries, and thus allow the Renaissance to arise in all its beauty.

The heralds of the new artistic teaching found their way but seldom in those days across the Alps, so that not till after the year 1510 was it able to acquire a firmer footing and ultimately to reign supreme in Germany also. But even then German Renaissance was not so consistently developed as the Italian. In Germany it had no national or organic starting-point; the models were for the most part misunderstood, and Gothic details continued long to linger on—nay, the core itself was not unfrequently Gothic in conception.

Thus Dürer's career coincides on the one hand with the period of the decline of Gothic, and is on the other lit up by the splendour of Italian Art; which, however, he is yet unable to grasp in all its truth. In his phantastic tendencies, his love of varied scroll work, his unwieldy management of symmetrical subjects, and so on, he still betrays his fondness for the last phases of mediæval types.

But it may be asked how such a master-mind could still cling to a style of architecture then on the wane? If it was already dying out, how could he hope to rekindle a living fire from its embers? To this must be replied that the narrow and limited Gothic sentiment of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries prevented the development of a rich artistic life. An untrammelled study of nature, an eye alive to the manifold forms and phenomena of life, whence Art must ever receive fresh inspirations, all this was alien to the spirit of the times.

It was not till the severity of the Gothic style became more relaxed, that

nature began once more to be contemplated with a free and unclouded eye. It was then that the incomparable brothers Van Eyck, in the prosperous Low Countries, discovered the new pigment, whereby they were enabled to reinstate nature in the full possession of her rights. Jan van Eyck painted not only religious subjects, but portraits and *genre* pictures also. Of him it may be said



Dürer's Wife. (Silver pencil drawing in the Imperial Library, Vienna.)

that he conscientiously and truthfully to nature studied everything at all bearing upon his artistic work. Hence it becomes easy to understand how the new art spread triumphantly over the face of the land, and how from 1450 onwards everything followed in its wake.

In Upper Germany, with which we are here more immediately concerned,

Nuremberg, Kolmar, Ulm, and Augsburg more particularly formed themselves on the foundations of the Flemish school; the Franconian towns developing more chequered and cruder forms, the Suabian revealing a more delicate sentiment, while to some extent also more affected by the old mediæval manner.

Now copperplate engraving also came into vogue, and if Germany cannot claim the exclusive honour of its invention, here at least it unfolded its first glories through the genius of the masters E. S. and Martin Schongauer. Wood engraving also, the introduction of which, however, must have preceded the Van Eycks, now acquired more artistic pretensions, and it was precisely in Nuremberg that it first received marked prominence and consideration.

It was, moreover, much about the time of the rise of copperplate engraving that Gutenberg invented the art of printing, which was destined ere long to revolutionise the world. Nor is it necessary here to describe all its unforeseen consequences—the spread of education, new ideas acquiring the widest possible circulation, the development of classical studies in Germany and elsewhere, new materials introduced into the domain of Art, the era of book-illustration, which gave fresh life and expansion more particularly to copperplate and wood engraving.

And in the midst of all this ferment of thought the daring navigators of Spain and Portugal discover the water highways to the East and the West. New worlds are suddenly revealed to the astonished gaze, and the minds of men are fired to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by all the wonderful things that are related of them. Thus the fifteenth century becomes the starting-point for new conceptions in Art and letters, in trade and commerce, ever memorable for the future history of the peoples of the earth. The fresh breath of renewed life and energies animates all hearts, and with its spirit dawning German Art is soon brought to maturity during the first years of the sixteenth century, whilst at the same time the struggle with ecclesiastical absolutism and priestly bondage is at last brought to a triumphant issue.

It was but natural that the Reformation should have found its birthplace and chief abode in Germany, where printing and wood engraving had been invented—popular arts whose productions, by penetrating into the hamlets of the poorest, supplied polemics with unexpected weapons of attack. A really national ruler then at the head of the State, and Germany might have been spared the sore trials of the Thirty Years' War, as well as in our own times the painful revival of the struggle with the intellectual oppression of the people, the bitter battles of political independence against the tutelage of a foreign Church despot, of the free spirit of inquiry against the predominant superstitions and dogmatism! But unhappily the political relations of Germany were

at that time pitched in a very low key, from which even Maximilian I. was powerless to raise them. Yet the "Last Knight," as he has been called, did not lack a certain energy, and he, after a fashion, took Art under his protection. Burckmair, Dürer, and others enjoyed his patronage, though it may have been granted more with a view to his own glorification, than through any unselfish love of Art, for in all this he was utterly unconscious of large views or grand ideas.

In the smaller German states also there was a total lack of any sense of the need of a more enlightened encouragement of Art. Petty magistrates and municipal bodies were unable to emancipate themselves from the narrow spirit of local considerations, and they moreover neglected by generous and intelligent patronage to give a real impulse to Art and guide it to higher aims. The same mean and paltry spirit pervaded the higher classes also—princes, nobles, wealthy private families—so that many a German artist may well have shared the feelings of Dürer, when in the year 1506 he wrote from Venice complaining of the glaring difference between the social position of the German artist at home and of his more fortunate Italian compeer. And to all this were added the relations of the mediæval guilds with their mechanical views and considerations, from the influence of which, with all his love of Art for its own sake, Dürer was yet never able quite to free himself.

It is accordingly with a strangely mingled feeling of wonder and dissatisfaction that we contemplate his works. A vivid and powerful fancy, combined with quaint and uncouth perceptions, delicacy and crudity of sentiment go hand-in-hand with him. An underlying depth of thought has also, though groundlessly, been attributed to him.

Dürer was no philosophic spirit of the nineteenth century; his was nothing but a genuine artistic nature. Hence we may feel sure that works such as his "Melancholy," "Nemesis," and others of the kind, were suggested or specially commissioned by some of his scholarly patrons. But in his own field he gave himself up to unwearied study, strove ever after fresh motives and a more enlarged knowledge of nature, herein one of the grandest figures in the whole range of Art, a genius in the fullest sense of the word. How his earnest and truthful studies contrast with the Italian mannerists and artists of the *barocco* period, when whole swarms ostentatiously repeated hackneyed forms once acquired, without any further heed of nature.

There is a special charm in the contemplation of Dürer's drawings, in the preparation of which he made use of several technical expedients. It is here rather that we feel his full significance, than in his paintings, which are, in fact, of but subordinate interest. As a colourist, his training was far too defective, whence it happens that in his paintings the draughtsmanship becomes the prominent feature. It is evident that what had been neglected in his early

years he never afterwards succeeded in thoroughly acquiring. The vulgar taste evinced in his colouring, his trite treatment of the modelling, his ungainly features and forms, at times sinking to low caricature, often produce a highly forbidding effect. Exceptional talent is, of course, abundantly evident by the side of all this, and his "Four Apostles" especially attain a certain grandeur. But even here we have but to examine the toes of the St. John to be obliged to confess that the work falls short of the perfect monumental style.

His importance is immeasurably greater in the domain of the copperplate and wood-engraving departments of Art, which certainly occupy but a subordinate position in comparison with painting. On him rests the whole subsequent artistic development of these crafts, not in Germany only, where he, however, found his more immediate followers, but elsewhere also. And, in truth, these many-sided arts were the best adapted for giving full play to his overflowing fancy. Here he could pour out without let or hindrance the full stream of his exuberant humour, of his rich imagination, in fact, of his whole being. It need scarcely be remarked that even in this province our feeling of pleasure is not wholly without some alloy. The defective sense of outward form and beauty peculiar to old German Art, and frequently sinking to the downright brutal, the tendency to too great detail, preventing a more comprehensive and freer conception of the whole, make themselves felt here also to a greater or less degree, naturally more conspicuously in subjects with which the grand forms of Greek Art have made us familiar. But even in the case of other types, we can never forget that in exceptional instances only does he comply with the requirements of the highest Art, which ever aims at a due realisation of the subject.

However, Dürer was not only a great and characteristic artist; his was also a cultivated and enlightened mind, else he could scarcely have been honoured with the friendly intimacy of such men as Pirkheimer, Spengler, Melanchthon, and others. But he was also an honest, upright man, as clearly shown by his diaries, which breathe a gentle spirit of love and attachment to father, mother, and friends.

Since the time of Joachim von Sandrart (*Teutsche Academie*, 1675), his married life has been represented in a false light. From a letter of Pirkheimer to the Imperial architect Tscherte in Vienna, containing serious reflections on Dame Agnes, Sandrart fabricated a whole volume, and he was, of course, followed by all subsequent biographers. To Moritz Thausing, however, is due the credit of having shown that Pirkheimer's charges were utterly groundless, and that Dürer's married relations were anything but unhappy.

That his wife in her younger days had been endowed with a fair share of beauty, of which she retained the traces till her old age, is evident from the many portraits that have been preserved of her. Our woodcut reproduces a

silver pencil drawing in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which was executed in the summer of 1521 during their home journey from the Netherlands, "on the Rhine at Boppard," as stated in the superscription: "Awff dem rin pey popart." The general expression is severer and more earnest than that of other likenesses.

And to complete the picture of the man, Dürer was possessed of rare physical beauty, distinguished by a noble figure, expressive features, and delicately-shaped hands. He is the pride of his German fatherland, of which he is the most genuine son. Even during the darkest days of German Art, when it was the fashion to disparage the old masters, he was never forgotten, as it is to be hoped he may never be.

WORKS CONSULTED.

CAMPE: "Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer," Nuremberg, 1828.

JOSEPH HELLER: "Leben und Werke A. Dürers," Bamberg, 1827-31.

A. VON EYE: "Leben und Werken A. Dürers," Nördlingen, 1860 and 1869 (enlarged).

B. HAUSMANN: "A. Dürer's Kupferstiche, Radirungen, Holzschnitte, und Zeichnungen," Hanover, 1861.

H. GRIMM: "A. Dürer," Berlin, 1866.

A. VON ZAHN: "Dürer's Kunstlehre und sein Verhältniss zur Renaissance," Leipzig, 1866.

R. VON RETBERG: "Dürer's Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte," Munich, 1871.

M. THAUSING: "Dürer's Briefe, Tagebücher und Reime," Vienna, 1872.

THE GERMAN LITTLE MASTERS OF DURER'S SCHOOL.

BY DR. ADOLF ROSENBERG.

DURER'S influence on German Art was felt far beyond the narrow limits of his native place. In Westphalia, Sleswig, Denmark, Brandenburg, there were painters at work who had been completely carried away by the genius of the great Nuremberg master. Dürer's artistic life is the landmark of his epoch. The old German Art, the Gothic style, or by whatever other name it be called, was once more by him raised to the height which it was destined to attain, while in his later development he shows himself at once as an intelligent pupil and soon as a guiding spirit in the new direction given to Art at first in Italy, and thence diffused throughout Germany.

In his middle period this new tendency went independently hand in hand with the older, nor was it till the declining years of his artistic life that works were matured bearing the stamp of perfect finish. That such works were mostly portraits was a natural result both of his special bent, which best understood how to seize and reproduce the salient features of his subject, and of the spirit of the Renaissance, which had for the first time given prominence to, and firmly established the claims and the significance of, the individual. The vigour of personal character, by Dürer pushed at times to the verge of caricature, was the breakwater successfully opposed to the mighty tide streaming over the Alps. Wherever this spirit continued to assert itself in the ensuing generation, it ever proved an invincible barrier against the levelling tendencies of the Renaissance.

Dürer's immediate followers are the artists of the German Renaissance. Holbein, the greatest of them, left his home too early to acquire a lasting influence on his contemporaries and the following generation; hence the great Nuremberger's predominance, clashing with the ever-growing sway of the Renaissance, continued alone to be felt throughout the better half of the century. With its extinction and the final triumph of the Renaissance, German Art ceases also to lay any claim to originality.

After the precedent of the copperplate collectors, it has become customary to speak of the German Renaissance painters as the "Little Masters." This title was derived from the usually small compass of their engravings, which

seemed to serve also as a standard whereby to estimate their importance in the history of Art. But the progress of research has proved this descriptive name to be at once incongruous and inconvenient. The Renaissance is the true characteristic note of the imitators of Dürer, and it would be better to group the lesser lights of the sixteenth century under the heading of the GERMAN RENAISSANCE PAINTERS. That the greater part of them owed their reputation mainly to their copperplate and wood engravings, is a circumstance of purely secondary consideration.

It was the necessity of the times and the social condition of Germany that compelled these masters to devote themselves chiefly to drawings and designs for the copperplate and wood engraver, and for the illustration of books, whence it happened that in their hands the technique of the pictorial Art proper received no further expansion, whilst engraving was brought to a rare pitch of excellence. The religious troubles in Germany had inflicted a severe blow on easel painting. The practice of endowing churches and cloisters with pious foundations fell gradually into abeyance, while the clergy held fast to their inheritances, the unsettled circumstances of the times rendering insecure the tenure of all newly acquired possessions. Princes, nobles, and wealthy merchants, at no time distinguished by any very generous spirit of patronage, now with but few exceptions bestowed all their favour on Italian Art and Italian artists. Art collections were extremely rare in Germany. Reimund Fugger of Augsburg possessed a museum of antiquities and paintings which he had procured from Italy. Beatus Rhenanus, to whom we owe a lively description of these treasures, speaks favourably of a large number of portraits by a certain *Lucas Cronburger*. Portraiture is still highly popular, or rather now for the first time begins to be encouraged by high and low. Those who could not afford to have themselves painted in oil had themselves done in copper or wood, and so multiplied. Duke Ludwig of Bavaria erected a portrait gallery of his ancestors and relatives, employing the able Barthel Beham to paint them. Portraiture thus offered to artists some compensation for the lost field of Religious Art.

Still copperplate and wood engraving offered the most lucrative sources of employment. Here the artist was able to appeal to the masses, who ever lent him a favourable ear; here ingenuity and inclination had free and unshackled scope; here competition and the struggle for existence brought into play a vigorous and restless industry. Hence the copperplates and woodcuts of the sixteenth century present the most fruitful and the safest sources of information touching the Art history of the times.

An obtrusive tradition and the uncritical spirit of later generations have directly associated with Dürer a large number of the Little Masters, or, as we would prefer calling them, of the German Renaissance painters. Some of them

are mentioned as his pupils, whilst of others we read that they worked for a time under him as assistants. In consequence of such statements, rather wide notions have been entertained regarding Dürer's "workshop," dimensions being



The Emperor Maximilian's Wreath of Honour. Drawing by Hans von Culmbach, with Dürer's Corrections. (Original in the Berlin Copperplate Cabinet.)

given to it which in fact it never possessed. The truth is that a small number only of these masters came in personal contact with Dürer, while the majority simply felt the influence of his genius through his copperplates and woodcuts, which were widely diffused throughout the land. Of two painters only is there

warranty for stating that they were pupils, or as they were then called "apprentices," of Dürer. These were Hans von Culmbach and Hans Springinklee.

HANS VON CULMBACH.—"Hans, whose family name was Fuss, and who was a native of Culmbach in Franconia, had been a pupil of Jacob Walch," writes the Nuremberg Art historian Neudörffer, who compiled an account of the artists of his native town about the year 1550. Jacopo de Barbaris, by the Germans named Jacob Walch—that is, the foreigner—was a Venetian painter who had come to Nuremberg and there found employment towards the end of the fifteenth century. Neudörffer mentions a portrait by him of the architect Beheim, and a number of his works are preserved in various German collections, amongst others one dated 1504. Later on he went to the Netherlands, where he became Court painter to the Regent Margaret of Austria, and died before 1516. In one of Dürer's manuscripts we find it stated that he understood the proportions of the human figure. "Jacobus," so he writes, "a charming painter, showed me a man and woman he had drawn according to the proportions." But Jacob refused to let him into the secret, so that Dürer took to the study of Vitruvius and there acquired the desired information. Jacob was, he adds, still young at that time, according to which Hans von Culmbach was not much the junior of Dürer. Hans died previous to December 3rd, 1522, as is evident from certain authentic records.

Jacopo was highly esteemed in Nuremberg, nor was Dürer aware of the existence of any painters superior to him till his visit to Venice in 1506. In Venice itself Jacopo was not much thought of, and his contemporaries assured Dürer that, were he very talented, he would have remained in that city. Still from him Hans von Culmbach seems to have acquired his chief excellencies—warmth and depth of colouring. In these respects he surpasses his second teacher, under whom he may have begun to study about the year 1510.

Neudörffer informs us that he painted the work in the church of St. Sebald, near the sacristy, in memory of the provost Dr. Sixtus Tucher, in 1513. This is an altarpiece with volets, still preserved in the choir of the same church. In the centre is the Madonna with the Child, seated on a throne in the style of the Italian Renaissance; two angels hold a crown above her head, whilst a third is seated at the foot of the throne playing a lute, as we often see in Venetian works of the kind, especially those of Bellini. The lute-player is accompanied by four other angels playing on different instruments. To the right stands St. Catharine, and to the left St. Barbara. On the right wing are SS. Peter and Laurence, and the provost Laurence Tucher himself, kneeling before the latter. On the left wing are SS. John the Baptist and Jerome.

The work is distinguished by a degree of charm and beauty such as Dürer himself never equalled in any of his productions, and the folds of the draperies

display "a pure, occasionally even a grand, touch. The colouring is bright and clear, sometimes delicate, as in the white robe of St. Barbara shaded with blue; at others strong and deep, as in the red mantles of Jerome and Peter."

Sandart tells us that Culmbach executed this work after a drawing made by Dürer in 1511. This, which was in Sandart's possession, is now in the Berlin Museum, and undoubtedly betrays the hand of Dürer, whose monogram it also bears. Together with this drawing, which is lightly coloured, there is another attached to a sheet of paper, representing the Madonna with the Child, St. Anne, and on either side three saints, male and female, in arched niches with pillars. This drawing, which shows a weaker hand, especially at the extremities, was made by Culmbach, and was perhaps a sketch for the back of the volets of the altarpiece. However, as this is now made fast to the wall of the church, no definite conclusion can be arrived at.

In the Berlin Copperplate Cabinet there is also a drawing by Culmbach, with corrections by Dürer, which may be referred to somewhere about the year 1518 (see p. 134). It represents two knights bearing a large laurel wreath, and forms a part of the design for the Emperor Maximilian's triumphal procession. For artistic and other reasons Dürer seems to have attached no importance to this commission, and left its execution to his pupils, so that he had only to give the finishing touch to the work himself.

In the third volume of Dürer's manuscripts in the British Museum, mention is made of a votive piece which was also executed by Culmbach. The painting was an offering of the canon Matthias von Gulpen, and is still in St. Gumpert's Church at Anspach. It represents the Saviour treading the wine-press, which God the Father is turning, the Virgin as the Mater Dolorosa pierced by five swords, St. Peter and the donor kneeling. In the air hover four angels.

Perhaps the best of this master's known works is the "Adoration of the Three Kings," dated 1511, but only recently brought to light, and now in possession of Herr Lippman of Vienna. On its discovery Von Lützow thus described it: "The scene is placed amidst architectural ruins, the brickwork of the arches and pillars partly overgrown with weeds and shrubs, with here and there the shaft of a verde antico column still erect. In this stately ruin, through the opening above which the halo-encircled star streams in, the straw-thatched stable is built into the wall on the left, and here the Infant is seated in his mother's lap, with his little hands in a box full of gold coins and covered with shagreen. This is presented to him by the king kneeling to the right, a bearded old man in a purple mantle, ermine, and gold chain. Whilst the Child's gaze is fixed on the kneeling figure of the king, Mary, a fair young woman, with youthful expression and piquant nose, turns in wonderment towards the Moorish prince on her right, who holds a golden casket in his hands. This

group is closed in on the left by two of the retinue, one of whom in friendly greeting is clasping the hand of Joseph, standing behind the Virgin. The whole of the right and the centre of the picture is filled by the rest of the suite grouped round the third king, who stands behind the kneeling figure in ermine. He wears a mantle of brocade, lined with green and red shot silk, a fur collar, turban, and massive chain, and is in the act of taking from one of his armed attendants the silver offering he intends for the new-born Infant. He is encircled by a number of camp-followers with horses and camels. Some of the riders appear in the distance just surmounting a rising ground in the hilly and wooded landscape, which is seen through openings to the right and in the centre of the picture. The enamel finish and pellucid clearness of the colours, which are laid on very thinly, often showing the mere outlines and even the grain of the wood, the delicacy of the shadings and of the chiaroscuro, lastly, the soft harmony of the general tone, impart to the work an indescribable charm, and suggest, besides Dürer's influence, unmistakable in the composition and in individual figures, certain Venetian models or at least traditions." (See illustration, p. 138).

Other works by Culmbach adhere more to Dürer's style, and in some of them some of his motives have been utilised. In his best portraits also he approaches Dürer very nearly, what he lacks in sharpness of individuality and firm modelling being compensated by great delicacy in the treatment of the carnations and in the finish of his colouring. An instance of this is his portrait of Jacob Fugger (after a drawing by Dürer), now in the Berlin Museum.

Of HANS SPRINGINKLEE, Neudörffer tells us that "he lived in Dürer's house, where he acquired a skill in engraving and painting that made him famous. He cut the figures and models in the '*Hortulus Animæ*,' and executed numerous illustrations, as may be seen in a little prayer-book at George Dumen's, written by Alexius Birnbaum. He died anno 1540."

This "*Hortulus Animæ*," or "Garden of the Soul," a very popular book of devotions in its day, appeared in the year 1516, and shows on the title-page a lovely Madonna with the Infant, to whom she is handing an apple. She is seated on a crescent and encircled by a glory of cherubim. He also drew illustrations for other works of the Nuremberg publisher, as, for instance, a series of twelve apostles for a book containing the Articles of the Apostles' Creed issued in 1539. Warmth of inward devotion is the salient feature of his unassuming style of Art, which treads faithfully in the footsteps of Dürer. According to a probable conjecture of Thausing, Springinklee also composed the eight illustrations of Dürer's prayer-book in Munich, to which Cranach's monogram has been fraudulently attached.



"Adoration of the Three Kings," by Hans von Culmbach. (From Lippmann's Collection, Vienna.)

Similar tendencies are shown by ERHARD SCHÖN, of Nuremberg, who died about 1550. He also illustrated books of devotion, supplying, for instance, some twenty sheets in the Dürer style for the above-mentioned "*Hortulus Animæ*," in 1516. He at the same time applied himself to the study of the theory of his art, summing up his conclusions in a little work entitled, "*Directions for the Proportion and Attitude of Model Figures, recumbent and standing, as copied by Erhard Schön, . . . for the instruction of young workmen and students who are fond of Art, and printed in 1543.*" As he explains in the preface, he had composed the work at the request of his pupils, as a preparatory study for the writings of Dürer and Vitruvius. It contains a number of well-drawn heads, full-length bodies in various attitudes, fencers, an armed horseman, and the like. One of his best drawings is reproduced by a woodcut of the "*Adoration of the Shepherds*," the scene of which is placed in a ruin with fine Renaissance architectural details and interspersed with branches and foliage.

Whether GEORGE PENCZ and Sebald and Barthel Beham were pupils of Dürer in the strict sense of the word cannot now be ascertained with certainty. In any case, however, they were so highly influenced by him that they must be considered his alumni in a wider sense. The brothers Beham were associated on friendly terms with George Pencz. They were contemporaries, all having obtained the rights of citizenship and of masters before the year 1524. Pencz is mentioned as a master in 1523; while Sebald Beham was born in 1500, and Barthel two years later. These hot-headed young men eagerly drank in the seductive poison presented to them in the writings of Karlstadt and Münzer, and in their own circles became fiery propagandists of the communistic teachings of those two dreamers. They were accordingly accused, summoned before the magistrates, and banished the city in 1524, because "these painters," as it ran in the sentence, "have shown themselves so utterly godless and heathenish as has never heretofore been heard of any, and this in scorn and contempt of all the spiritual and secular authorities."

The official report of the proceedings, which lasted three days, has been preserved, and what refers to Pencz is characteristic enough to be quoted: "George Pencz, to the question whether he believes there is a God, answers, Yes, he partly feels it; but whether he understands what he really should hold that God to be, he knows not. What he believes of Christ? Of Christ he believes naught. Whether he believes in the Holy Gospel and God's Word, as embraced in Holy Writ? Cannot believe in the Scriptures. What he holds touching the Sacrament of the Altar? Of the Sacrament of the Altar he believes naught. What he holds respecting Baptism? Of Baptism he believes naught. Whether he believes in the secular authority and acknow-

ledges the Nuremberg magistracy as his lords over his body and goods, and all outward things? Knows of no Lord except God alone."

It was evident that the city magistrates could no longer suffer the presence in Nuremberg of the representatives and disseminators of such views as these in the midst of the religious dissensions of those times, dissensions in which they had not themselves yet taken any decided part.

In the following year, 1525, George Pencz petitioned for a mitigation of his sentence. He was deprived of the freedom of the place and of all offices, and allowed to settle down in Windsheim, and later on the banishment was revoked altogether. Sebald Beham also got back to Nuremberg in 1526, about which time Pencz may have also returned. Six years thereafter he was appointed painter and engraver to the council, but was at that time so poor that he received ten gulden in advance, "on certified plea of distress." He had a special allowance for all works not comprised in the narrow compass of his art. Thus in the year 1538 he gilded the borders of Dürer's great picture of the Apostles for fifteen gulden; and two years subsequently he executed a drawing of the Castle of Ghent for one gulden. A notice further occurs in the city records, that the council engaged him and Sebald Peck to prepare a topographic chart of Nuremberg, for which they received the handsome remuneration of 261 gulden 8 shillings (German), besides an extra allowance for outlays incurred by them.

Pencz was at the same time very busy with private commissions. Thus we learn that in 1544 he painted the portrait of Cardinal Granvella, Chancellor of Charles V., and sent his son with it to the town hall to show it to the magistrates. The portrait of a prince, now in the Darmstadt Gallery, is also dated 1544, and in 1536 he had painted the likeness of the Nuremberg senator Christoph Color, who died soon after. He also painted the Austrian general, Sebald Schirmer, a native of Nuremberg. As besides these there are still extant over a dozen portraits by him, we may conclude that he possessed a certain popularity as a portrait painter; and on a closer consideration of his pictorial qualities we shall see that, in point of fact, he occupies a very high position in this department of the art.

Of an exceptionally interesting work by him, which has unfortunately perished, Sandrart expressly states, "It is also to be recorded in his praise that in Nuremberg our artist painted in oil the upper part of a room at the end of a gallery in the beautiful grounds of the noble Herr Volkamer, and represented it as if the apartment were still open and unfinished, the carpenters being occupied in bringing in the timber, planks, and deal boards, whilst others are busy propping up the roof and strengthening the building, all of which appears so natural against the open, painted sky, with clouds and birds flying about, that many were thereby deceived, and at first thought the picture was

real and natural, this error occurring especially when the work is viewed from the point where George Pencz skilfully disposed his horizon."

So early as 1521 the council had engaged him to restore the paintings in the town hall that had been executed by Hans Graff in 1340. This was in preparation for the Imperial Diet to be held there the ensuing year, and on the same occasion Dürer drew the designs for nine mural decorations. The group of musicians between the doors at the entrance was executed by Pencz.

The last mention of Pencz occurs in the year 1548, when he presented to the municipality an artistic work, the picture of St. Jerome, receiving in return



"Joseph sold into Bondage." (Copperplate by George Pencz.)

eighty gulden. This picture, which was painted in 1544, is now in the chapel of St. Maurice in Nuremberg. It shows the saint in his cell pointing at a skull, books and other objects lying about.

Pencz died in 1550, leaving his wife and child in such distress that the council was compelled to pay sixty gulden on his behalf to a guardian. Neudörffer states that both he and his son Egidius died "on the same day in the month of October, 1550."

Neudörffer also pronounces a very favourable judgment on him: "Although

the copperplate works of this George Pencz sufficiently prove the excellent understanding and skill of this man in Art, still he was very correct in portraiture also, and very careful in painting in colours, so that one can scarcely believe that colouring can be brought to a yet higher degree of perfection." His extant works, especially his portraits, in some respects confirm this opinion. His warm and clear colouring may have induced his contemporaries, and still later his admirers, to compare him with Raphael, and Pencz really seems to have been influenced by Raphael's manner, although



"Death of Sophonisba." (Copperplate by George Pencz.)

there is absolutely no proof yet discovered that he actually ever resided in Italy.

One of his best portraits is that in the Berlin Museum of a young man seated at a table covered with a handsomely designed cloth. The reproduction of the material recalls in its photographic fidelity the exquisite and characteristic execution of such objects in Holbein's works, while the vigorous treatment of the head and the firm flesh tints betray Italian influence. This work is approached by the portrait of the painter Erhard Suetzer of Nuremberg and his wife Elizabeth, dated 1544, and in the same collection. Other portraits by

Pencz are preserved in the Ducal Gallery at Gotha, in the Vienna Belvedere, in the Uffizi at Florence, and in Karlsruhe. These, with three portraits of Erasmus after Holbein (in Windsor, Brunswick, and Nuremberg), make altogether fifteen by him still in existence.

Of mythological and historical pieces in various collections passing under his name, there can be assigned to him with certainty three fragments only of an Adoration of the Wise Men (Dresden), besides a Venus and Cupid in the Italian style in the Munich Pinakothek. Most of the rest, even when marked by a monogram composed of his initials G and P, are merely paintings executed by others after his copperplates.

Sandart's assumption of his residence in Italy is rendered highly improbable by the ascertained dates of events in his life, and is altogether negatived by his copperplates, of which 126 are still extant, the first in chronological order being dated 1535. But assuming the production of others earlier than this date, their technical execution shows that it can at most be a question of some two or three years. But Marc Antonio, under whom Pencz is supposed to have studied, was already dead in the year 1533, so that our artist must have been with him somewhere between 1519 and 1521, as he is ascertained to have resided constantly in Nuremberg after the year 1521. But this is rendered improbable from the fact that Marc Antonio was not at that time sufficiently renowned to attract pupils from distant parts, whilst Dürer had long been at the height of his fame in Nuremberg itself. Besides, it is doubtful whether Pencz practised the art of engraving at all before 1530. His plates, which in their technical treatment differ but little from each other, all uniformly exhibit that peculiar manner developed by the brothers Beham, by combining the German and Italian styles.

The religious element in the works of Pencz is less conspicuous than in those of the other Little Masters. Devotional pieces properly so called he did not produce at all, though occasionally treating biblical subjects, especially whenever the opportunity presented itself of picturesquely grouping together a number of figures. Nor did he ever make deliberate choice of religious or legendary subjects. Working for profit, he usually engraved a series of plates in illustration of some story, or otherwise connected together by some common vein of thought pervading the whole. To the first category belong the History of Abraham, the Life of Joseph (see "Joseph sold into Bondage"), and twenty-five plates connected with the Life of Jesus. Ten plates with scenes from the Old Testament embody the ideas concerning the baneful ascendancy of woman current in the sixteenth century. Here we have Solomon seduced by his women to the worship of idols, Holofernes destroyed by Judith, and the over-trusting Samson betrayed by the faithless Delilah.

He was very partial to classic subjects, here also linking together a number

of kindred topics in one connected series. Thus he produced a series of famous lovers—Medea and Jason, Paris and CEnone, Procris and Kephalus; examples also of firmness and intrepidity from Roman history—Mucius Scævola, Curtius, Manlius, and Regulus; ill-starred women, mostly such as perished through love—Dido, Virginia, Artemisia, Sophonisba (see illustration, p. 142). The most extensive of such series, and altogether one of the greatest produced in the sixteenth century, is that of the Conquest of Carthage by the Romans, signed with his full name, parentage, and date (1539).

Pencz was a correct and skilful drawer, qualities conspicuous in his copperplates, while in the modelling of the nude he strives after the grand forms and outline of the Italians. But having here to build upon the types of his native place, he was unable quite to get rid of a certain heaviness especially in his female figures, nor can grace and loveliness in any case be said to form a prominent feature of the German Little Masters.

SEBALD BEHAM, the friend and associate of Pencz, was born at Nuremberg in 1500, being thus two years the senior of his brother Barthel. Their talents were developed at a tolerably early date, and of both we possess copperplates executed in their eighteenth year, from which it is evident that they had already mastered the chief technical difficulties of the graver's art. Both had also acquired the rights of citizens and masters before 1524, and they were already married at the time of the judicial proceedings mentioned in our notice of Pencz. A certain Veit Virsperger had denounced them, and afterwards stated in evidence that "he knew these two brothers Beham to be persons of evil speech concerning the faith, to have conversed much with a certain cleric banished the city by the council, that he also had several times visited them, &c. In a word, that one brother, Barthel by name, had stated he knew no Christ and that the other brother, Sebald, was no less stiff-necked and devilish, and that it was not to be suffered that Christian folk should be wived with them," and so forth. At the oral examination Sebald denied especially the doctrine of transubstantiation and the efficacy of baptism, whilst Barthel held baptism and the Eucharist "as a wicked human fraud." Nor could he believe in Holy Writ, and would therefore bide in his own belief "till the truth came."

They suffered banishment in common with Pencz. Barthel turned his back for ever on his native place, while Sebald seems to have remained in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg. In 1526 the printer Wandereisen published a book entitled, "Popery with its Members painted and described," and illustrated with woodcuts, the designs for which were contributed by S. Beham. The sentence of banishment may, perhaps, have been revoked with the official adoption of the Reformation in Nuremberg. The little work in question is a

violent pamphlet against the Roman clergy quite in the spirit of the times. The figures are certainly not in the nature of caricatures, but the accompanying verses are all the more trenchant.

Another direct proof of Sebald's temporary return to Nuremberg is afforded by the somewhat obscure tradition of a certain lawsuit in which Beham was involved by the heirs of Dürer. Dürer had died while his four books on the proportion of the human body were in type. During his lifetime a treatise on the proportions of the horse had been purloined by a person known to him, but for some reason he had remained silent on the incident. But when the report was spread after his death, the form-cutter Hieronymus and the painter Sebald Beham proceeded to publish a "little book on proportion" composed by the latter, whereupon Dürer's widow entered a protest against them, believing them to be the authors of the theft. The council, which, as we have seen, was unfavourably disposed towards Sebald, as well as towards the equally troublesome Hieronymus, barred the publication of the work until the issue of that of Dürer, then in the press. What Dürer may have written on the proportions of the horse has not transpired, though we may presume that in determining them he adopted the same method as he had applied to those of the human figure, which happens to be fundamentally different from that of Beham. Whilst Dürer broadly and in detail sums up the results of diverse measurements, Beham constructs with the square an ideal model horse after his own conception, the proportions of which, however, have nothing in common with his ideal. This work, which appeared in Nuremberg in 1528, he afterwards again issued in 1546 in an enlarged form, and under the title of "A Treatise on Art and its Rules." In spite of its poor contents it was received very favourably, and evidently answered to an urgent want of the times, though its reception may have been occasioned less, perhaps, by the rules and practical hints contained in it than by the drawings, some of which are certainly excellent.

This fashion of composing such instructive works seems to have been rather general amongst artists at this period. We have seen that Erhard Schön had published such a one, and other painters, as, for instance, H. Vogtherr in Strasburg, issued drawings and designs in book form, but unaccompanied by any letterpress. Dürer's ceaseless activity is well known; it served as a model for the next generation, while it had itself been stimulated by the theoretic works of the great Italian Masters. At the same time it would be difficult to determine whether and how far these manuals had any permanent influence on the development of German Art. They were probably neither useful nor injurious, notwithstanding the great favour with which they were at times received; at least, their popularity may be argued from the numerous editions and translations of Dürer's writings, though these were oftener to be met with in the hands of mathematicians than of artists.

But Sebald was unable to hold out much longer in Nuremberg. Excessive competition, the declining prosperity of the place, and the acknowledged indifference of the Reformation to all artistic life, compelled him to cast about for some other source of income. From the year 1530 we are able to follow



Portrait of Sebald Beham, by himself. (Pen-and-ink Sketch in Vienna.)

the traces of his industrious career in Ingolstadt, Munich, then again in Nuremberg, and lastly in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where he settled down for good in 1534. He had meantime received employment from Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, Elector of Mainz, and in the royal library at

Aschaffenburg there is preserved a prayer-book of the cardinal, embellished with eight miniatures, of which the four best bear Sebald's monogram. The book is dated 1525, and the miniatures represent the Sacrament of Penance, the Preparations for Mass, and the Mass itself.

Possibly these excellent works may have induced the cardinal to intrust him with a more serious undertaking, completed by him in the year 1534. He adorned an ornamental table with four scenes from the life of David—the king's victorious return from battle and triumphal reception by the people, his first sight of Bathsheba in the bath, the death of Uriah on the battle-field, and the prophet Nathan preaching repentance to the royal sinner. Of these the second is the most original, and in it the king, visible some distance off on the balcony, receives far less attention than the Cardinal Albrecht himself, who is surrounded by his courtiers as he leans against the balustrade encircling the basin. The artist seems to have contemplated this sumptuous work with a certain pride, as he has immortalised himself in it. He stands in self-conscious attitude behind a balustrade, dressed in a black fur-trimmed cloak concealing his figure down to the red stockings visible below. In his right hand he holds a circle, whilst his left rests on a tablet containing a Latin inscription with his name and that of his princely patron. The exceptionally clear and gold tone, the pale lights, the bright, vivid colours, and the decidedly fleshly execution of the whole, render this painting one of the most agreeable and attractive of the German Renaissance period. The panel is now in the Salon Carré of the Louvre.

In Frankfort Beham displayed great industry, which, as far as can be ascertained, was devoted exclusively to copperplate and wood engraving. He became associated with the printer Christian Egenolff, and illustrated a number of works issued by him. First of all there appeared in 1534 the "*Annals of the World*," embellished with numerous woodcuts, of which eighty were after drawings by Beham. These woodcuts, which illustrate scenes from the Old Testament, were next year issued separately, and in this form went through nine editions up to 1576. A book with twenty-eight woodcuts of the Apocalypse appeared before 1539, and a series of prints out of the New Testament in 1551. There was also published by Egenolff a "*Handbook of Fencing and Wrestling*," illustrated by Beham, as also a treatise translated from the Latin, which may be described as a sort of guide to health.

Notwithstanding this incessant work in the department of copperplate and wood engraving, Beham does not appear to have made money, all the profits accruing, as usual, to the publisher. To the year 1540 are referred three little medallions in steatite showing his portrait and that of his wife Anna, together with his monogram *h* enclosed in a laurel-wreath. Anna was four years his senior, and was therefore forty-four years old at that time. Her features are hard and unlovely; nor does the beauty of German women of the sixteenth

century seem in any case to have been very lasting. Sebald himself exhibits no trace of that wild Bohemian spirit which had once driven him to rebel against the constituted authorities.

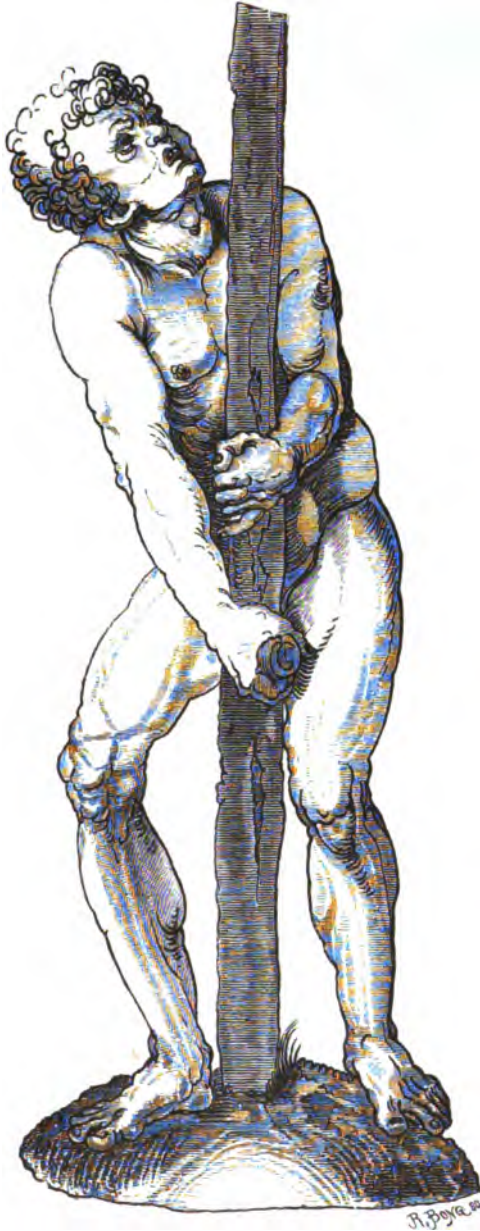
This spruce, almost foppish-looking portrait does not at all accord with Sandrart's tradition that towards the end of his life Beham set up a wine tavern, fell into dissolute habits, and died about 1545. Sandrart may possibly have derived his account from a report based on the nature of the works produced by our artist in his declining years. Amongst these was a splendid series of small and exquisitely executed copperplate and wood engravings, illustrating the rustic merrymakings of peasant life at weddings, fairs, and the like. We all know that on such occasions everything is not always conducted with perfect propriety, and as the artist displayed little reserve in the treatment of these riotous and disorderly scenes, the priggish and respectable members of society in the seventeenth century forthwith identified him with such wild and dissipated doings.

However, a masterly pen-and-ink portrait of Beham by himself, executed in 1549 (see p. 146), shows the master in quite a different light from that produced five years previously. Here certainly is a type of head answering exactly to that vigorous and somewhat unbridled spirit which is so unmistakably stamped on his works. But that he was not hopelessly sunk in indolence and debauchery is evident from the great artistic energy developed by him, especially in his last years. Apart from his paintings and miniatures, of which but few have survived, Sebald's artistic works bequeathed to posterity comprise some 20 drawings, 270 copperplates, and 500 woodcuts, about 400 of the woodcuts and 180 of the copperplates being produced during his residence in Frankfort.

But whatever is to be said of Sebald's morals, artists may claim as a right to be judged by a different standard from people of an ordinary stamp. Besides which the benefit conferred on Art by his genius may well induce us to throw a veil over his moral shortcomings. As a draughtsman he stands at the head of all the imitators of his model and teacher, the great Dürer, whilst as a copperplate engraver he even surpasses him in the tenderness and delicacy of his technical treatment as well as in his artistic feeling. In the execution of form and outline he also displays a better and more delicate taste. He belongs entirely to the Renaissance School, whilst Dürer is still vehemently struggling against "the antique style."

On the other hand, Beham is far outstripped by Dürer in the grandeur of his motives and his deep perception of character. His was a careless, superficial nature, which reluctantly dwelt for any length of time on a subject, but, like the butterfly, fluttered from blossom to blossom, sipping here and there, without ever sating himself or exhausting the sweets of the flower. He

possessed wonderful skill and accuracy in all departments, hence his artistic remains embrace specimens of all the branches of the formative arts cultivated



Drawing of a Man in the Nude, by S. Beham. (Original in the Imperial Copperplate Cabinet, Berlin.)

in the sixteenth century. The Old and New Testaments, Madonnas and saints, mythology and history, allegory and *genre*, all are richly and diversely

represented in his copperplates and woodcuts, and all his works alike enjoyed an exceptional popularity. He happily treated a topic once or twice handled



"The Holy Family." (Woodcut by S. Beham.)

by Dürer, varying it by means of his exuberant fancy and vigorous sense of humour. He penetrated deeply into peasant life, studying it not while borne

down by toil, but while unbending to the rough pleasures of their state, and thus succeeded in catching the true spirit of the people. He is essentially the painter of the people and the peasants, and in this respect to be considered as the forerunner of the Dutch portrayers of rustic life, the Breughels, Brouwers, Ostades, and Teniers. The village minstrel with his bagpipes, the dancers at wedding feasts, "Hinz and Kunz," in their ragged garb, but arrayed in an overflow of inimitable humour, pass in boisterous procession before us (see illustration below). Here and there Beham doubtless oversteps the limits of decorum, but as this word, at least as now understood, is the product of more recent times, so the conception itself was alien to a period when the maxim still prevailed that to the pure all things are pure.

Beham's rustic scenes were very popular, his dancing peasants forming a welcome embellishment to the capacious wassail bowls which the potter's art of



"Dancing Rustics" ("The Months"). (Copperplate by S. Beham.)

the sixteenth century knew so well how to deck with appropriate imagery; and the same was the case with his Apostles, which also figure constantly on the drinking cups of the period.

BARTHEL BEHAM, Sebald's junior, after his banishment turned for ever from his native town. Fortune, however, smiled more kindly on him than on his brother. He does not seem to have long sought for employment, as we find him already at work in Munich in 1527, to which date is referred a copperplate portrait of the Bavarian chancellor Leonhard von Eck.

Although his religious and political views were opposed to those prevalent in Munich, nevertheless Barthel was induced to attach himself to the Court there; nor was this detrimental to his artistic career. Amongst the Catholic princes and nobles of Bavaria a field was opened to him which he could no more have expected to find in the midst of a Lutheran public than his brother Sebald

had in Frankfort. Barthel accordingly seems to have found no further scope for disseminating his radical tendencies, but to have kept them quietly to himself in Bavaria, where the followers of Luther were being persecuted with fire and sword. "Duke William in Bavaria," so Neudörffer relates, "held Barthel's painting and art in honour."

For the Duke and his brother Ludwig he painted a series of portraits, their own and those of their forefathers and kindred, of which sixteen are still preserved in the ancestral hall of the castle at Schleissheim. They are, however, in such a deplorable plight as to afford no idea of Barthel's talent for portraiture. Happily there is a well-preserved likeness of the Count Palatine Otto Heinrich in the Augsburg Gallery, which indemnifies us for the loss or



Figures from the Wars of the Peasantry. (Copperplate by B. Beham.)

ruin of the others. This, as well as the copperplate portraits of Charles V. (see p. 154) and of King Ferdinand, justify us in ranking Barthel Beham on a level with the first portrait painters of his time. In truth to nature, grandeur of conception, and genuine grasp of the individual character, they come nearer to Holbein than to Dürer, who not seldom exaggerates the personality of his subjects.

Barthel probably also executed more serious works, such as altarpieces and the like, for the Bavarian dukes. But one such alone has been preserved, which the arms of Duke William show to have evidently been bespoken by him. It treats of the legend of the finding of the true cross, and is now in the Munich Pinakothek. Beham seems to have highly prized it, having attached to it his full signature, BARTHOLOME BEHEM, together with the date 1530.

But an adequate idea of Beham's talents as a painter is first afforded by the numerous pieces executed by him for Count Gottfried Werner, of Zimmern. It is a singular coincidence that this strictly Protestant painter at heart should have been one of the last German artists to glorify by his brush the pompous splendour of Catholic dogma. In order to understand this contrast between mind and outward form, we must remember that Beham belonged to that class of religious innovators who aimed rather at political than purely ecclesiastical ends. It is further to be observed that the religious upheaving of the sixteenth



"The Madonna at the Window." (Copperplate by B. Beham.)

century was at first directed not against the hitherto established worship, but mainly against the Pope and his ministers. The worship of Mary and the Saints, which had so deeply penetrated the German nature, survived the Reformation for a considerable time. Indeed, the spiritual communion of the holy patrons and their votaries was so thorough and familiar, so little exclusively ecclesiastical, that the Reformation was at first neither able nor willing to bring about any change in this respect.

Accordingly there is nothing extraordinary in the fact of a Protestant artist lovingly treating devotional subjects redounding to the glorification of Catholic worship. The majority of these works are preserved in Prince Fürstenberg's



"The Emperor Charles V." (After a Proof from a Plate by B. Beham.)

collection at Donaueschingen. The centrepiece alone of an altar with volets, representing the "Adoration of the Kings," is still in its original place, the town

church at Messkirch, to which Count Werner and his consort Apollonia had presented it. It is uncertain how many wings this altarpiece had, but three of them are now in Donaueschingen. One shows the Magdalene, another St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, with his protégé the count fully armed and kneeling, and the third John the Baptist with the donor's wife.

A second altarpiece, also with side compartments, originally belonging to the chapel of the Castle of Wildenstein, is dated 1536. In the centrepiece is the Virgin with the Infant, surrounded by the fourteen "Nothhelfer," or assistants in the last extremity. On the interior of the wings we again meet with the donors, the count and countess, kneeling, while the exterior is occupied by a painting of Mount Olivet. A small altarpiece with volets, containing St. Anne with two other figures in the centre, and SS. Andrew, Erasmus, Christophore, and Sebastian on the wings, also from the Castle of Wildenstein, together with a Crucifixion from Messkirch, must be placed in order of time between the two above-mentioned altarpieces, so that the altarpiece dated 1536 is chronologically the last work of Barthel Beham bearing a certain date. Soon after this year he seems to have gone to Italy; Neudörffer, on whom we have to rely for our information respecting his last years, thus concluding his notice of this artist: "Duke William in Bavaria held Barthel's painting and art in great honour, and also at his own princely charge sent him to Italy to acquire more experience and skill. Barthel died suddenly in Italy in the year 1540."

Thus in the prime of life, and at the summit of his art, just attained by him, there disappears from the Art world one of the most genial representatives of the German Renaissance school, ere he could have exercised more than a general influence on it. An obscure tradition of his importance as a painter survived till the seventeenth century, though all knowledge of his greater works had died out till recent times. Sandrart relates that, forty years before the appearance of his "Academy of Art" in 1675, he had himself heard from the painter Donauer in Munich, then in his eightieth year, that "this Böhm (Beham) had in his time been considered one of the best German painters, which was also confirmed by the renowned and skilful embosser in wax, Alexandro Abondio, who also gave me a circumstantial account of his works."

From his extant paintings Woltmann has drawn a sketch of this master from which we extract the following: "The grand and characteristic heads in the 'Adoration of the Kings,' especially that of the old man kneeling, the lovely grace both of the Child with both hands grasping at the gold offerings and of the numerous little angels, the glittering splendour of the colouring, especially conspicuous in the rich draperies, in the surrounding landscape with the ruined arches, its soft green and Swiss-like mountains, render this work a masterpiece. Quite on the same level stand the volets with the stately figures of the saints

and the excellent portrait figures of the two donors, both of whom here seem somewhat younger than on the little altarpiece (1536) with the Virgin surrounded by saints, and which we would feel inclined to consider as the most beautiful executed by him. Here also the beauty of the landscape and scenery is conspicuous, whilst there are occasionally dramatically conceived situations, as in the scene where Christ bids his mother farewell, which present a certain psychological interest. Between these two works stand the Crucifixion from Messkirch and the little altarpiece with volets from Wildstein, with St. Anne and two others, parts of which are admirable, notably the wing containing the figure of St. Erasmus, remarkable for its vigour and grandeur of conception. Dürer's influence has been everywhere at work both in the spirit and treatment of the whole, in the individual characters, the round heads full of earnestness and expression, as well as in many of the motives, which have been adopted from him. But the germs of the Italian Renaissance are no less visible, as well in the ornamental details and the architectural framework as in the cultivated taste of the general treatment. Draughtsmanship and form are noble and true to nature, the movements skilfully and soberly disposed, and a pure style is especially conspicuous in the draperies, which are full and noble, not crisp and paltry in their folds, as is too often the case with Dürer. The colouring is clear, agreeable, and well harmonized, the execution flowing, and the exposition unclouded. But in spite of the religious nature of the subject there is a lack of a strictly religious feeling in the conception. With the progressive culture of the Renaissance School the whole spirit of the times and of Art has become worldly, and the most hallowed subjects are now conceived in a purely human spirit. But if the inward depth of Dürer's religious feeling is absent in Beham, the devotional sentiment is at least always replaced by a noble elevation or a gentle charm and dignity."

His copperplates, of which eighty-five have survived, entitle Barthel to one of the first places amongst the German Little Masters. His technique is in every respect admirable, while none of his contemporaries have approached him in the delicacy of his touch or in the sharpness and decision of his characters. He embraces the whole province of Art cultivated by the Renaissance, but does not treat his materials very fully, being often satisfied with a few suggestive touches. He handled biblical and mythological subjects in order to revel in the beauty of the nude human form as revealed to Art by the Renaissance. Devotional pieces are extremely rare, and a Madonna giving the breast to the Infant has nothing of the spirit of the heavenly mother of mercy. But for the prayer-book and the quiet sanctity of the place we might fancy it a scene of ordinary domestic life, so simple and homely is the picture (see p. 153).

He also embraced the types of everyday life in the sphere of his Art, here displaying without restraint his vigorous and daring humour, coupled with the

most delicate and forcible individuality and expressive animation. Now it may be a trooper keeping guard, seated on the stump of a tree ; again one mounted on horseback behind a bush ; elsewhere a drummer, a fifer, and an ensign in converse together—all well-known types from the Wars of the Peasantry (page 152). He also shows us a couple of figures taken from the rural classes—a farm servant with a pitchfork, a wench with pots ; lastly, a pair of rustic dancers—a theme which, as we have seen, was treated with unequalled skill by his brother Sebald.

We have already referred to his excellent copperplate engravings. He also supplied admirable ornamental designs for artistic trades ; a branch in which the Little Masters avowedly excelled, and in virtue of which they may also be looked upon as the heralds of the new era for other departments of Art. Here he moved freely and confidently in the spirit of the Renaissance, availing himself of its principles with a skill in no way inferior to the best of the Italians. Here, in a word, his ingenuity, imagination, and talent for composition are seen in their greatest force. Ornamental wreaths in which little genii are entwined, splendid vases enriched with tendrils and creepers, and often



Scroll-work. (Copperplate by B. Beham.)

towering three or four above each other, sphinxes, satyrs, and fabulous animals, all blended with inexhaustible variety in one harmonious whole, 'pass in an endless series before us.

The goldsmith LUDWIG KRUG, who died in 1532, remained tolerably free from the influence of Dürer and his copperplates. As his father settled in Nuremberg as a master goldsmith in 1484, he must have been born after this date, perhaps not till about the end of the year 1490, as he did not acquire the rights of a master till 1522. It may be presumed that he worked under his father till his death, as we possess a copperplate by him dated 1516. His portrait, executed in 1523, bears the inscription : "Aurifaber, Pictor et Sculptor Norimbergæ clarissimus." But it is far from certain whether we are justified in concluding from this that Ludwig Krug was also a painter. Waagen saw a painting in the Liverpool Institution with his signature, representing the Nativity, and corresponding exactly with one of his copperplates. We may therefore question the genuineness of the work, and look upon it rather as a copy of the engraving by a strange hand.

Sandart writes that he "was also one of the first copperplate engravers in Germany, who at this time excelled in this art beyond all the Italians and French." He is mentioned together with Sebald Beham as one whose ornamental designs in copperplate were most eagerly sought after by the goldsmiths, but of these plates nothing has survived, and there are not more than sixteen copperplates altogether that can with any certainty be referred to him: thirteen of these are religious subjects, the most important being a Nativity, with a companion piece representing the Adoration of the Kings, in a beautiful Renaissance apartment; Christ on the Cross; and a Virgin with the Infant.

Krug betrays the influence of Dürer less than that of Schongauer and still less than that of the Flemish school. The harshness of the outlines, the leanness of the limbs and their slender proportions, the strongly marked features and sunken eyes, recall the Dutch style before Lucas van Leyden and the earliest copperplates of Lucas himself.

On the other hand, HANS LEONHARD SCHAUFLEIN is entirely under the influence of Dürer. He is in a sense the mere echo of the great master, in whose studio he is supposed to have worked till 1505, in which year it was broken up by Dürer preparatory to his journey to Venice. Hans may have previously studied under Dürer's teacher Michael Wolgemut, as he was himself not much Dürer's junior in years. His father, a native of Nördlingen, settled in Nuremberg in 1476, soon after which date Hans may have been born. The restless and indefatigable Wolgemut would seem to have served as a model for the young painter in his subsequent career. His contemplative mind was no more suited than that of Wolgemut for the tedious process of copperplate engraving. With a rapid hand he threw off drawings for woodcuts, the number of which was almost countless, and, like Wolgemut, he set up a painter's workshop, where were produced hundreds of altarpieces.

The first traces of his industry are seen in an altarpiece from Dürer's studio, executed in 1502 for the Elector Frederick of Saxony, and which is now in the Archbishop of Vienna's summer residence at Ober St. Veit. The centre compartment shows a composition very rich in figures, the interior of the left volet the Procession to Calvary, that of the right Christ appearing as a gardener to Magdalene, the corresponding exteriors the life-size figures of SS. Sebastian and Roch. Dürer seems merely to have prepared the sketch of the whole work; that for the centre, dated 1502, is in the Bâle Museum, the drawings for the volets in the Städel Institute, Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The painting itself was mainly executed by Schaufelein. "He is detected," writes Thausing, "by several heads of men idealized after a certain fashion—long, regular features, with projecting foreheads and brows, prominent noses, and deep lines about the mouth, imparting a sarcastic smile to the otherwise noble countenance."

Schäufelein distorted the ideal heads of Dürer by giving exclusive prominence to the individual character at the expense of beauty, an element of which he seems to have had little or no perception. He left Dürer's school at a time which may be called the fever-heat period of the great Nuremberg master. In this atmosphere he received those impressions which produced a lasting effect on his artistic spirit. He is the reverse of the Dürer of a certain period, his works showing us what Dürer himself might have become had his further development been suddenly arrested at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless Schäufelein is a characteristic link in the history of Art during that period. With no other German painter of the time is Art so entirely blended with trade as with him. The consciousness of the high and sacred mission which we now claim for Art was doubtless clearly felt by none of them, and Dürer alone had a foreboding of its divinity in his breast. Their pride as artists was restricted to a greater or less degree of readiness in painting, drawing, and engraving, in which they sought to outstrip each other. The spark of the genius that inspired their hand smouldered, so to say, unwittingly in their breast. Their works alone enable us still to feel with what warmth that spark glowed in one or another of them. But Schäufelein's paintings and drawings can scarcely be looked upon as revelations of a genius; they are simply such plain and honest work as might be produced by the diligent though ungifted pupil of an able master.

In 1507 a work illustrated by Schäufelein was published in Nuremberg, entitled, "*Speculum Passionis Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi.*" It contained thirty-five woodcuts, amongst which some of excellent composition; as, for instance, "*The Man of Sorrow on the Cross,*" attended by two angels, one of whom, with the reed and sponge, of relatively great beauty. In 1512 he was at work in Augsburg, where he supplied the one hundred and eighteen designs for the woodcuts which were to embellish the "*Theuerdank,*" composed by Melchior Pfinzing for Maximilian. But, as was usual with works commissioned by that prince, the money was not forthcoming, so that the form-cutter Jost de Negker, at the instance of the painter "*Hans Scheyffeln,*" was compelled to apply to the Emperor for the stipulated sum. From the letter, which is dated October 27th, 1512, it appears that the printer Hans Schönsperger had chosen Schäufelein for the work, and that two gulden were to be paid "for every three figures," presumably illustrations.

Next year there appeared another work in Augsburg entitled the "*Lives of the Saints,*" and illustrated by Schäufelein with one hundred and thirty little woodcuts; and in 1515 the "*Passion of Jesus Christ, from the Four Evangelists,*" by Wolfgang Mann, published by Hans Schönsperger, with whom Schäufelein was connected in the same way as Beham was with Egenolff in Frankfort. This work contained thirty woodcuts, contributed partly by

Schäufelein and partly by the foremost painter in Augsburg, Hans Burckmair, assisted by his pupil or associate George Brew. Although three only of the engravings bear Schäufelein's signature (either a little shovel, in reference to the meaning of his name, or a monogram formed by his initials H and S), still the greater number of them must be accredited to him. Next year a similar work, "*Doctrina Vita et Passio Jesu Christi*," was published by the printer Anshelm of Hagenau, in Alsace, though we cannot from this conclude that our master resided in Alsace, as it may have been nothing more than an unauthorised reprint of the previous work.

In 1515 he withdrew to his father's native town of Nördlingen, where he continued to be employed till his death in 1549. His relict, Afra Tucherin, a Nuremberg lady of rank, married the painter Hans Schwarz, of Oettingen.

In Nördlingen our master's first work (1515) was an essay at monumental painting. On the wall of a room in the town-hall he painted the "Beheading of Holofernes by Judith" and the "Battle at Bethulia," in distemper, for which he received 42 florins 20 kreuzers, as shown by an entry in still extant records of local expenditure. It thus appears that Schäufelein painted in distemper, a technique which for such purposes has been now replaced by encaustic painting. A preparatory study for this work, painted on canvas and with the artist's full name attached, may still be seen in the house of the Landau Confraternity in Nuremberg. Here both Jews and Assyrians are, as usual, dressed in the garb of knights or troopers of the sixteenth century. The soldiers are drawn up in companies and pounding each other with artillery. The figures, however, are very animated, and owing to its realistic treatment the work produces altogether a very pleasing effect. Schäufelein seems to have been very fond of such war-like subjects, at least he again prepared this piece to be multiplied as a wood engraving, and later on (1542) supplied a translation of Boccaccio's "*History of Rome*" with illustrations, in which a number of battle scenes, also of course in the style of the sixteenth century, figure conspicuously. To one of the pictures the explanation is even added, "*The French take Rome!*" This and the other numerous works illustrated by Schäufelein during the course of his industrious career have all been published in Augsburg, partly by Schönsperger and partly by Heinrich Stainer.

A copybook with drawings by our artist, now in a private collection in Nördlingen, may also, perhaps, be traced to his military studies, as it contains a great number of bridles and curbs in every conceivable pattern. These drawings were presumably prepared for a work published in Paris in 1531, by the Bâle bookseller Christian Wechel, under the title of "*Hippiatria sive Mare-scalcia*," and containing forty-three different designs for bridles.

The oldest of his dated oil paintings (1507) is in the gallery of the Castle of Bellevue, in Cassel. Magdalene, in a rich brocade dress and a costly mantle

that has fallen in heavy folds from her shoulders, is kneeling with clasped



"Christ and the Magdalene," by Schöufelein. (Original in the Cassel Gallery.)

hands before the Redeemer, who has appeared to her in the figure of a gardener.

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Tears flow from her eyes, which are devoutly raised to her Saviour, who has consolingly laid his right hand on her head, whilst the left rests on the handle of a spade. He wears a white flowing garb, the upper and lower borders of which are ornamented with the words addressed by him to the Magdalene in the Gospel. His wavy beard and hair are carefully treated, but the type of his features is far from noble. A broad, perfectly flat forehead, a somewhat snub nose, high cheek-bones, and a short chin, are its most salient traits. The bare feet are also broad and coarse. Nor is the Magdalene much more attractive. The proportions of her figure, as well as those of the Saviour, could scarcely find their counterpart in nature; but this defective treatment of the outward forms is to some extent compensated by the inward expression. What a touching, heartfelt trust in God is mirrored in the seemingly so flat and insipid countenance of the Magdalene, and what a majesty beams in the otherwise commonplace features of the Redeemer! The two figures are moreover animated by a fulness of life which reveals itself in the most minute details. That crumpled fall of the draperies with such painful conscientiousness affected by the painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries till the time of Dürer is nothing but the result of their efforts after the most faithful reproduction of real life. They lacked all feeling for a grand treatment of the draperies independent of all the accidents of fashion, a feeling that Dürer himself succeeded in realising in his "Four Apostles" alone.

The background of the painting is filled by a landscape stretching away in the distance, with rocks, hills, and clumps of trees, the two Marys at the empty grave of Christ being visible in the middle distance to the left. The landscape itself—trees, plants, and herbs—as well as the brocade dress and hair of the Magdalene, are treated very lovingly; and when we contemplate these countless touches of his pencil, we are filled with the greatest amazement at the skill and readiness of Schüpflein, who, during the forty years of his artistic life, executed some eighty oil paintings and unnumbered drawings for woodcuts. It must doubtless be presumed that in his later years he employed assistants, but the first rough sketch of his paintings must in most cases be referred to him; nor is it likely that he ever failed to give them the last touch himself.

This work of his younger days is also characteristic of his peculiar style. Later on he no doubt had frequent occasion to undertake greater works, but this at the same time soon tended to exhaust his artistic resources, which were never very great in themselves. The more expansive he grew, the more superficial became the execution of his paintings. His heads become more commonplace and empty, his proportions more defective, while the colouring loses the warm harmonious tone that favourably distinguished his best compositions from many even by Dürer himself.

To the first period of his residence in Nördlingen is referred a large "Ecce

Homo" in distemper, rich in figures. It is now in the castle at Nuremberg, and bears the date of 1517. Pilate, stricken with repentance, is showing the Saviour from a balcony to the turbulent multitude below. In their midst is the Virgin, who has fainted away and is supported by the holy women. The work is executed with great freedom and ease, though somewhat superficially, almost producing the effect of a coloured drawing.

His finest and most important work is in the High Church of Nördlingen. It is an altarpiece with volets painted by him in 1521 for Nicholas Ziegler, Vice-Chancellor of Charles V. The centre compartment represents the mourning for Christ after his descent from the cross; Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus upbear his body in a shroud, whilst Mary, sustained by John and a holy woman, stretches her arms towards her dead Son. The artist has very delicately expressed the various phases of grief on the features of the women, but most touchingly on that of the Magdalene. The background, as is usually the case in Schäufolein's paintings, is formed by an open landscape, in which Golgotha is visible, with the crucified thieves. The inward sense of nature, expressed in so many of this master's paintings, is one of the most precious inheritances of the spirit of Dürer. The four wings show the figures of as many saints—Paul leaning on his sword, an Emperor (Charles the Great?), to whom an angel is handing a sword, Elizabeth giving food to a poor man, and Barbara, the last two standing in white niches.

In these paintings the figures are more nobly conceived and the draperies more intelligently and tastefully disposed than is usually the case with him. The leather-brown flesh tints have become mellowed to a golden hue, and the pictorial treatment generally is sound, so that we may presume that Schäufolein's taste was further cultivated in Nördlingen by the study of the works of Herlen, a painter of the Van Eyck school. In some of the female heads there is even to be detected a certain sense of beauty, such as is to be met with only in one other of his paintings, again representing the mourners over the body of Christ, and also in the Nördlingen High Church, dated 1516. We gather from an old account that for the Ziegler altarpiece he received the handsome sum of 175 gold gulden.

The most comprehensive of his still extant works is an altarpiece in the church of the former cloister of Anhausen, near Oettingen, consisting of sixteen pieces, of which the central one represents the Coronation of the Virgin.

Most of his other works bear the impress of mechanical execution, the best of them presenting no new features wherewith to complete the picture of his creative Art.

In his declining years Schäufolein again turned his attention to wood engraving. He illustrated Cicero's "*De Officiis*," Boccaccio's histories, a German edition of Plutarch, the "*Golden Ass of Apuleius*," a treatise on

hygienics, and several religious works. The most satisfactory, however, are some representations of every-day life, especially the twenty sheets with figures, forming a Wedding Procession (see illustration, page 166). These are amongst his best draughts for the wood engraver, and form an important contribution to the history of dress. A Last Supper, also a woodcut, is remarkable, especially for its exceptional size (about seven-tenths of a mètre high by upwards of one broad), and for the grand and pure design of the rich Renaissance architecture of the apartment.

With Schüfelein ends the series of those younger painters who may be presumed to have been personally associated with Dürer, either as pupils or assistants in his workshop.

A drawing by Dürer is no doubt supposed to exist, with an inscription according to which the master presented it to ALBRECHT ALTENDORFER in 1509. Hence this artist also might be supposed to have been somewhat closely connected with the great Nuremberger. It is impossible, however, to decide this point in the absence of the drawing, which has disappeared. In 1509, Altdorfer was already settled as a citizen in Ratisbon, whither he had migrated from Amberg in 1505, and where he had acquired the rights of citizenship in the same year. He developed a variety of talents, as architect, painter, copper-plate engraver, draughtsman, and painter in water-colours. Still he was in the first place an architect, and then a panel painter; hence it is not perhaps surprising that a careful study of his productions in other branches should reveal more of the *dilettante* than the true artist. Being a man, however, of rare parts, as is evident from his works, even his paintings, copperplates, and drawings mostly produce, if not always an agreeable, at least a striking effect. At the same time he was not one of those architects who took part in the development of that charming style known as the German Renaissance, but rather an able master builder, architect to the Ratisbon municipality, and as such called upon to erect buildings only of practical utility.

Having obtained the rights of citizenship in 1505, he must have been at that time at least twenty-five years old, so that he cannot have been born later than 1480. In Ratisbon he soon acquired distinction, and in 1509 the town council contributed ten gulden towards a painting executed by him for the choir of St. Peter's Church there. During the first period of his residence in that place he seems to have been mainly occupied with panel painting, in which department he skilfully contrives to disguise the unsteady and amateur draughtsman behind a thick impasto and animated colouring, to which the other pupils of Dürer were strangers. What he obviously took from Dürer is mainly of a purely outward character—certain combinations in the composition common to the whole style, stiff and formal draperies, and certain peculiarities in the

drawing and in the expression of the features, that Altdorfer may very well have acquired from Dürer's copperplates and woodcuts.

On the other hand, in Altdorfer there is a decidedly fantastic bent, which betrays itself as well in the conception and choice of his subjects as in the composition and in certain effects of light, but most of all in the treatment of natural scenes. We soon perceive how he developed a certain tendency towards landscape painting, which had been only incidentally and, so to say, experimentally cultivated by Dürer. But in this particular field it is impossible to detect any direct connection between Altdorfer and the Nuremberg master. There may be some common points of contact, but nothing to justify us in looking on the one as a copyist of the other. Altdorfer himself has doubtless painted no landscapes in the modern sense, though his foregrounds are always occupied with some important biblical, in one instance even with an historical, subject. Still, he no longer treats the landscape merely as a background, but side by side with the figures imparts to it an independent significance. He seeks to give it a special charm, not only by an original, mostly a fantastic, composition, but also by a loving and most conscientious treatment of details. Trees and shrubs, leaves, plants and herbs, hills, castles and crumbling ruins—all is reproduced with the most thoughtful care, as it appears to the eye of the nature-loving artist. He doubtless lacked the genius to grasp nature as a whole, lingering rather over individual objects, and blending them all to one fantastic picture, which thus acquires unity from the mind of the master alone.

This picturesque background gradually pressed forward; the artist lavished more and more love and care on unanimated nature, while the human life of the foreground sank to the position of a mere accessory in the scene. For this reason Altdorfer may be called the father of modern landscape painting, although his own works were too restricted and desultory to produce any decided effect on the further development of this branch of Art. His oil paintings, scarcely twenty-five altogether, were unknown outside Bavaria during his lifetime, and even now not more than one-third of them is to be met with elsewhere. Nor are his drawings over-numerous, though they seem even at an early period to have been highly prized, some duplicates and copies dating from the sixteenth century having been recently brought to light, since some large private collections of drawings have been acquired by the Berlin and other public galleries. Thus the Berlin Copperplate Cabinet, for instance, possesses two almost perfectly similar drawings of Samson rending the Lion, with a landscape in the background, one of them, seemingly a later copy, being executed with greater knowledge of the human body. Correct outlines and accurate acquaintance with anatomical proportions were not distinctive traits of Altdorfer's art.

In his oldest known painting, a Crucifixion dated 1506, in the Castle of

Nuremberg, the delicate treatment of the trees and vegetation already points at the leading feature of this master. The composition and sentiment otherwise strongly recall the Dürer style. To the following year belongs a little work in duplicate in the Berlin Museum, representing SS. Dominic and Francis mortifying themselves, but attractive only by the play of sunlight—an element by means of which he elsewhere also contrives to produce very pleasing results; thus, in an excellent work in the chapel of St. Maurice, Nuremberg, the figures (a



Figures from the Wedding Procession. (Woodcut by H. Schäufelein.)

man and two women) raising the body of St. Quirinus out of the water are bathed in the golden light of the setting sun. Similar effects are seen in a picture of the Madonna and also in the "Battle of Alexander" in the Munich Pinakothek. To the year 1507 belongs also the little landscape with a family of satyrs in the foreground, which passed with the Suermondt collection to the Berlin Museum.

The finest of his youthful essays, also dated 1507, perhaps altogether the least studied and most delightful of all his creations, is now in the Art Hall at Bremen. In a mighty ruin, showing the nightly firmament through its decaying roof, lies the Infant Jesus on a wisp of straw, and surrounded by little angels. Before him kneels the Madonna, anxiously bending over the new-born Saviour. A long ladder leads to the hayloft under the roof, and at its foot stands Joseph with a lantern, giving light to the little angels, who have clambered up to fetch more straw. One of them is visible at the trap-door, about to throw down a bundle, whilst another has already tumbled head over heels down from the loft and landed close by the babe, whereat a third hurries forward in alarm to see whether his little playmate has hurt himself. In the mid distance appear a couple of shepherds, advancing through the mouldering gateway to worship their new-born Saviour. Quite in the background the rising sun is already tinging the russet clouds that enclose the horizon.

To the year 1510 belongs a little picture in the Munich Pinakothek, showing St. George and the Dragon in the foreground of a fine beech forest, through which to the right a prospect is opened of a wooded hilly landscape.

Between 1510 and 1517 there are no paintings by Altdorfer bearing a certain date. To this period, however, are referred all his extant drawings, which were seldom dated by him. These are peculiar and characteristic not only on account of their fantastic nature, but also of their technical treatment. Altdorfer generally uses three colours only, the ground being formed by some very deep but uniform tone—green, red, ruddy brown, yellow, or blue. On this ground with the point of the pencil he makes a rough freehand sketch in white, also introducing some black in the outlines, to obtain some deeper tones, shadings, transitions, and the like. Both Dürer and especially Baldung Grien were very fond of this peculiar method of drawing, but no one employed it so skilfully as Altdorfer.

In works of this class also the landscape is the salient feature. His fantastic views of nature found the freest scope precisely in these crude effects and rough contrasts between light and shade. He is especially fond of the pine-tree, whose pendent, acerous leaves he paints with the greatest accuracy. From the fissures in the rocks and the clefts in crumbling walls plants shoot out, now lifting their branches boldly upwards, now sinking downwards like entangled tropical creepers. These hanging plants and herbs are characteristic of Altdorfer's landscape painting, and this wondrous fancy so imposed upon some younger painters that they also composed landscapes in his style, thus propagating his peculiar manner beyond the middle of the century.

The Berlin Copperplate Cabinet is exceptionally rich in five drawings by

this master. The oldest (1509) shows Christ praying on the Mount of Olives in the midst of a splendid landscape, the officers approaching from the background. The "Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem" and a large Crucifixion are respectively dated 1510 and 1511. To the next year belongs the "Adoration of the Kings," the largest of the Berlin drawings, which we have transcribed at page 170, and of which a Nativity in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, and the Berlin drawing in white and black on brown paper, seem to form a pendant.

Of rare beauty is a landscape with a richly dressed woman and two riders in the foreground, dated 1514. Amongst the Berlin sheets there is also a pen-and-ink landscape without figures, a companion piece to which may be seen in the Dresden Copperplate Collection. Here a broad roadway leads upwards to a church situated on a hill, whilst a footpath winds up an acclivity on the left in the same direction. Pines and brushwood fill up the foreground. Here we have the rough sketch of a landscape, which Altdorfer afterwards etched in copper and embraced in a more extensive series. Etching was peculiarly adapted to reproduce the more delicate herbs and plants, mosses, and the narrow prickly leaves of the pine, for which this master shows such a preference in his landscapes. The etching in question must be referred to somewhere about 1520, as in the third period of his career he appears to have handled neither the graver nor the etching needle, now devoting himself mainly to architecture.

In 1513 our master already found himself in easy circumstances. In this year he purchased a "private dwelling with tower and enclosure by the St. Veit burn, near the Augustinians," which, with the exception of the restored frontage, is still much in the same state as then, even now forming one of the most conspicuous residences in Ratisbon. In 1518 he acquired a second house, and about the same time succeeded in obtaining a high civic standing. He became a member of the council, and as such was compelled in 1519 to announce to the Jewish community their expulsion from Ratisbon. The fanatical townsfolk had already demolished the Jewish synagogue and burying-ground. Amongst his engravings are two reminiscences of this event. One shows the interior of the synagogue with a Latin inscription to the effect that, "In the year of the Lord 1519 the Jewish synagogue in Ratisbon was utterly destroyed by a just judgment of God;" on the other we see the vestibule of the synagogue with a corresponding inscription. However, we need not suppose that these were executed before the demolition, which was not premeditated, but a rash act of the moment; the drawings were made later on from memory. He was himself assuredly not a whit more enlightened than his fellow-townsmen, and probably executed these works out of mere curiosity. From the Jewish graveyard he also took a number of tombstones, which he utilised as flag-stones for his house and which are still used as such.

On the ruins of the synagogue was erected a church dedicated to the Virgin,

which became a place of pilgrimage, but is now the Protestant new parish church. Altdorfer was commissioned to paint a processional banner with the image of the Madonna and the city arms for this church. To the same time may, perhaps, be referred the splendid coloured woodcut with the Virgin, which was probably sold to pilgrims and others on solemn occasions, as mementoes of indulgences and the like. It represents in several colours—red, green, blue carnation, and black—the Madonna with the Infant behind a balustrade, on which stands a vase with campanulæ. From the balustrade spring Renaissance columns connected above by an entablature. Below runs the inscription :—

“Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee. Ave Maria.”

About the same time he sketched the design of a gold gulden for the city of Ratisbon, embellished an indulgence brief for the above-mentioned chapel of the Madonna, as well as a curtain for her shrine, and lastly adorned the gun carriages of the place with the arms of Ratisbon, the cross-keys. He seems also about this period to have formally entered the service of the city as municipal artist. As far as can be ascertained his architectural career did not begin till 1526, after he had become a member of the inner council. As city architect he erected the “Weinstadel,” and in 1527 the shambles, which have survived to our times. As remarked by his biographer Neumann, after three hundred years it still shows itself as a solid and practical building, betraying as much taste in its disposition and structure as was consistent with such a work.

The esteem in which he was now held is evident from several local incidents, and notably from his election in 1528 as burgomaster; an honour, however, that he declined, being then engaged on a large painting for Duke William of Bavaria, which he had promised to finish in a short time. This is his most famous and his best work, the great “Battle of Alexander,” now in the Munich Pinakothek. He completed it in 1529, and in full consciousness of its worth attached the inscription: “ALBRECHT ALTDORFER ZV REGENSBVRG FECIT.” The duke had about the same time ordered four other historical paintings, treating similar warlike subjects: the Battle of Cannæ, by Burckmair; that of Zama, by George Brew; the Capture of Alesia; and Porsena’s Siege of Rome, by Melchior Feselen, a painter of indifferent talent, who died at Ingolstadt in 1538. Altdorfer’s work by far surpassed all the others in its careful execution, in the application of his fantastic effects, and in his peculiar and minute attention to the details. It is of course no ideal composition, but, as is usual with the masters of the German Renaissance, a battle of knights and troopers of the beginning of the sixteenth century, such as those of the Emperors Maximilian and Charles, or of the Swiss of that period. Thousands of figures are moving about in a comparatively narrow



"Adoration of the Three Kings." (After a Sketch by Albrecht Altdorfer, in Berlin.)

space—five feet high by less than four broad. All the accessories, armour and doublets, coats of mail and horse-trappings, helmets, swords, spears, and battle-axes, are treated with the greatest care and accuracy.

During the years 1529 and 1530, his constructive talents were again brought into requisition by the Municipal Council, which found it necessary to protect Ratisbon against a possible onslaught of the Turks by strengthening or enlarging the fortifications of the place. Under his direction were now erected the "Kreuz-Pastey," the "Oster-Pastey," and the "Eisengred," a sort of arsenal where arms and the like were preserved. In memory of these works a memorial stone was set up on which was inscribed the name of Altdorfer together with those of the other members of the council.

In the year 1531 he produced a charming little landscape, now in the possession of Herr Fr. Lippmann in Vienna. A richly clad pair are entering a splendid Renaissance castle, and are greeted at the threshold by a warrior, who presents them with a goblet, while a couple of ragged beggars are cowering by the lady's robe—seemingly an allegorical subject. In the same private collection is another landscape, representing the Holy Family resting by a Renaissance fountain on their flight to Egypt, and bearing on a tablet the inscription, "Albertus Altorffer pictor Ratisponensis in salutem animæ hoc tibi munus diva Maria sacravit corde fideli 1540," with the monogram formed by two A's, his initials. The date 1540 has caused a difficulty, Altdorfer having died in 1538; hence 1540 was supposed to be an error either for 1504 or 1510. Although there is a *prima-facie* argument against a slip of the pen in such a formal inscription, against 1504 there militates the circumstance that at that time he had not yet come to Ratisbon, and hence could not describe himself as "pictor Ratisponensis." Nor are we at all compelled to adopt the alternative date 1510, as the work is probably an offering presented by his heirs to some church in Ratisbon for the welfare of his soul. He may have even composed the inscription in his lifetime, his heirs merely adding the date of the donation. His still extant will is dated February 12th, 1538, which according to an old document was also the day of his death, though this is given by the chronicler Gemeiner as February 14th. In any case it is certain that he died in 1538, and it would seem probable that the votive picture in question was presented by his brother and heir Erhard Altdorfer to the Augustinian church in Ratisbon. When this church was pulled down, in 1840, a fragment of Altdorfer's tombstone was recovered, with the words "Albrecht, Altdorffer, paum" (eister), that is, *Baumeister*, or master builder.

A similar inscription—ALBRECHT ALTORFER PAUMEISTER · 1535—was to be read on a lead tablet in the former market-tower of Ratisbon, which he would therefore also seem to have built.

We also learn that during his declining years he took part in introducing the

Reformation into Ratisbon. He was one of the fifteen members of the council who, at the prayer of some citizens, both men and women, gave occasion to the decree according to which "Herr Dr. Johann Hiltner (a friend of Luther's) was instructed to seek out some honourable and learned preacher here to preach the Word of God," and according to which also, in the new parish church of the Virgin, the office, vespers, salve, and organist were abolished.

Altdorfer moreover made a copperplate of Luther. He does not seem to have lingered long during his last illness, as in the same year (1538) he completed yet another painting, "Christ bidding his Mother farewell."

Except Sebald Beham, we possess no such full particulars concerning the lives of any of the younger painters of the German Renaissance as we do of Altdorfer. But whilst we were compelled to trace Beham's career mainly in his works, numerous independent records are available for a biography of Altdorfer.

There remain a few words to be said concerning his achievements as a copperplate engraver. The number of his copperplates still in existence is about eighty. Their material is drawn from every source at that time cultivated by Art—Holy Writ, mythology, Roman history, and every-day life. A few only, more especially some religious subjects, betray the influence of Dürer; and it is remarkable that these—as, for instance, a Christ crowned with thorns, with a Madonna (1519)—were produced during his middle period, whilst those of an older date show Italian influence at work, especially in the technique.

Altdorfer himself was not very skilled in this art. As his earliest plates are dated 1506 and 1507, and his latest 1519 and 1521, we may presume that this period of fifteen years covers the whole time devoted by him to copperplate engraving. Thirty-three etchings also still extant (twenty-three ornamental vases as designs for goldsmiths and ten landscapes) may be referred to 1520 and following years. In his copperplates, and still more in his woodcuts, which number about seventy, his original, fantastic landscapes and his beautiful and richly handled Renaissance architecture must indemnify us for their faulty drawing and composition. Even when he occasionally copied plates after Marc Antonio he failed to realise the genuine Italian manner of design, as other German Renaissance engravers had done. His figures generally produce the effect of stuffed dolls tricked out, as the case may be, with flags and the like. Hence his mythological subjects are the most disagreeable characters taken from ordinary life—warriors, knights, ensign-bearers, drummers and fifers being the least offensive.

On the other hand, wherever the landscape element comes to the front he is at his best. This is most conspicuous in his etchings, which were executed more easily than the tedious and difficult copperplates, and in his woodcuts, the further treatment of which lay in other hands. The already described charac-

teristic peculiarities in the treatment of his landscapes are best seen in his "Beheading of John the Baptist," a woodcut of the year 1512.

His brother Erhard, spoken of above, was also a painter, builder, and designer for wood engraving. In 1512 he accompanied Duke Henry of Mecklenburg to Wittenberg, where he made the acquaintance of Lucas Cranach, whose influence on him was of a decisive character. Hence he does not properly come within the scope of the present section, which is restricted to the cycle of the German Renaissance painters more or less influenced by Dürer. His woodcuts, mostly illustrations of books, are conceived and executed altogether in the spirit of Cranach.

In the special department of Art which was in a sense introduced by him, Altdorfer had no lack of imitators. In Ratisbon the painter MICHAEL OSTENDORFER (about 1490—1559), somewhat his junior in years, was at work further developing his peculiar style of landscape. He was, however, a far better draughtsman, and although harsh in his outlines and dry in the expression of his forms, still perfectly correct and not deficient in a certain grandeur of conception in the composition. But the straitened circumstances against which he had to struggle throughout life stood in the way of his artistic development. Like many of his contemporaries, he found himself compelled to practise his profession in a purely mechanical way, illustrating all manner of books, and issuing occasional sheets of remarkable events—scenes from the wars with the Turks, portraits of distinguished persons, and the like. One of his earliest woodcuts is connected with the expulsion of the Jews from Ratisbon, referred to in our account of Altdorfer. This unusually large sheet shows us the newly erected church of the Virgin, with some figures moving about in front of the building. Above these hovers an image of the Madonna in a nimbus, accurately corresponding to that on Altdorfer's coloured woodcut. The original may have been some old Byzantine work, or a processional banner presented as a votive offering to the new church.

It appears from a church record of 1520 that Ostendorfer received twelve gulden for this woodcut. Two years afterwards he prepared the design of the woodcut for a book describing the miracles of the Virgin. Sick and lame are trustingly approaching a pillar on which stands the Madonna with the Infant Jesus, the new church being again visible on the left.

Later on he devoted his art with equal zeal to the service of the Reformation. As has been above seen, the council and public of Ratisbon had already in the lifetime of Altdorfer showed an inclination for the new doctrine, and in 1542 the city formally adopted the Augsburg Confession. Ostendorfer not only illustrated a number of writings against Popery and a Lutheran catechism, but also painted an altarpiece with many figures, typifying the chief points of the

evangelical teaching, after the manner of Cranach's apologetic pictures. This work is now in the collection of the Ratisbon Historical Society, and although affording no very high conception of the master's pictorial talents, still his correct draughtsmanship is as conspicuous here as in his other productions. The centre compartment and the interior of the volets are divided into three horizontal divisions: "In the centrepiece, God the Father above; beneath him Christ as teacher in the midst of the twelve Apostles, and in the lowest section two evangelical preachers surrounded by their congregations. On the right wing, above the Presentation in the Temple; in the middle the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and below an evangelical preacher baptizing a child held over the font by a sponsor. On the left wing, Christ above, breaking the bread at the Last Supper; in the middle, Christ also handing the chalice to the disciples; below, the evangelical preacher administering the sacrament to the congregation under both forms of bread and wine. The exterior of each volet has two divisions only, the two uppermost representing the Annunciation and the Nativity, the lower ones the Crucifixion and the mourners over the body of the Saviour" (Waagen). On the back is a representation of Doomsday.

Ostendorfer devoted a long time to this painting, which he finished in the year 1553. The negotiations connected with it have been preserved, concluding with the following somewhat complacent words of the artist: "I have not daubed this work after any other master, but executed it freely and with such care that I need not be ashamed of it." A very comprehensive woodcut of the "Descent from the Cross," dated 1548, is the grandest and most satisfactory composition we possess of this master.

In still closer connection with Altdorfer as a landscape etcher is the talented master AUGUSTINE HIRSCHVOGEL, of Nuremberg (1503—1554). He was the most versatile member of a family of artists settled in Nuremberg, who had made a name by their excellent painting on glass. Neudörffer exhausts himself in lavish praise of his artistic skill: "Certes, I cannot describe all the art and understanding of this Augustine; for as a painter on glass he surpassed his father and brother, and made some special discoveries in this art. In drawing he was famous, and in annealing he acquired special skill. He was an accomplished musician, and unsurpassed in enamelling by any in his day; but entertaining other thoughts, he neglected all such things and formed a partnership with a potter, who went to Venice," where he learned the "Venetian art of smelting and glasswork." In company with this potter, Hirschvogel "made foreign stoves, jugs, and images in the antique fashion, as if they were cast in metal." Of these jugs and stoves, quite a large number marked with the master's monogram are still extant, and it appears from authentic records that he cultivated pottery so early as 1531. Yet two years

later he already appears as a heraldic engraver, though no traces of his workmanship in this field have survived.

About the year 1543 he left Nuremberg and went to Vienna, where he began the fourth phase of his all-embracing industry. As Neudörffer writes, he "applied himself to cosmography, traversed King Ferdinand's hereditary states, also Transylvania and Hungary, of which places he printed charts, dedicated and presented to his Majesty the King," receiving due thanks and reward in return. Thus in 1544 he had thirty-six gulden for a map of the principality of Carinthia, and in 1551 he even received a pension of a hundred pounds "in gracious recognition of his devoted, loyal, and willing services." He must have died before or early in 1554, as mention occurs of his widow on March 12th of that year.

His etchings, some hundred and seventy in number, seem all to have been executed in Vienna, a circumstance which explains how in their drawing and composition they have little or nothing in common with Dürer or the Little Masters. Hirschvogel handles the etching-needle with great skill but little delicacy. He aims mainly at pictorial effect, hence he works at times with coarse touches, recalling the rough manner of the wood engravers.

On his etchings occur dates ranging between 1543 and 1549. A series from the Old and New Testament, issued in 1549 in book form, belongs to his happiest efforts in Art. His landscapes, also, seventeen in number, and all dated 1545-6, are amongst his best achievements. In these landscapes he appears as a follower of Altdorfer, whose characteristic peculiarities—rocks and trees with drooping plants, careful treatment of the foreground, and a marked preference for pine and fir trees—are so conspicuous in Hirschvogel's etchings as to suggest deliberate imitation.

As the number of such imitators increased, Altdorfer's fantastic bent necessarily sank to mere mannerism. If Hirschvogel himself is not quite free from this charge, HANS SEBALD LAUTENSACK (1524—1563) already shows himself as a thorough mannerist. Hence his twenty-two landscape etchings are all the less satisfactory. The astonishing way in which branches, roots of trees, and undergrowth get entangled and matted together leads one to suspect that these productions cannot be the result of the artist's direct study of nature. In any case we find here no trace of a genuine love of nature, but merely an artistic feeling directed to the reproduction of general and vague impressions.

Of Lautensack we also possess a number of landscape drawings, which certainly produce a more favourable effect than his etchings. Still less satisfactory than these are his engraved portraits, which already betoken the complete decline of German Art, that had set in with the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. The same is true of an extensive series of drawings,

very mannered, of a polemic character, and now in the Berlin Copperplate Cabinet.

Lautensack also found his way later on to Vienna. It would appear as if there was no further scope for Art in Nuremberg about the year 1640, and still less thereafter. Hence painters and engravers were fain to haunt the courts of princes and attach themselves to the nobles, in order to eke out a livelihood by portraiture and illustrations of stirring historic scenes. Lautensack, however, so late as 1552, received fifty gulden from the Nuremberg council for a coloured etching with a view of the city. He seems to have soon after gone to Vienna, where he obtained the not very lucrative appointment of court painter of antiques. Of these "antiquities" some transcripts appeared in a learned work published by Schallanzer. Lautensack died in 1563.

Both he and Hirschvogel belong to a type of little distinguished but well-known artists, who possibly through the unfavourable times, possibly also through their own incapacity, were compelled to execute mere mechanical works in order to support themselves. Wars, religious strife, and especially the growing monopoly of foreign trade by the Hanseatic towns, had made great inroads on the prosperity of the once flourishing cities of South Germany. The patronage of churches and pious foundations hitherto enjoyed by painters had now ceased; the religious feeling of the people no longer found any satisfaction in copperplates and woodcuts of devotional subjects sold for a low price on the market-place. Art was thus fain to take service with princes, or else pander to the rude tastes of the masses, in order to afford subsistence to its votaries. Artists themselves necessarily fell to the level of such aims and ends. The effigies of nobles, armorial bearings, royal hunting parties, and battles with the Turks offered but little scope to an elevated fancy. Hence it came to pass that in the latter half of the sixteenth century copperplate and wood engraving alone continued to struggle on sorrily, while panel painting perished utterly. And yet this was the time during which Renaissance architecture obtained its most brilliant triumphs throughout the Germanic lands.

Apart from a number of able copperplate and wood engravers, known to us only by the monograms on their works, three others still call for special mention—PETER FLOTNER, MELCHIOR LORCH, and HANS LADENSPELDER. BALTHASAR JENICHEN, occupied with copperplate engraving from 1560 to 1577, and VIRGILIUS SOLIS, an unusually prolific draughtsman, copperplate engraver, and illuminator, though rather an artisan than an artist (*ob.* 1578), do not come within the sphere of this section, though occasionally found mentioned amongst the Little Masters.

Even the three previously named no longer belong properly to Dürer's School. Peter Flotner, of Nuremberg (*ob.* 1546), was a ready statuary and

designer for woodcuts. He prepared clever subjects and models for goldsmiths, and diminutive plastic objects, whose minute execution excited admiration. As Neudörffer relates, "On a cow's horn he carved 113 distinct heads of men and women; he also carved on the branches of coral little creatures and shell-fish, as if they had grown there." Other "frightful countenances" and caricatures of friars, nuns, and priests, mentioned by Neudörffer as drawn and printed by him, seem to have perished, as no trace of such woodcuts has yet come to light. Amongst his extant woodcuts, numbering upwards of sixty, the most interesting is a series of lansquenets, whose portly figures still breathe something of the spirit of Dürer and Holbein.

Of value even now for ornamental work is a collection of twenty-four sheets of designs for goldsmiths and other workers in metals, published in 1560 at Zurich after his death, which occurred on October 23rd, 1546. But he seems to have been mainly a statuary, and there are still to be occasionally met with in museums elegant little sculptures bearing his monogram.

Hans Ladenspelder of Essen (born 1511, died after 1554) was, as far as is known, exclusively a copperplate engraver, and he has left us about seventy works in this branch. His artistic taste wavers between Dürer and the Italians, the latter, however, gradually getting the upper hand. Unfortunately his full development coincides with a period when the refined and turgid manner of the later Italians prevailed.

Melchior Lorch was born at Flensburg in 1527. He is said, like Dürer, to have been first apprenticed to a goldsmith, a tradition common to so many of the Little Masters. This tradition may have been occasioned by the at least probable circumstance that goldsmiths were the first to have practised, if not to have actually invented, the art of engraving. Lorch occupied himself with this art, though in a very desultory way, between the years 1545 and 1585. His relation to Dürer, as is evident from his works, was based rather on personal regard for the great master than on artistic sympathies. In 1550 he executed a copperplate portrait of him, which seems to have met with great favour, as appears not only from its wide circulation, but also from the fact of its having later on served as a model to a medalist, who prepared accurate copies of it.

Like so many of his fellow-artists, Lorch also took a lively interest in the Reformation. Amongst his copperplates there is a likeness of Luther (1548), signed with the artist's full name, besides two satires against the papacy and clerical encroachments. About 1556 he undertook a great journey through South Germany to Augsburg, Vienna, and Constantinople. The strange and foreign aspect of the place induced him to reside many years in Turkey, whither he may have, perhaps, gone either as member of some embassy or companion to some person of rank—at least, purely artistic aims or the prospect of a livelihood could scarcely have suggested a visit to the image-hating Mohammedans.

It is even expressly stated that he accompanied some imperial envoys to Constantinople in 1557 and 1567.

The artistic results of the journey were contained in a book richly illustrated with woodcuts, which long after his death appeared in Hamburg, in 1626. Turks in their picturesque costumes, remarkable buildings, such as the Great Mosque at Constantinople, views of this city, and suchlike things, form the contents of this interesting work, which bears the high-flown title,



Portrait of Jacob Binck, as a "Memento Mori," by himself. (After a Copperplate.)

"Well-executed Figures on Horseback and on Foot, with beautiful Turkish Buildings, by the world-renowned, experienced, and accomplished Artist, Herr Melchior Lorch of Flensburg," &c., &c. A number of copperplates were also left by him as reminiscences of his residence in Constantinople. They consist of effigies of distinguished Turkish notabilities, of the Persian ambassador, Ismail, and of several sultans.

Later on he entered the service of Frederick II. of Denmark, and died after 1593. To 1582 is referred the copperplate portrait of the Danish king.

Of his extant compositions the largest is a representation of the Flood, full of figures and engraved on two plates.

More closely related to Dürer and the Little Masters is JACOB BINCK, of Cologne, who, like Melchior Lorch, challenges prominent notice. He was born according to some in 1490, according to others in 1504, the truth lying probably between the two, as there is a copperplate by him dated 1520, though its authenticity cannot be said to be placed beyond all doubt. His extant plates, some 150 altogether, all bear dates ranging from 1525 to 1532, while his death took place not earlier than 1568 or 1569. In fact the character of his works shows that during the latter half of his life he was very little if at all occupied with copperplate engraving. Nearly half of his plates, presenting the usual materials of the Little Masters—religious legends, mythology, scenes from everyday life, ornamental designs, and portraits—are copied from other masters, chiefly Dürer and the two Behams. He also worked after Italian masters, Marc Antonio and Caraglio, in some plates succeeding in blending the Italian and German styles, as the Behams and Pencz had done.

A Madonna seated on a splendid Renaissance throne is a brilliant illustration of his knowledge of Italian Renaissance. On the other hand, he again imitated in a purely mechanical spirit the series of gods he had copied from Caraglio, without infusing any of the German manner into it. Altogether he was no genuine artist, but a very skilful copperplate engraver, distinguished by a rare delicacy and neatness in handling the graver. An instance of this is presented amongst other works by his portrait by himself in rich attire and in the prime of life. It is at the same time a sort of sentimental "Memento Mori," as is apparent from the death's head and the eyes of the artist turned as it were devoutly upwards in prayer.

His career as a copperplate engraver seems to have closed with his settling in Denmark, which must have taken place at latest about 1531. For he engraved the portraits of Christian II. and his consort Elizabeth, whereas this king was expelled from Denmark in 1523, and did not effect his victorious return till 1531. Nor was his triumph of long duration, having succumbed next year to the party of his rival Frederick I. Binck was also in close relationship with Frederick's successor, Christian III., who ascended the throne in 1533. He seems to have been appointed Court painter, and the portraits of the king and his queen Dorothea, still in Copenhagen, are proofs of his industry in that capacity.

He was also commissioned by the king to illustrate a Danish Bible printed in 1550. He at the same time worked for Duke Albert of Prussia, who had married the Danish princess Anna Dorothea. On her death the duke sent him in 1549 to the Netherlands, in order to have a monument executed for her

there. The next year brought him to Holstein, where the king had ordered him to superintend the erection of a fortress. In 1551 he entered the exclusive service of Albert, residing in Königsberg till the death of his new master in 1568. There also are still to be seen some of his portraits; but the works of art bequeathed by him to posterity are altogether so inconsiderable, that it is impossible from them to judge of his capacity as a painter.

The Art of Dürer, strange to say, found yet an echo in an artist of the new generation, who resided so far from Nuremberg as to exclude the idea of any personal contact between them. This was HEINRICH ALDEGREVER of Soest, or, as the name also occurs in official records, ALDE GRAVE. Karel van Mander certainly relates that Aldegrever painted two volets to complete an altarpiece by Dürer for a church in Nuremberg. But whether true or not, this would not justify the conclusion that Aldegrever had worked in Dürer's studio or under his influence in Nuremberg, more especially as there are intrinsic arguments that absolutely exclude such a supposition.

Aldegrever's style grows out of a peculiar provincial tendency, which had assumed a definite character about 1300, but which at first was in no way to be distinguished from the ideal bent of the Cologne School. The Westphalian School only gradually took up a position in relation to that of Cologne, such as the Leyden School of Engelbrechtsen and his great pupil Lucas had taken in respect of that of the Van Eycks. Originally deriving their inspiration from the Flemish Masters, those of Leyden, favoured by their provincial seclusion, which threw them more and more on their own resources, in course of time struck out a realistic tendency, that naturally in the long run degenerated to the fantastic and eccentric. It was much the same with the Westphalian School, one of whose last representatives was Heinrich Aldegrever. He is in fact its Lucas van Leyden, with whom he otherwise shows many points of contact. Neither of them is a genuine born artist, but only a well-balanced and gifted mind, who replaced the want of natural genius by unwearied industry and a large capacity for assimilation. Neither of them has left any comprehensive work, which might be considered as a striking expression of their whole artistic faculty, while both are overshadowed by the influence of Dürer, without entirely forfeiting their own individuality. But whereas Lucas fell off till he at last sank into a vicious Italian mannerism, Aldegrever struggled more and more upwards out of the fantastic and sickly to a noble simplicity of style and to an agreeable clearness of perception. The more he works under the influence of Dürer's copperplates the more he lays aside his inherited provincial angularity, stiffness, and dryness.

He also practised the goldsmith's art very extensively, as shown by the large number of his copperplates, intended as ornamental designs. Of these

there are a hundred, amongst which sixteen splendid patterns for scabbards are the most conspicuous. One design shows two cross spoons and a knife. On these works occur the dates ranging from 1527 to 1553, a period which also covers the time devoted by him to copperplate engraving. It is significant that the date 1527, recurring on four ornamental works, is also the first that is met on his copperplates. Possibly the requirements of the goldsmith's craft may have led him to cultivate the kindred art of copperplate engraving.

Aldegrever was born at Soest in 1502, as appears from two portraits engraved by himself, and dated 1530 and 1537. He repeatedly describes himself on his plates as "Suzatiensis," which however might mean a burgess,



"Madonna on the Crescent." (Copperplate by Aldegrever.)

quite as well as a native, of Soest, and there is extant a document of the year 1545, which renders it just possible that he may have been actually born in Paderborn, where his parents had died. His father is described as "Herman Trippemecker" (that is, clog or sabot maker), "otherwise Aldegrever." Of him it is related in the history of Paderborn that "when in October, 1532, sixteen townsmen of Paderborn, amongst the most determined champions of the evangelical party, were to be executed in the market-place, Herman Trippemecker, now aged and lame in his feet, came forward on his crutch, and pressed through the armed men, crying out that he was quite as guilty as the others, and that they might put him also to death. He was arrested and afterwards heavily fined."

His son Heinrich was a no less warm advocate of the Reformation. He is twice mentioned by Haverland, a partisan of the Catholic party, who, under the pseudonym of "Daniel of Soest," occupied himself in pamphleteering the Evangelicals. In the diatribe, "A General Confession of the Preachers in Soest" (1534), "Hinrik the painter" appears "in the cohorts of the Lutherans;" and in a "Dialogon" exposing the shameless and disorderly conduct of the Reformers, Haverland upbraids the "Master Henrik Trippemecker" with having painted an audacious picture of the Soest magistrate Johann von Holk and his



Figures from the Great Wedding Procession of 1538. (Copperplate by Aldegrever.)

mistress, representing them "stripped, bare, and naked" together. Where this "infamy" is to be seen does not appear, unless it be amongst the damned in one or other of the paintings of Doomsday in the Darmstadt and Berlin galleries; works, however, which cannot with absolute certainty be ascribed to Aldegrever. Nor, if genuine, would these paintings represent our master in a very favourable light. The harshness and crudity of their execution, combined with a defective knowledge of the human proportions, produce a very unsatisfactory effect. In the Berlin work the figures of the donors alone reveal the hand of an able and expressive portrait painter.

The same unfavourable judgment must be passed on Aldegrever's other religious pieces; which, however, are not numerous. He lacks the artless enthusiasm of the South German painters, besides which he had to grapple with a realistic tendency and a crude colouring. However, the only work of this class undoubtedly by him is a Christ crowned with thorns seated in his grave (1529), now in Prague, and conceived and executed quite in the Dürer spirit. All other works passing under his name in public galleries are either copies after his plates—as, for instance, the “Stoning of the Elders” in Berlin (formerly in the Suermondt collection)—or else so doubtful that they cannot be relied upon in forming an estimate of this master.

He appears in his best light as a portrait painter. The dark brown flesh tints peculiar to him, his matter-of-fact conception and shrewd observation—qualities rather detrimental than otherwise in ideal productions—proved all the more advantageous to him in portraiture. However, four works only of this class are undoubtedly by him, so that we possess altogether not more than five absolutely genuine paintings by his hand. But that he must have executed many others is evident from the firm and life-like character of the portraits, implying a schooled and practised hand. Most of his works may either have perished during the troubles of the sixteenth century in Soest, or else may have been dispersed, passing now, perhaps, under other names.

The finest of his four portraits is that of a young man with a black cap holding a gilly-flower in his hand, dated 1540, and now in the Lichtenstein collection, Vienna. More recent is the likeness of Count Philip of Waldeck in the Silesian Art Union at Breslau (1535). In the Brunswick Museum is his portrait of a certain Magdalena Wittig (1541). Next in worth to the Vienna work comes the likeness of Engelbert Therlaen, Burgomaster of Lennep, in the Berlin Museum (1551). He is dressed in black fur, and wears a cap, his left hand resting on a skull, the emblem of decay.

Aldegrever's zeal for the Reformation and hatred of Popery is also conspicuous in some of his copperplates. He not only engraved the effigies of Luther and Melancthon, probably after Cranach, but also retorted the charge of immorality on the Catholic party. Amongst his copperplates there are two representations, with variations, of the same subject—a monk and a nun surprised by a lansquenet in an unseemly state. In his series of the virtues and vices he has also set the papal tiara on the head of Pride.

The latest date occurring on his copperplates is that of 1555, soon after which he seems to have died, though 1562 is on insufficient grounds usually given as the date of that event.

Aldegrever was mainly devoted to engraving, and of his plates 290 have already come to light, a number which may well have occupied his whole life, regard being had to the extreme care with which he handled the graver. His

technique was affected both by Dürer and Bartholomew Beham. From the first he took a certain vigour and firmness of execution, from the second softness, delicacy, and a modicum of elegance; and as he contrived skilfully to combine both these qualities, his copperplates are, in spite of their mannerism, not only his most agreeable creations, but are altogether to be reckoned amongst the happiest achievements of the German Renaissance.

The number of his strictly devotional subjects is very limited, the list being exhausted by an Annunciation, an Adoration of the Shepherds, eight Madonnas, and a Crucifixion. These religious pieces, however, are amongst his very finest productions, and in them the influence of Dürer is most evident. He at times succeeds in giving expression to an inward depth of feeling such as we meet with elsewhere in Dürer alone. The Annunciation and the Adoration (1553) certainly fall short of him in the grandeur of the motives, but his spirit is fully breathed in the charming loveliness of the Virgin's expression and in the touching piety of the shepherds. How far, still under the inspiration of Dürer, he in his later years struggled forward to a certain clearness of exposition, is evident from a small "Madonna on the Crescent," dated 1553, and transcribed at page 181.

Apart from these works, he is affected by the epic element alone of the Scriptures. He copiously illustrated a series of events from the Old and New Testaments, to which his realistic feeling enabled him to impart a peculiar charm. The material for these works was drawn from the history of Adam and Eve, the chaste Joseph, Susanna, and the Good Samaritan—this last being the finest of all. Like the Nuremberg Little Masters, Aldegrever faithfully reflects the life, manners, and dress of his times and country. Thus the men of his biblical subjects are honest, well-to-do Westphalian burghesses, who pass before us in full consciousness of their worth and wealth. The scenes from the history of the Good Samaritan are adorned with lovely landscapes in the background. Special consideration is also due to his history of Amnon and Tamar, in the treatment of which he obviously strives after definite individual expression, though here of course impeded by the square Westphalian type of head, a type not altogether free from a certain contracted mental vision.

On the other hand, the dark side alone of his Art is reflected in his numerous illustrations of classic mythology and profane history. For formal beauty of outline he had no true feeling, either because he lacked or neglected the opportunity of cultivating it. This had already been the weak point of the old Westphalian School of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, the disjointed fingers, hands, and legs of Aldegrever's figures are most readily overlooked, when arrayed in the sumptuous dress of the opulent burghesses of his time. Hence his pictures of social life and manners, notably the three

Great Wedding Processions, are at once the most interesting and the most valuable for the history of culture.

His numerous ornamental works, already briefly referred to, are still highly prized, and are mostly worthy of imitation, though their motives lack the purity of those of the Behams, who adhere more closely to the Italian Renaissance. Here in fact the Gothic taste, acquired from local surroundings, comes first into play, the charm and grace of the Italians only gradually overcoming the rugged elements of the native style. But altogether his imaginative faculty is seen to the best advantage in this branch of his Art. Here he is really genuine, his other works betraying but few symptoms of striking originality.

There remain to be mentioned his engraved portraits, nine in number, distinguished by the same qualities as his painted ones, though not free from a certain mannerism in the designs. The subjects of these works are two likenesses of himself, Duke William of Jülich, a burgomaster of Soest, Luther and Melanchthon, an unknown person, and the two Anabaptists, John of Leyden and Bernard Knipperdollinck. From the last two it need not be concluded that Aldegrever was himself inclined towards the sect of the Anabaptists, and engraved the two heroes out of respect for their memory. They are merely memorial plates of the ignominious fate of these fanatics, who perished in 1536. This date is attached to the portraits themselves, which may have been executed as a speculation on the chance of an extensive sale.

With Aldegrever we close the cycle of painters who came more or less under the conflicting influences of Dürer and the Italian Renaissance, and who may be described as the PAINTERS OF THE GERMAN RENAISSANCE. Of all of them Aldegrever was the one artist that remained most loyal to the German spirit, and kept longest—nay, to the last—aloof from foreign influences.

MATTHIAS GRUNEWALD.

(Of Aschaffenburg; date of birth and death unknown.)

BY DR. ALFRED WOLTMANN.

THERE are no materials for a biography of Matthias Grünewald; at most a few words are suggested by some works by his hand on his highly peculiar bent, so entirely distinct from that of other German artists of the period. All the biographical data that have as yet come to light concerning him are limited to his name and his birthplace. To his contemporaries he was usually known as MATTHIAS OF ASCHENBURG or OSCHENBURG, that is, of ASCHAFFENBURG. We are further familiar with his features from his sketch in the Weigel collection, Leipzig, where he appears, pen in hand, in the act of drawing, and with upturned countenance. It is provided with a full inscription, and has been utilised by Sandrart for the likeness communicated by him in the supplement to his "German Academy." A duplicate in Erlangen is dated 1529. One other date connected with him is known. On the socle of an altar in the "chapel of the snow," in the Convent-church at Aschaffenburg, occurs the year

1519 with his monogram  and even here the meaning of the N is unknown.

Moreover, the altarpiece itself, which had been executed by him, has perished, its place being supplied by a work completed by Isaac Kining of Spires in 1577.

Nor is it known whether Grünewald was ever employed by his feudal lord, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz, and one of the greatest patrons of Art in his day. Sandrart, to whom we are indebted for nearly all our scanty information concerning him, tells us, however, that he resided mostly at Mainz, where he passed a sad and retired life, and married unhappily. But though so slightly informed as to the circumstances of his life, Sandrart had formed a vivid picture of Grünewald's artistic character, a picture which had been early impressed upon him. When at school in Frankfort-on-the-Maine he had often visited the painter Philip Uffenbach, who had been a pupil of Grünewald's pupil Hans Grimmer, and when in a good-humour Uffenbach would often tell him of the old master, and show him a book with a collection of sketches by him.

This collection has since perished. In 1836 the Munich Pinakothek procured from the Church of Aschaffenburg a series of pictures, originally belonging to the Church of St. Maurice and the Magdalene at Halle, but which had been brought thence to Aschaffenburg in 1539, when that church, erected by Albrecht of Brandenburg, fell with the other church treasures and works of Art into the hands of the Reformers, against whom it had been intended to form a bulwark. These pictures were in Munich marked as by Grünewald, but the circumstance was overlooked that the wings and the centrepiece were by different hands. Connoisseurs, amongst whom notably Passavant and Waagen, formed their estimates of Grünewald precisely from these very wings, which are in fact products of the Saxon School, closely resembling the style of Lucas Cranach. The number of compositions which on this ground were attributed to Grünewald was constantly on the increase; yet they were all either by Lucas Cranach himself or produced in his school. The finest amongst them was the altarpiece presented in 1529 by Albrecht of Brandenburg to the Market Church at Halle.

Hence the mystical Grünewald, the creation of the last few decades, must once more give place to the true Grünewald, and for this there is really nothing to rely upon, except Sandrart's estimate, and a few of his works mentioned by Sandrart as still extant. Much doubtless has perished; as, for instance, a Transfiguration in water-colours, seen by Sandrart in Frankfort, and two altarpieces in the Cathedral of Mainz, which were carried off by the Swedes in 1632, and were afterwards shipwrecked. One of these represented a glorified Madonna with female saints beneath, the other the Martyrdom of a Recluse, who is surprised by assassins on the frozen waters of the Rhine. What Sandrart admired in these works was the artist's skill in seizing the passing moment, his striking reproduction of the affections, his power to express the visionary, the elegance of many of his motives, his drastic realism and excellent colouring.

A Crucifixion, with Mary, John, and Magdalene, once in possession of Duke William of Bavaria, has been preserved at least in Raphael Sadler's engraving of 1605. Here the portrayal of fearful physical suffering and passionate sympathy is pushed to its extreme limits. But there still exist two of the figures of saints in grisaille, once seen by Sandrart in the Dominican Church at Frankfort, and which are now in the public gallery there. They are quaint and lumpy in the draperies, bold in their motions, with foreshortening and striking expression.

A little picture of the Resurrection, a night scene with brilliant light effects, is in the Bâle Museum, and was already in the sixteenth century specified as the work of "Matthias of Aschaffenburg," in the Amerbach Inventory. Besides these, there is still preserved a grand masterpiece of his, consisting of several panels, already in 1573 mentioned as his work by the Strasburg printer

Jobin, and also expressly spoken of by Sandrart, though not actually seen by him.



AJs

St. Anthony.



St. Sebastian.

Volet pieces of the Isenheim Altar. (Kolmar Museum.)

This is the famous altarpiece formerly in the Church of the Convent of the

Monks of St. Anthony in Isenheim, Upper Alsace, and now in the Kolmar Museum.

The inner part of the reredos is occupied by three carved figures, also by a master's hand—St. Anthony seated between SS. Jerome and Austin. The exterior and inner sides of the double pair of volets contain Grünewald's pictures, also two panels which stood against the narrow sides of the reredos, this being very deep and embellished with some freely handled sculptures—the subjects are SS. Anthony and Sebastian standing on neo-Gothic socles. The interior of the first pair of volets shows SS. Paul and Anthony in the wilderness and the temptation of St. Anthony by frightful fiends and monsters. When these wings were closed, on their exteriors was seen one representation painted continuously right across both of them: the Virgin and Child seated in a landscape, facing a sumptuous neo-Gothic building, full of countless angels, streaming down from the heavenly glory and worshipping the Madonna with jubilation, music, and prayer. The interior of the two extreme pair of volets, containing the Annunciation and the Resurrection, enclosed this picture, and when shut exhibited on their exterior the Crucifixion, the series being completed by the Mourning Scene on the predella of the altar.

On the picture of the Two Hermits in the Desert are seen the arms of Guido Guersi, who was Preceptor of Isenheim in 1490, and in 1493 began an enlargement of the church, which till his death in 1516 he continued to embellish with works of Art, including amongst others this picture over the high altar. Hence it was painted somewhere between the years 1493 and 1516.

In this work Grünewald shows himself as a master standing quite apart in the development of contemporary German Art. There may be a general connection with the Franconian School, here and there even certain echoes of the Dürer type, especially in the Annunciation; but the capacity of German Art at that time to portray imposing individual characters, grand yet personal, is nowhere seen as in the figures of the two saints on the narrow panels. The draperies are treated with picturesque, broad, and effective touches, though their style is far from pure. Here also there often occur foreshortenings in the heads, enhancing the expression of rapture in joy and of anguish in pain. With the most exquisite naturalistic representation of the actual and of commonplace objects, such as the cradle, the earthen pot, the bathing tub, the towel, and the swaddling clothes in the great picture of the Virgin, there are combined the loftiest ecstasy, the portrayal of heavenly bliss and rapture; and withal the most fearful and harrowing expression of pain and sorrow, almost repulsive and overstepping the limits of moderation, yet overwhelming in its realism, as in the Crucifixion; lastly, an unequalled capacity for the physical delineation of the fantastic, the weird, and even of the loathsome, as in the Temptation. Admirable at the same time is the truthful description of the landscape, in its

scenic effect going far beyond the whole German Art of the period. Brilliant light effects, as in the flashes of the angelic glory, and charming chiaroscuro contrasts, as in the Resurrection, are the crowning triumphs of the artist. Many tones have vanished, nor is it possible, except by a mental effort, fully to realise the original colouristic effects. Still there is here revealed a sense of colour combined with a boldness of execution such as is seldom met with in German Art. Especially remarkable is the broad, almost kinky treatment of the hair; nor is there anything suggestive of distinct Netherlandish or Italian influences. How little there can be any question of the latter is at once evident from the architectural and the ornamental details. These are purely neo-Gothic, without a trace of Renaissance, yet to the last degree natural, the artist's genius having in fact been mainly determined by his strict loyalty to nature.

The wreaths about the pedestals of SS. Anthony and Sebastian, in spite of the stone colour, look like an accidental growth of real vine tendrils and leaves, and the splendid architecture of the picture of the Virgin shows the same unstudied motives in the vegetation.

The picture in the Munich Pinakothek above alluded to represents the Conversion of Mauritius by St. Erasmus, and discloses excellent and vigorous characterization in the two chief subjects, as well as in the spectators. In the Moorish cavaliers scope is given to the fantastic element in Grünewald, though this work shows more style and sobriety even in the draperies. The side panels were added by a local painter when it was brought to Halle.

The genius of Grünewald is also strikingly illustrated in two panels, narrow volets that have been unfortunately placed in too dark a site in the choir chapel of the Church of Our Lady, in Munich. They represent the Conversion of Saul, and St. Martin on horseback with the beggar. In the first, the heavy and terrified steed forms too prominent a feature; but the master of the Isenheim work cannot fail to be again recognised in the powerful attitude of the rider as he starts backwards, and in the bold and skilful treatment of his coat of mail.

But the other picture is much more masterly. Of horse and rider we have a full front view, the face of the latter being half concealed by his hand and sword hilt, as he divides his robe for the cowering naked beggar, whose body is lit up with striking colouristic effect. The attitude and motion of this figure is excellently conceived; his head, seen in profile, is full of character and expression, and the whole conception of the work surprisingly modern.

Sandart calls our artist a "highly developed and wonderful master," and even in one place characterizes him as the "German Correggio," an expression that may be accepted as correct if taken in its proper sense. There is here no question of any special artistic relation between the two masters, but

Grünewald occupies in German such another isolated position that Correggio does in Italian Art. He aims at certain definite artistic ends, lying somewhat apart from the tendencies of his day, and in a sense foreshadowing a later epoch. And these ends are the same both with the Italian and the German, the vivid expression of the affections, combined with an animation pushed to its extreme limits, often overwhelmingly true, often also already sinking to affectation—the delineation of the visionary, of heavenly joy, of rhapsody, as well as of bodily pain and suffering by means of an excessive realism, combined with a bold play of fancy. Lastly a rare sense of colour, culminating in light and chiaroscuro effects. At the same time it is obvious that the original German artist, lacking the restraint of the cultivated taste of the Italians, must have in his career been more exposed than Correggio to the risk of falling into rash, exaggerated, and arbitrary byways.

When the character of this hitherto unrecognised master comes to be thoroughly understood, it may be possible to light on the traces of other works by his hand, as has occasionally happened, and thus to complete the picture of the artist. While on the one hand his genius appears suddenly on the horizon without any forewarnings, on the other the legacy he bequeathed to posterity is clearly visible. Uffenbach, his pupil's pupil, was the teacher of Adam Elzheimer, of Frankfort, who later on resided in Rome as a renowned landscape painter, a master of chiaroscuro, and the head of a school. Around him were gathered many artists from the Low Countries, amongst whom Peter Lastmann, teacher of Rembrandt, the great Northern master of chiaroscuro in the seventeenth century. Here, therefore, is an artistic genealogy that may not be overlooked.



From the Picture in the possession of Herr Lippmann, Vienna.

HANS BALDUNG GRIEN.

(Born at Gmünd about 1476, died 1545 at Strasburg.)

BY DR. ALFRED WOLTMANN.

AMONGST the German Masters perceptibly affected by the influence of Dürer, without being his pupils in the strict sense, Hans Baldung, surnamed Grien, takes a foremost position. He was born at Gmünd, in Suabia,

as appears from the inscription on the Friburg altarpiece and from local records. The year of his birth is not quite certain, but must have been somewhere about 1476. The by-name of Grien (Green) he in all probability acquired from his preference for this colour in his dress. In two portraits by himself, one on the Sebastian altarpiece and the other on the Friburg high-altar, he is dressed entirely in light green. In the former he is beardless, in the latter, nine years later in life, he appears with a full-grown beard. It is a well-shaped head, mild, attractive, and intellectual.

Hans Baldung seems to have received his first training in Art in the regions of the Upper Rhine, possibly in the school founded by Martin Schongauer at Kolmar. This is in a way suggested by the altarpiece with volets in the sepulchral chapel of the Margraves in the cloister of Lichtenthal, near Baden, a work executed in 1496, and probably rightly attributed to Baldung, as it is marked with the monogram H. B. It represents the Assumption of Mary the Egyptian into heaven and the Martyrdom of St. Ursula, and on the exterior of the volets six female figures of saints, all in their types and expression reflecting Schongauer's charming loveliness, so far, at least, as they have not been impaired or effaced by an over-coating of paint.

His relations with Dürer begin with the opening of the sixteenth century, and the altarpiece in the possession of Herr Lippmann, dated 1507, already shows Dürer's influence combined with the effects of Schongauer's earlier impressions. Besides their artistic relations, Dürer and Baldung were associated together on the grounds of personal friendship. Dürer took with him some of Baldung's woodcuts, "Green Hans's things," as he calls them, to dispose of them on his account during the journey to the Low Countries. And a lock of Dürer's hair, recently acquired for the library of the Imperial Academy of Arts in Vienna, can be with some confidence traced back step by step to Baldung.

In 1509 he appears for the first time as a master settled in Strasburg, the freedom of which place he obtained on April 17th of that year. This was a time when painters were induced by the requirements of the public to direct their attention to such arts as admit of indefinite reproduction, and Baldung also had occasionally tried his hand at copperplate engraving, afterwards devoting himself to wood engraving, for which he supplied drawings. He was mostly engaged on such work in Strasburg, which was one of the centres of the book trade, with which industry illustration was closely associated. For works published by Johann Knoblauch, Martin Flach, and others, he furnished drawings, besides designing a large number of single sheets, of which several appeared in the favourite chiaroscuro technique, that is, as coloured woodcuts, printed two or three together.

In 1511 appeared the woodcut portrait of the old Margrave Christoph (1453—1527), a drawing that served also for the painted portrait of that prince

in the Karlsruhe Gallery, which may therefore be referred to the same year. It is a venerable head in profile, with full flowing beard, and decorated with the order of the Golden Fleece. Another painting also in this collection represents the same prince with his wife and numerous sons and daughters paying their devotions to SS. Anne and Mary with the Infant. The drawing is full of character, but harsh, the colouring badly disposed, overdone with gold and silver in the coats of mail, and with prominent armorial bearings in the foreground.

Baldung had already left Strasburg in 1511 and taken up his abode at Friburg in the Breisgau, where he was commissioned to paint a large altarpiece for the minster. In the records of that church his name first occurs in 1513, when he was credited with 190 gulden 14 pence as a first instalment towards the work, which, as appears from the inscription, was finished in 1516. It is a very comprehensive creation, consisting of eleven large paintings, and its artistic worth fully corresponds to the importance of the subject. It is, perhaps, the grandest achievement of German ecclesiastical painting that has survived from the sixteenth century. Here also the influence of Dürer is unmistakable in the drawing and expression of character, though that of another school is likewise to be detected; in fact, Baldung at that time must have been acquainted with Grünewald's great Isenheim altarpiece, now in the Kolmar Museum. In it he seems to have been struck by certain unusual artistic peculiarities, and to have been carried away by the charm of their novelty. He thus, perhaps, sought to rival Grünewald's striking light effects, his chiaroscuro contrasts, and vehement passion.

In the centrepiece of the inner compartment is the "Coronation of the Virgin by God the Father and Christ," with a host of little angels, some playing, others indulging in their wanton gambols in ecstasies of delight. On the volets are the twelve apostles, both these and God the Father breathing a dignity and grandeur of expression such as is surpassed by Dürer alone. When these wings are closed there appear on their exterior sides and on the fixed and principal sides of the extreme pair of volets four scenes from the life of Mary—the "Annunciation," the "Visitation," the "Nativity," and the "Flight to Egypt." The "Nativity" is a night subject, executed with consummate skill, and in which the light radiates from the body of the new-born Saviour. But the "Flight to Egypt" is on the whole the noblest and most charming work of our master. Joseph dressed in red is seen striding along by the side of the ass, on which Mary, with the Child, is seated. On a palm-tree bending over the group some delightful little angels are rocking to and fro, and one of them has just let himself down in order to offer some fruit to the Infant Jesus. The poetic effect of the picture is enhanced by the full brilliant colours and by the finished treatment of the foreground in all its details.

Two pairs of saints on the back of these extreme volets—Jerome and John the Baptist, George and Laurence—flank the picture on the inside of the reredos, the subject of which is Christ on the Cross between the two thieves. Amongst the spectators appears the painter himself, dressed all in green, turning round and looking out towards the observer, and in front of him a boy holding a little tablet with his monogram *IGB*. This was henceforth his usual signature, whereas he had previously signed himself either with *HB* or *IG*. A socle picture shows the half-length figures of the then administrators of the building—Sebastian von Blumenegg, Egidius Has, Ulrich Wirtner, and Nicholas Schefer—all devoutly worshipping the Madonna.

This was the most industrious period of our master. In 1515 was produced one of his best portraits, a blonde youth in the Vienna Belvedere; in 1516 the "Martyrdom of St. Dorothea," in the gallery of the National Friends of Art in Prague, with a masterly winter landscape; and in 1517 two spirited and striking little pictures in the Bâle Museum, in which the artist yields to those gloomy fancies so much affected by the Northern Art of his time. A naked young woman is being embraced by Death in the person of the devil, while he is dragging a second to the open grave. Here the sudden interruption of abandoned wantonness by horror and despair is most harrowingly depicted.

Baldung had meantime returned to Strasburg, where he continued henceforth to reside. During his protracted absence he had maintained his connection with the local guild of artists ("Zur Stelzen"), but was compelled to apply on May 5th, 1517, to be again restored to the freedom of the city. The number of paintings executed by him during the following years has not been ascertained. Since the introduction of the Reformation paintings for churches had almost ceased to be produced. The "Adoration of the Infant Saviour," a night scene executed in 1520, and now in the Aschaffenburg Gallery, is a reflection of the chiaroscuro picture in the Friburg altarpiece. Many later works are harsh and disagreeable, as the "Stoning of St. Stephen" (1522), in the Berlin Museum; in others, as in the Madonna of 1530, in the Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna, through his efforts to approach the lightness and elegance of the Renaissance, Baldung becomes affected, forfeiting even much of his former firmness in the modelling. He also at this period illustrated scenes from ancient mythology and history.

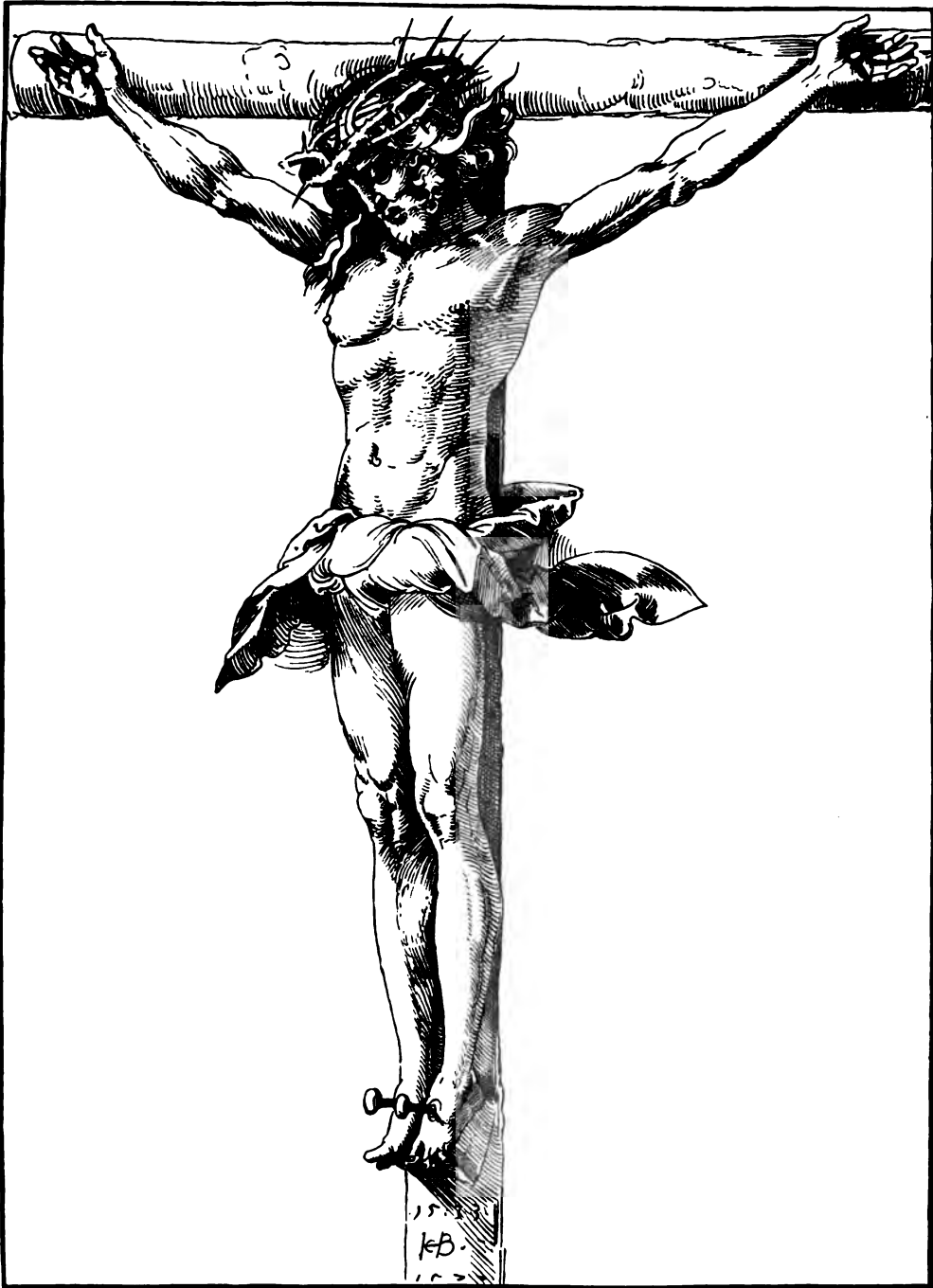
But the shortcomings of his paintings are fully compensated for by his drawings. Next to Dürer and Holbein, our master is undoubtedly the most productive and the ablest German draughtsman of that period. He shows equal mastery in his little sketch-book sheets in silver point, in his large black crayons and cartoons, and in his pen-and-ink drawings on brown paper illuminated with white. The museums of Berlin, Bâle, London, Florence, the

copperplate cabinets in Karlsruhe and Copenhagen, and the Vienna Albertina, are richest in works of this sort by his hand. In Karlsruhe there is still preserved his sketch-book, together with his old silver pencil, a precious docu-



"Madonna with Angels." (After a Woodcut.)

ment for the study of the old masters. Its pages, in which his monogram is scarcely ever missing, are filled with portraits, beginning with Maximilian (1501), then that of the Margrave Bernard of Baden (1512), down to those of



"The Crucifixion." (After a Pen-and-ink Drawing in the Albertina.)

Charles V. (1536), including also the preacher and chronicler Caspar Hedion,

and Nicholas Hugo Knieff (1545); studies of the proportions, of draperies, animals and flowers, landscapes, castles, views of towns, the horse market at Strasburg, the church at Maursmünster, Weinsburg Castle, and the like.

Amongst the sketches, those of most frequent occurrence are representations of profane objects, often of a highly fantastic nature. Thus, in Bâle, slightly draped female figures with goblets in their hand, quite in the form and style of the Renaissance, centaurs in bold foreshortenings; in Berlin, the mediæval legend of the three princes who resolve to settle their dispute about the succession by making a target of their father's dead body, when one of them refusing to shoot at such a mark is declared the king's true son and heir. Then come the weirdest of witches, as in the Albertina, where also is that strangest of allegories—Venus on crutches, balls at her feet, and a little Cupid by her side. Elsewhere coarse, almost voluptuous, naked forms, though not lacking in plastic feeling or in the power to assume grand and expressive motives. But amongst his later works the Crucifixion of 1533 (now in the Albertina) deserves special mention for its earnest sobriety, knowledge of the human body, and noble execution.

His able draughtsmanship is also conspicuous in his numerous woodcuts, though much of its excellence has vanished in the hands of unskilful form-cutters. Here Baldung gives the fullest play to his fancy, as in the four witches of 1510, which give us a peep into the demoniacal side of the fantastic art of the times. Other profane subjects, such as "Phyllis guiding Aristotle in harness" and "The Bacchanal," betray a daring and coarse humour.

But even in religious subject he reveals a rare wealth of imagination. From many early works, notably the illustrations to various writings of Geiler of Kaiserberg, as in the charming St. Elizabeth spinning with her women (1508) and the Madonna with sportive and jubilant little cherubs, altogether a delightful idyl (see p. 196), his fancy takes higher flights, as in the imposing characters of his series of Apostles, or in the Flood (1519), where noteworthy is the faculty, rare in German Art, of giving expression to inward feeling in the nude. The vehement passion he strives after in rivalry with Grünewald and his treatment of the visionary, combined with his daring light effects, attain in many works to a thoroughly genuine expression, as in the Redeemer at the pillar sinking exhausted through sheer bodily pain, while an angel endeavours to support him (1517), in two representations of St. Sebastian (1512, 1514), in the mourning scene at the foot of the Cross, in the angels with impetuous exultation bearing the body of Christ heavenwards, while hosts of other angels stream down to meet them.

In 1545 Baldung became a member of the municipal council, but died in the same year, as has been ascertained from authentic records. A false impression as to the date of this event had long been prevalent, due to the

fact that an annuity he had procured for himself and wife from the curators of the Friburg Minster continued to appear under his name in the accounts of that church till it lapsed with the death of his widow in 1552.

Hans Baldung Grien is not one of those masters of the first order, who give a new direction to national Art ; he is rather one of those who follow in the steps of such pioneers, though still an original and vigorous artist in himself. He feels the necessity of leaning on great models—at first Schongauer, then Dürer, for a time Grünewald also ; but he understands how to work up the materials received from others and thoroughly to assimilate them. To Dürer he owed most—earnestness of conception, conscientious study, severe draughtsmanship, and above all a firm step in those cases where he gives himself up to the fantastic and to a straining after the expression of deep feeling. Notwithstanding a limited sense of the beautiful, he succeeds in acquiring a great command over outline. The culture of the Renaissance he adopts hesitatingly, nor is he always free from crude realism and fustian. Though from the first mainly a draughtsman, he is yet occasionally successful in his colouristic essays ; still his colouring is often harsh and dry, while its harmony is often disturbed by rash attempts at rare effects. He is a stranger to Dürer's deep religious feeling and warmth of impressions, though abounding in vigour and vital energy, at times not deficient in grace and subtle humour, and again lofty and sublime, with a lavish share of fancy ever drawing its nourishment from his observation of national features.

HANS BURCKMAIR.

(Born in Augsburg 1473, died there 1531.)

BY DR. ALFRED WOLTMANN.

JOINTLY with the Holbein family of artists that of the Burckmairs plays a great part in Augsburg towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the next century. From the year 1479 Thoman Burckmair's name appears in the local lists of ratepayers. He composed the "Book of Painters," now in the Augsburg archives, in the opening of which he mentions a number of masters residing in Augsburg about the year 1460, and with all of whom he was acquainted.

The most famous member of the family was his son Hans Burckmair, who, together with Dürer and Holbein, belonged to the most renowned German masters of his time. The year of his birth is gathered from inscriptions on two of his portraits. In the Vienna Belvedere there is a painting of Hans and his wife, Anna Allerlahn, the latter holding a mirror in which, instead of the features of both, there are reflected two death's heads. An inscription below runs—

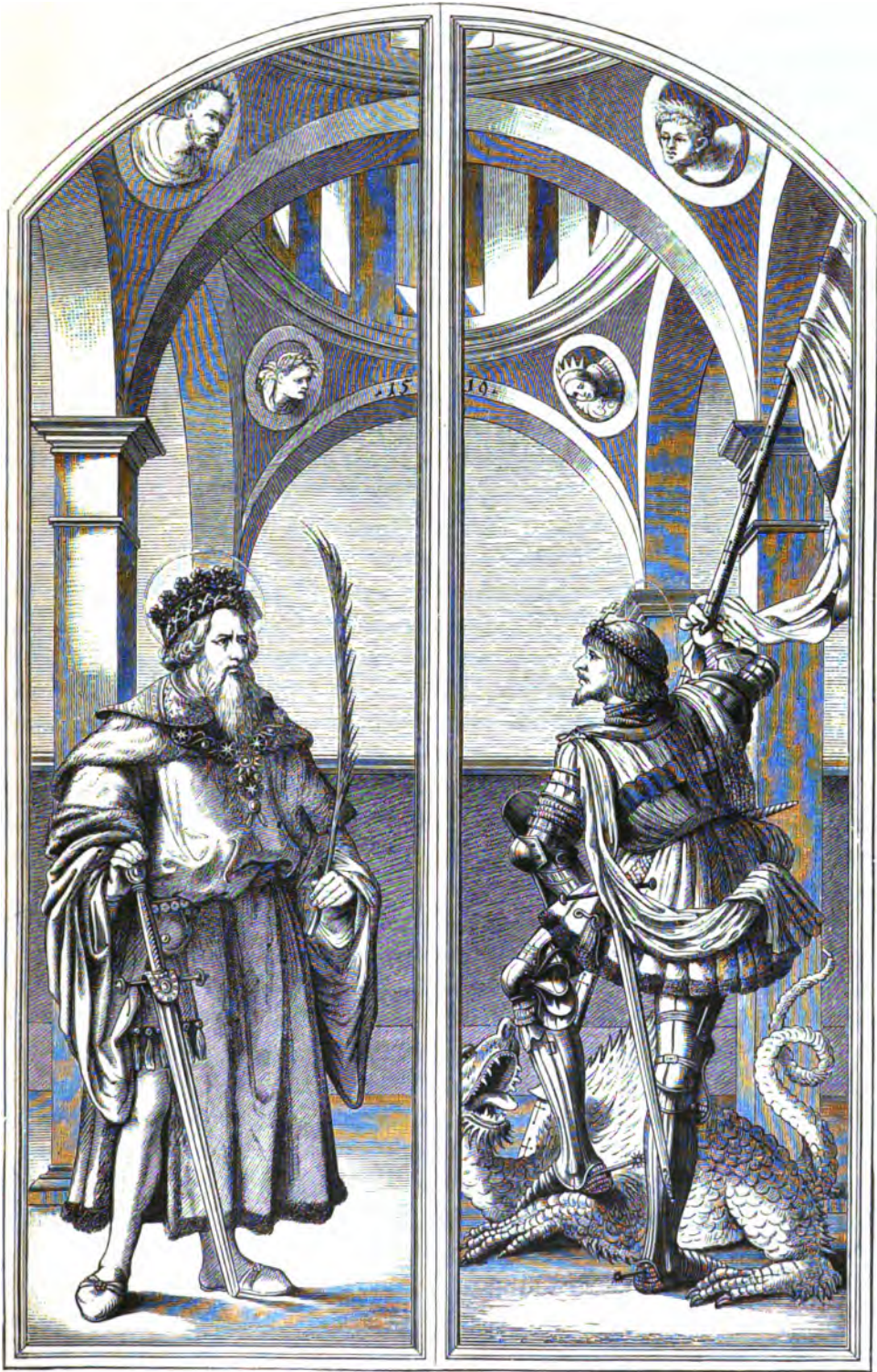
"OF SUCH APPEARANCE WE BOTH WERE ONCE,
NOW IN THE MIRROR NAUGHT BUT THIS."

And on a slip of paper were the words—

"JOANN BURKMAIER PAINTER LVI YEARS OLD
ANNA ALLERLAHN HIS WIFE LII YEARS OLD MDXXVIII."

In the catalogue, probably owing to some earlier misprint, the date is given as 1528 instead of 1529, an error that has been universally accepted. Since the restoration of the correct reading, which we have recently been able to effect by a careful examination of the picture, though scarcely visible in its present site, there can be no further doubt that 1473 is the true date of Burckmair's birth. The inscription has all been repainted, the original legend being, however, carefully preserved. With it a second and still more authentic inscription agrees exactly. A medallion portrait of the artist, in wood, now in the Art-room of the Berlin Museum, bears the date 1518, and his age as forty-four (*ætatis sue XLIIII.*), so that at this time he had not yet reached his birthday for that year.

His father must be regarded as his teacher, and in 1498 he joined the



1. "The Emperor Henry II." and "St. George." (From an Altarpiece in the Augsburg Gallery.)

painters' guild at Augsburg. Still the direction his Art soon took cannot be accounted for by local influences alone, however rich and varied they may have been. It seems probable that he visited Italy, or at least Venice, with which place Augsburg was at that time carrying on a flourishing trade. Amongst the "apprentices" that he reports to the guild, there occurred in 1501 the name of one "Caspar Straffo, born in Venice." In a woodcut of 1510, to be mentioned further on, the scenery is quite Venetian, and designs evidently inspired by the Italian Renaissance may at an early period be detected in the architectural and ornamental accessories of his pictures, and these designs have at least by the year 1507 attained a surprising development. The progress he made in this direction was thus of great importance for the further development of the Augsburg School, especially affecting Hans Holbein the elder.

Burckmair's first dated works belong to a series of representations of the oldest Christian basilicas in Rome, jointly executed by him, this same Holbein, and another unknown artist, for the cloisters of St. Catharine's Convent in Augsburg. The occasion of this donation was an indulgence brief granted by Innocent VIII. in 1484 to the convent, in terms of which brief the nuns, by offering up certain prayers at three particular stations in the convent, obtained the same spiritual benefits that were secured by visiting the seven principal churches in Rome. The pictures, now in the Augsburg Gallery, are all in the form of a broad pointed arch, corresponding to the wall arches of the cloister, and are disposed in so many distinct sections. In the upper space there is generally a scene from the Passion, beneath which in the centre some structure intended to represent one or other of the basilicas. Then come, in various sections, subjects of a legendary character, but in all cases connected with the church itself.

The first painting executed by Burckmair was the basilica of St. Peter's, in 1501. Here in the centre is St. Peter enthroned and surrounded by some figures of saints. In 1502 he painted St. John Lateran's, with accompanying scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist. Still more important is the basilica of Santa Croce, finished by him in 1504. In the centre is the "Way of the Cross," and on the side compartments the "Death of St. Ursula and Companions," full of dramatic force. In all these pictures, however, the colouring is still rather heavy, the tone brownish though luminous and deep, the execution somewhat rigid, the gold leaf imparting to the whole a certain antique air. It is by no means suggestive of high capabilities or of deep impressions, though betraying a rare realistic grasp, skilful disposition, and vigorous characteristic; nor does Burckmair anywhere show traces of that distorted and unsteady element so common in the German Art of the period. His figures are firmly and powerfully portrayed, if at times too cumbrous, and their action is natural and well balanced. A certain inaccuracy may at first be detected in

the forms, but this gradually disappears, the figures become well-proportioned, the draperies dignified and effective, and the nude carefully modelled.

Progress is visible with each successive work, until our master attains at last to a genuine modern style in an altarpiece dated 1507, now in the Augsburg Gallery. In the centre compartment is the "Coronation of the Virgin by her Son," and on either volet several rows of saints in adoration. Here also especially noteworthy is the fully developed pilaster architecture of the Renaissance in the high balustrade of the throne in the central picture, apparently already betraying the direct adoption of motives characteristic of the Northern Italian School.

From this time forth Burckmair grows stronger and stronger. At his best we see him in a large Madonna inherited by the Nuremberg town hall from the Hertel Collection, and on a low balustrade to the right showing the legend—

M·D·VIII
IOHNS · BVRGKMAIR ·
· PINGEBAT ·

The Virgin, in a red robe and blue mantle, with green shot-taffeta lining, is seated on a Renaissance throne, with a book on her lap and holding the naked Infant standing on her knees, with a pomegranate in his right and grasping his mother's hand with his left. The child is certainly painted after a repulsive type and awkward in his attitude; but the modelling is most intelligently executed, the hands of the Madonna exquisitely painted, her figure as well as her highly characteristic features nobly conceived, and the draperies excellent, while in the landscape the artist reveals an entirely new quality. The scenery and hills in the distance are quite as effective as the foreground with its delicately treated vegetation, while the whole betrays a genuine colouristic tone.

This work is probably surpassed by one other alone, also in Nuremberg, the little Madonna of the following year, 1510, in the Chapel of St. Maurice. It bears the date and the artist's name, with the statement that it was painted in Augsburg. The Madonna is reaching a bunch of grapes to the child on her lap, which he is eagerly grasping at. But for its ungainly body, the Infant Saviour would be really charming, its head breathing an almost Raffaellistic beauty. Equally attractive is the Madonna's head, and the action of her left hand extremely graceful. The delicacy of execution, the harmony and strength of colouring, the admirable treatment of all the details, the finely balanced motions, all combine to place this little work on a level with the masterpieces of the Italians.

Another work of the same date also shows Burckmair in this year at the summit of his Art, while quite carried away by the Augsburg Renaissance,

then in its first bloom, and deriving its inspirations direct from Italy. This work might be entitled "Death, the Destroyer," and is one of those harrowing conceptions constantly recurring in the Northern Art of the period. The sudden irruption of the mighty slayer into the midst of life is nowhere else so strikingly and so awfully described, except in the considerably later pictures of death by Hans Holbein the younger. Death, not yet a complete skeleton, has darted like a flash on a young man, striking him to the ground, where he plants his foot on his chest and throttles him with both hands, while at the same time seizing in his teeth the fluttering robe of a woman endeavouring to escape. In thorough grasp of all the motives the treatment is overwhelmingly powerful, and the outline drawing is of finished beauty. Here the scenic accessories are especially interesting, affording a peep into Venice, with its palaces and its charming Early Renaissance, disclosed by the side view of a portal and a canal, with a gondola at the steps.

This drawing, engraved by Jost Dienecker (or De Necker), is also noteworthy as one of the earliest chiaroscuro woodcuts. At that time a beginning had already been simultaneously made at several places in Germany with this technique, which, by the use of two or three plates, sought to produce the effect of pen-and-ink drawings illuminated with white on coloured, mostly brown, paper. Sheets of this sort by Cranach occur as early as 1506, soon after which appear those of Johann Wechtlin and Hans Baldung Grien in Strasburg. Burckmair also applied himself to the cultivation of this technique, in which especially deserving of mention are two excellent and delicately drawn heads, the portraits of the Imperial Councillor Paumgartner and of Jacob Fugger.

As was the case with Dürer, his painting seems for a long time to have been laid aside in favour of his work in connection with wood engraving. The intimate association of German Art with the press had long been established, and artists found it convenient to work for an industry whence they derived a certain income, besides conciliating a thankful public. Whilst the productiveness of the printing-press was expanded under the influence of revived classical learning, painters of the highest talents were readily induced to contribute to the embellishment of current literature. Such men were at work in Augsburg for H. Steiner and other printers, the best cuts being produced by Jost Dienecker, though their excellence is by no means uniform.

Although not actually himself an engraver, Burckmair, like Dürer and others of his contemporaries, thoroughly understood the process, and was thereby enabled to produce such admirable and suitable drawings for it. Had there been any urgent occasion to do so, he might even himself have essayed to engrave his own designs, as is gathered from a letter of Dr. Conrad Peutinger to the Emperor Maximilian. The engraver who had to execute for the

Emperor a design by Burckmair had disappeared, leaving the work unfinished. So Peutinger promises to make every effort to get it out of hand by some one



"Death, the Destroyer." (After a Chiaroscuro Woodcut.)

or other, referring to Burckmair with the remark that "the painter is quite equal to the task."

A more decided similarity of style is often supposed to exist between the wood engravings than between the paintings of Dürer and Burckmair. Doubtless no formal relationship existed between the two schools; still Burckmair may from the first well have studied both the spirit and technique of the works of Dürer. Even in the subjects chosen by him we perceive an expansion of the world of fancy under the influence of the intellectual aims and of the literature of the period. Thus we find the figures of saints and biblical motives, groups of three model Christians, Pagans, or Jews, with corresponding groups of female types, allegories of the cardinal virtues and of the planets, while numerous illustrations of the wiles of women—"Phyllis bridling Aristotle," "Samson in the Bosom of Delilah," and so on—are still directly inspired by mediæval thought and are animated by a powerful humour.

At the same time, however, he draws his materials also from classical history and mythology, handling them in a way that more clearly betrays his connection with the lettered classes of the period. Thus his "Death of Lucretia" is a thoroughly dramatic scene. "The King of Gutzin" affords a view of the new world then being opened up by travellers and seafarers. Of special importance also is Burckmair's work in connection with the great series of woodcuts and illustrated books that kept alive the memory of Maximilian. For the great Triumphal Procession, on which Dürer also was actively engaged, Burckmair furnished sixty-six designs, mostly allegorical themes imposed upon him by pedantic scholars, yet treated with a picturesque skill surpassed by the Nuremberger alone.

There are further to be mentioned the extensive series of Maximilian's genealogy and of the Austrian saints. With all their excellence these are doubtless somewhat monotonous, the subjects not being altogether to the taste of the artist; but even here the surroundings and the landscapes deserve consideration. On a very different footing stand the greater part of his drawings for the "Weisskunig," Treitzsauerwein's romantic biography of the Emperor. Of these two hundred and thirty-seven designs many are of course second-rate, badly executed, and even poor in conception; still the work as a whole bears the stamp of Burckmair's genius. The subjects from the youth and the education of the hero are clearly and vividly treated, and the political and domestic scenes by which they are followed afford us an insight into the court life of those days. Stately and dignified personages are paraded before us with all their brilliant surroundings, and there is especially one charmingly artless picture of the young king with his consort Mary of Burgundy, seated together and engaged in sweet converse in the garden, "each the other's speech acquiring," as runs the pretty legend beneath. The battle scenes also, with the combats of the pikemen, display great excellence and a direct study of nature, though occurring with monotonous frequency.

This is the province in which Burckmair is perfectly at home, nor does he show the least trace of religious conception or feeling, being quite a stranger to the warmth of inward fervour. His tastes are altogether profane, delighting in battles, sieges, historical subjects, the realities of existence, and at times pompous allegory. The woodcuts and drawings of this sort we possess by his hand are certainly but a small portion of what he produced. His mural decorative paintings, for which he had undoubtedly a special gift, have mostly utterly perished. One can but surmise how appropriate must have been the paintings on the fronts of the houses in his native town, in which were combined dignity of form and vivid composition with a full command over the ornamental element of the Renaissance. His only work in this technique still surviving is a frontage opposite St. Anne's Church, and this is unfortunately in bad condition, or rather well-nigh obliterated. The decorations of a corner house at the wine market belonging to the Fugger family, and spoken of by Sandrart, have not been preserved.

Amongst the panel paintings of his later period the following challenge special notice.

An altarpiece with volets (1519), in the Augsburg Gallery, representing Christ on the Cross, with John, Mary, and Magdalene, with the thieves on the inside of the wings. The deep tones and the fine treatment of the landscape are its best features, the absence of religious feeling being most sensibly felt in such a subject. Better and more appropriate are the pictures formerly on the exterior of the volets, the figures of St. George and the Emperor Henry II. standing beneath a lofty cupola. Of the two that of the Emperor is evidently the finest, displaying a genuine dignity and a noble sobriety of treatment.

"John the Evangelist in Patmos" (Munich Pinakothek), revealing a rare mastery of landscape, with luxuriant soft green vegetation, and an aerial perspective rare in German Art.

On the other hand, the paintings of his last years again betray a certain falling off, the colouring being of a heavy brown, the execution dry, and the outlines harsh. This is true of the portraits of Duke William IV. of Bavaria and the Duchess (1526), in the Munich Pinakothek; of the "Esther before Ahasuerus" (1528), in the same gallery; even of the family portraits (1528) above alluded to, and now in Vienna; and of the "Battle of Cannæ" (1529), in the Augsburg Gallery. This last is a combat of knights in the costume of the sixteenth century, full of diminutive figures, spirited details, and wonderful animation. But here also the heavy tones are prejudicial to the clearness of the composition.

Burckmair remained to the last an excellent and characteristic master, one of the best representatives of the German Renaissance, though the progressive improvement of his taste, as shown in the works executed about 1509 and 1510,

and which was due to Italian influences, was not of long duration. He died in 1531, as appears from the manual of painters in Augsburg. His son, also named Hans, continued many of the branches of Art cultivated by his father, painting tournaments and battle scenes, and supplying drawings for heraldic works; he was also largely employed by the Imperial Court, and was still alive in 1559.

Christopher Amberger, the excellent Augsburg portrait painter and colourist, may also be looked upon as a follower, possibly a pupil, of Hans Burckmair.

EARLY FLEMISH AND DUTCH MASTERS.

THE BROTHERS VAN EYCK.

(Hubert, born about 1375, died 1426; John, born about 1400, died 1440.)

BY O. EISENMAN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the zeal of modern research, the two old Flemish painters to whom this chapter is devoted have hitherto remained a well-nigh unsolved riddle. This is due, mainly, to the scanty materials that have reached us concerning their artistic development, which was chiefly directed towards a thorough reformation of the technical department of Art. If, as in every other province of culture, we are here to assume a gradual approach to perfection, then it must be concluded that both their earlier works, the results of their first essays, and those of their predecessors, have alike perished. Those at least that have survived possess a unity of purpose and a conscious finish of execution, that prove convincingly that we have here to do with the ripe fruit of a deep-rooted tree. Behind them are veiled the years of apprenticeship, and the first timid efforts in the new invention.

John Van Eyck is generally recognised as the father of oil painting. The belief is of long standing, and seems, in some respects, trustworthy. He, and possibly also his elder brother with him, seem to have discovered and introduced an important improvement in the application of oil as a means of fixing the colours. At the same time this discovery would scarcely have acquired such celebrity and general adoption had they themselves not possessed the skill to utilise it to such good purpose, producing works of Art, the like of which had nowhere yet been seen in these northern latitudes, and which carried the fame of their creators and of the means employed by them far beyond the limits of their birthplace. The use of colours mixed with oil was doubtless known before their time; but to erect such landmarks of Art as these there were needed men, or there was needed at least a man, not only gifted

with the inward sense of beauty and the deep impulse necessary for their production, but also with the unwearied spirit of the true craftsman, who never rests until he has discovered the means of giving bodily expression to his

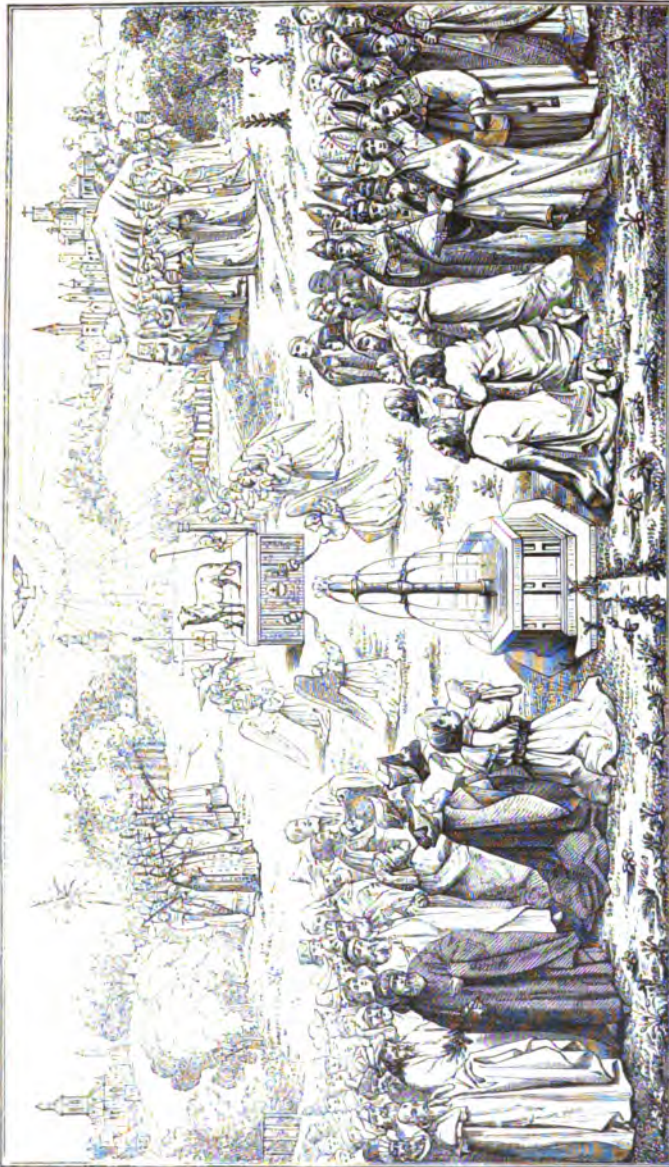


The Ghent Altarpiece.—Fig. 1. Upper Series.

The scale here adopted is only one-half that of the chief pieces (Figs. 2, 3, and 4), where, for sake of clearness, a larger scale seemed desirable. The centre-piece of the Altar corresponds in breadth to the three middle compartments of this upper series.

fancies. Such a pioneer, whether with or without his brother, was assuredly John Van Eyck. This is attested not only by the unanimous voice of posterity, but also by his works, which, with all their onesidedness, possess a

careful finish of execution and a charming subtilty in the glowing reproduction of his conceptions, such as have scarcely been equalled by any of the masters that have preceded or followed him. But by what new expedients,



The Ghent Altar.—Fig. 2. Centrepiece.

by what changes, both as to quality and quantity, in the mixing of his colours with the ingredient for fixing them, he accomplished this, how far he surpassed his predecessors in these respects, and what he may be considered entitled to claim as his own, on all these points we still remain in ignorance. Even the

very date, 1410, as the time generally assigned to the discovery, cannot be relied upon. This much alone is certain, that the brothers, as stated, were not the first painters in oil, and that the present art of oil painting was not theirs. The art of blending oil with colours was no secret to the Middle Ages, though the employment of this mixture, owing to the difficulty with which it dries, was restricted to varnishing purposes. Thus it was already known to Theophilus, who, in the twelfth century, drew up a number of receipts for all sorts of technical processes. But, as time went on, the earlier wall paintings were gradually supplanted by painting on canvas; hence the necessity arose in the North of infusing into the blends some fluid offering more resistance to the influence of the climate than was contained either in the white of eggs, or in the milk of unripe figs, known as *tempera*. Thus, in spite of the opposition it at first encountered, oil painting continued to make way, in the employment of which the primary object was to hit upon some means of making the oil dry more quickly. At first the new contrivance was employed on the volets or side compartments only, until an occasional true oil painting makes its appearance here and there during the fourteenth century. Thus the importance of the Van Eycks consists not so much in any possible technical discovery, as in the circumstance that they applied the new method systematically, and, at least to some extent, knew how to avail themselves of all the advantages that it possessed over the hitherto prevalent practice of laying on repeated coatings of paint. And, even apart from this innovation, their importance will scarcely be diminished when we remember that they were the first in Christian times boldly and decisively to proclaim the doctrine that the study of nature is the mother of all Art—a reform than which no greater can possibly be conceived in this domain.

Of the events of their lives but few details have reached us, especially with regard to the elder, Hubert, concerning whom we only know with absolute certainty that he died in Ghent in the year 1426, suddenly carried off whilst engaged on the famous altarpiece which shall be described further on. The birthplace of both seems, in all probability, to have been the village of Maaseyck on the Meuse, in the present circle of Limburg, in Belgium; but where they acquired the art is unknown. As other members of the family were also acquainted with it, it has been conjectured that their father may have been sufficiently skilled in it to have imparted it to his sons, or at least to the eldest, who may have in his turn communicated it to the younger. This, however, as stated, is only a conjecture, which at least points to the name of a certain Joes Van Eyck, who is mentioned in the records of the guild of St. Luke, at Ghent, towards the close of the fourteenth century, and who may be assumed to have been the father of the brothers.

The sources of information regarding John are more abundant, although

bearing exclusively on his later years. From them we learn that between the latter part of 1422 and the autumn of 1424 he served at the Hague as "varlet de chambre" and painter to the Count of Holland, &c., John of Bavaria, former Bishop of Lüttich. He arrived in Flanders in the year 1425, and entered the service of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in a similar capacity. This prince seems to have held him in great esteem, not only as a painter, but also on account of his courtly and worldly experience. Thus we learn from De Laborde, in his "*Ducs de Bourgogne*," that in the accounts of his exchequer there occur several posts referring to diplomatic missions with which Philip intrusted his court painter and chamberlain. The most important of these was to Portugal in the year 1428, where he was commissioned to paint the Princess Isabella, Philip's bride. Whether before this journey he was engaged in finishing the great altarpiece, the joint work of himself and his deceased brother, is now a matter of uncertainty. So far alone it is beyond doubt that this masterpiece, now far-famed under the name of the Ghent altarpiece, was not completed by John before the year 1432. Thenceforth he appears as a householder in Bruges, where he died in July, 1440. What age he or his brother Hubert attained is uncertain. The statement of Karl von Mander that the elder was born about 1366, and the younger some years later, is unsupported by any original or even reliable authority.

We pass now to the consideration of the Ghent altarpiece, whose supreme merit has immortalised the names of both brothers. Unfortunately we are enabled to reproduce the work as a whole, and as originally executed, in imagination only, its several parts being at present dispersed in three different places. It was painted to the order of Jodocus Vyts, Lord of Pamele, and his wife, Elizabeth Burlut, as a family offering for the cathedral, at first of St. John, now of St. Bavo, in Ghent. A side altarpiece, arranged in two rows of equal depth one above the other, it formed altogether four fixed centrepieces, eight volets, painted on the inside and the outside, and an easelpiece. This last has disappeared; the four centrepieces are still in their original position, all the rest in the Berlin Museum, with the exception of the two extreme volets of the upper series, which are in Brussels. The fundamental idea of this magnificent work is the extirpation of sin and the reconciliation of mankind with God through the immolation of the spotless Lamb. The illustration of this idea pervades the whole composition like a symphony flowing from the orchestra, the choir of angels and the hosts of mortals singing the praises of the Godhead. The volets being opened, there appears throned aloft, and in the centre, God the Father; on his right the Mother of the Saviour, crowned as the Queen of Heaven; on his left John the Baptist; by his side St. Cecilia playing, and accompanied by choirs of angels; another band of angels singing by the side of the Madonna; then, to the extreme left and right, Adam and Eve respectively,

surmounted, the former by the sacrifice of Abel, the latter by Cain's fratricidal deed, both in segments of a circle. The lower series encloses, in the grand centrepiece, the heart of the representation. In the midst of a rich landscape, with the city of Jerusalem in the background, the Lamb stands on an altar in the middle of the picture, shedding his blood into the chalice of the New Testament. Above him hovers the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, whilst he is surrounded by angels singing his praises and offering incense, and by martyrs bearing the marks of their sufferings. Farther off are grouped four other bands approaching from four opposite directions, and



The Ghent Altarpiece.—Fig. 3. Left Volets.

composed of male and female martyrs, and the representatives of the spiritual and temporal bodies. These latter groups are continued on the four side-compartments: from the left the righteous judges and the champions of Christ, and from the right pilgrims and anchorites, press forward to take part in the procession.

When the volets were closed, above was seen the Annunciation, over Mary and the angel Gabriel the half-figures of the prophets Micah and Zacharias in two spherical compartments, and the full figures in miniature of the Cumæan and Erythræan Sibyls above the panel left empty between the two. Below, on the left, kneels the already-mentioned founder of the altar, praying to John the

Baptist and to John the Evangelist, the two patrons of the church ; on the left is his wife in the same attitude. The predella seems to have contained a representation of the souls in purgatory.

We thus see that the work embraces a multitude of groups and figures, and a wealth of inward relations such as had never before been expressed, at least on canvas ; and the whole is set forth with such grandeur and truth of conception, and such perfection of detail, combined with a hitherto unattained skill and brilliancy of colour, that, viewing it in the light of history, we feel compelled to gaze upon it as on a miracle of Art. The modern northern school



The Ghent Altarpiece.—Fig. 4. Right Volets.

must in this performance recognise its first corner-stone, on which were supported for the next hundred years the works of successive generations of painters, themselves devoid of all creative genius.

Let us now consider the work more in detail ; and in the absence of any more recent information, at least regarding the portions found in Berlin, we may here follow the guidance of that excellent custodian, Franz Kugler.

The three figures occupying the centre of the upper series of the inner representation are still cast in the statuesque fashion of the earlier style. They are also painted on tapestry and a gold ground, as was the universal practice in previous times. But with these traditional types they already combine a

happy animation and directness of execution. Earnest and solemn, the heavenly Father is seated right in face of the spectator, his right hand raised in confirmation of the new covenant, his left holding a crystal sceptre, and his head bearing the triple crown, emblem of the Trinity. His features are copied from those ascribed by the primitive tradition of the Church to the Son of Man, but most nobly and consistently carried out, with a serious, calm, and unimpassioned expression. The ungirdled robe of the Lord is of a full red colour, as is also the mantle fastened across the breast with a rich clasp, and flowing evenly and in graceful folds from both the shoulders down to and over the feet. Behind the figure, from the level of the head, there hangs down some green tapestry with the figure in gold of the pelican and its young, a well-known emblem of the Redeemer; there is a background of gold behind the head, on which, in half-circles, are three sentences again descriptive of the Triune as the Almighty, the All-good, and the munificent Rewarder of his servants.

The upper centrepieces, to a large extent at least, are generally attributed to Hubert, on the ground of their peculiar disposition and treatment. On the other hand, the volets containing the angels singing and playing are assigned to John, as they exhibit a firmness and sharpness of outline, together with that decided natural tendency peculiar to the undoubted works of the latter. On the right wing stand eight angels singing at a lectern; they are represented as choristers, dressed in magnificent sacerdotal robes, and with crowns: the splendour of the precious stones and garments is reproduced with marvellous perfection; the lectern is richly sculptured with Gothic ornaments and figures, whose very features bear the impress of truth and life; but in the endeavour to reproduce nature with the greatest possible care, the breath of that higher and more hallowed feeling is already lost, which we look for in the features of heavenly beings. They are simply choristers, lusty, fleshly youths, who are zealously performing their functions; the bass voices press their chins low down, the trebles throw the head back and shriek out with great effort their sharp high notes. In vindication of this exaggerated representation of nature, it can only be remarked that the figures were intended to be viewed at some distance off, and when thus contemplated this picture as a whole produces an unsurpassingly noble effect. On the other side-compartment is an organ, at which is seated an angel in the same dress, or perhaps St. Cecilia, touching the notes thoughtfully. Behind the organ stand others with various stringed instruments. Here there is observed far more inward feeling and softness in the features, while the dress and instruments are treated with equal finish. The extreme volets present Adam and Eve after the Fall, undraped, but in the modest attitude described in Genesis iii. 7. In their extremely realistic conception they show an earnest although somewhat tasteless study of nature.

They are real persons with all the peculiarities of the individual, every muscle, every hair faithfully copied from the original—Adam, a powerful man, with thick hair and beard, but with little expression in his features; Eve, a commonplace, middle-aged woman. At the same time it must not be forgotten that while this representation marks an enormous step in advance, it also implies as great a discovery as that above described in the technical province of Art; for here we have nature herself discovered and reproduced in the picture, although it may be with some lack of taste. We may well imagine what an immense rôle the study of the nude is destined henceforth to play in the art of painting; and here also the two brothers are pioneers.

The execution of the lower centrepiece is also referred to John. Noteworthy is the noble and grandiose style of the dresses, which is undoubtedly to be attributed to the preponderating influence of Hubert, whilst the heads as true effigies, and the ornamental and minute treatment of the details, point to John's special province.

Of the lower volets, those to the right, representing the hermits and pilgrims, are treated rather after the style of Hubert, whilst the hand of John is betrayed in the others. The extreme picture to the right, containing the pilgrims, is at the same time of less consequence. Here we see St. Christopher, of gigantic proportions, wandering through the world in search of his still mightier Master, and followed by a host of pilgrims of lesser size and of various ages. Christopher's flowing red robe in the treatment of the folds reminds us that the centre figures of the upper series still cling to the older style; it is not, however, very happily handled. Very striking also is the singularly eccentric and astonishing expression in the features of the others; at the same time the landscape in this picture is excellently treated, with its slim tall trees, through which we peer out into a desert valley beyond.

Of unequal attraction is the following compartment, which represents the bands of holy anchorites emerging from a gorge in the steep rocks of the desert. At their head march the two who gave the first example of hermit life—Paul, the hermit, and Anthony. The procession is closed by the two holy women who also passed the greater portion of their lives in the wilderness—Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt. Here the individual heads are full of character and of the most varied expression; each bears the history of his life stamped on his features. Venerable old men stand before the spectator, some hale, some pleasant, others shy and embarrassed, or decrepit. Inspired fanatics wildly raise their heads erect, whilst others pass by, smooth-faced or with a light humoristic glance, and others again seem to be still wrestling with their earthly nature. It is altogether a wonderful tableau, which gives us a deep insight into the recesses of the human heart, a tableau which must at all times be reckoned amongst the first works of the art, and to rightly

appreciate which there is needed a full inquiry into the special relations in time and place of the artist who created it. Very agreeable is the landscape in the background, the sheer cliff of the gorge overhung by the green mountain slope, with its trees laden with fruit. The eye would here gladly linger amidst the luxuriant life of nature, were it not again constantly attracted to the more important foreground.

The conception of the two other sidepieces displays a marked difference from this diversified picture ; at the same time, its purpose did not give scope to such a variety of shifting scenes. Here the spectator is riveted by the general expression of a calm, spiritual feeling, a clear, conscious will, together with the artistic display of worldly pomp and splendour. The technical execution is that of John, clear and extremely neat in carrying out the details, as was here especially required by the object in view. On the first volet to the left, the champions of Christ are riding on beautiful horses, though of rather heavy action—noble, active figures, in bright, polished accoutrements and gaily-decked coats-of-arms. The three foremost, with the streaming banners, seem to be the patron saints of those three old Flemish companies that attended their counts to the Crusades—St. Sebastian, St. George, and St. Michael. Emperor and princes follow in their suite. In this picture the landscape is of extraordinary beauty and perfection, with its rich, pleasant mountain aspects, and light, fleecy spring clouds.

The other piece represents the righteous judges—very fair and noble figures, likewise on horseback. In front rides a mild, cheerful old man, on a splendidly-caparisoned white steed, with a blue velvet housing. It is the portrait of Hubert, to whom his brother has here erected a splendid memorial. Somewhat farther back in the group rides John, dressed in black, and turning his intelligent, sharply-chiselled features to the spectator (Fig. 5). An old tradition has preserved for us the knowledge of this portrait.

The outside of the upper volets, as already remarked, exhibits the "Annunciation of Mary," so arranged that the figures of the chief characters of this representation, the angel and Mary, are placed on the reverse of the angels singing and playing. Here, as was frequently the case with the exterior paintings of large altarpieces, the colours are more uniform. Thus a greater wealth and splendour of colouring was preserved for the more worthy embellishment of the interior. The angel and the holy Virgin wear white flowing robes, but the wings of the angel are adorned with delicate shifting hues. The heads are noble, and exquisitely painted. The surroundings in the room are depicted in an exceedingly natural manner. In the semicircles surmounting these panels are seen the busts of the two prophets—noble, venerable heads, though somewhat stiff and unsatisfactory in their attitudes.

The exterior faces of the lower volets have also been already mentioned. The

two patron saints of the Church, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, are painted of a greyish hue, as stone statues standing in niches. They betray a cumbrous style in the drapery, and something peculiarly angular in the crease of the folds, which is possibly copied from the style of contemporary plastic art, and which continually obtrudes itself in the painting of the fifteenth century. We already find a similar mannerism in the drapery of the just-mentioned figures of the Annunciation. John the Evangelist, to judge from his well-finished features as well as from his dress, seems to be the more important of the two patron saints.

The portraits of the founders of the work, the Ghent patrician Jodocus



The Ghent Altarpiece.—Fig. 5. Portrait of John van Eyck, from the Group of the Righteous Judges.

Vyts and his wife Elizabeth, both life-size, are executed with unrivalled skill and truth; they show the firm, careful hand of John, and again touch upon the limits allowable in the imitation of the accidental and the trivial in the human countenance. The whole is, however, most admirably put together, and the artist's industry shows no feeling of diffidence, as, together with their bodily forms, he also embraces the spirit that animates them. The aged Jodocus Vyts, to whose generosity posterity is indebted for this great work of art, kneels before the spectator in a simple red fur-trimmed robe, with

clasped hands and upturned eyes. Yet his features are by no means attractive. The forehead is low and confined, the eye lacking energy. The mouth alone displays a certain benevolence, and the general expression of the features a character which at all events could administer a considerable income and apply the same to an honourable purpose. The thought of founding such a lofty creation we seem to detect in the ideal, expressive, and animated traits of his spouse, who kneels opposite him in a similar position and in a still more simple garb.

The inscription, which runs round the old framework on the outside of the lower volet, informs us in the following lines of the origin of the whole work and of the time of its completion :—

“Pictor Hubertus e Eyck, major quo nemo repertus
Incepit, pondusque Johannes arte secundus
Frater perfecit, Judoci Vyd prece fretus
VersV seXta MaI Vos CoLLoCat aCta tVerI.”

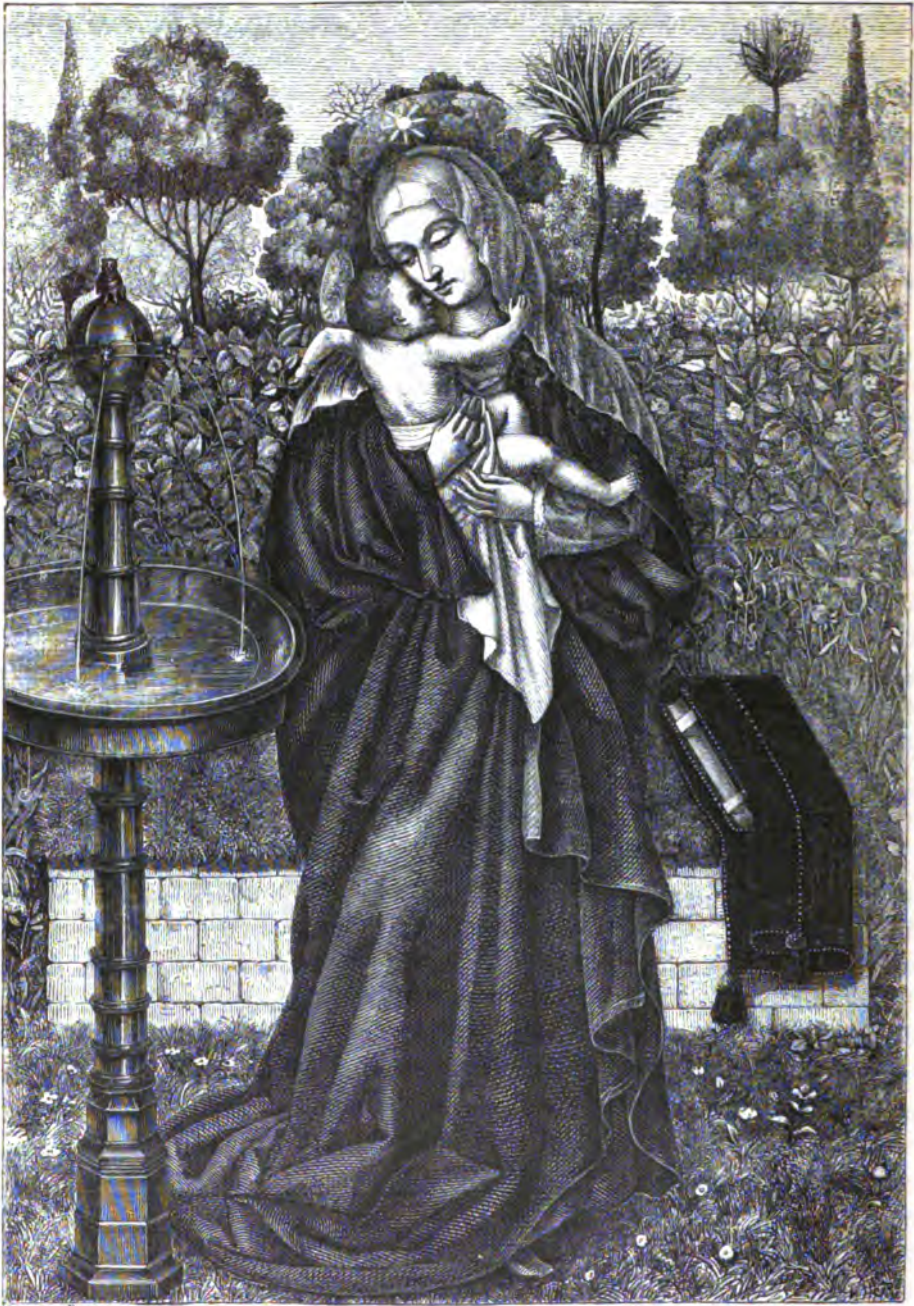
The last line being a chronograph, enables us to decipher the date of the erection of the painting as May the 6th, 1432, though the explanation of the hexameter is otherwise somewhat conjectural. But we have no room here to enter into controversy on the point, and must keep to what is unquestioned, which is to the effect that Hubert began the work and John completed it at the request of the donor. At the same time the most natural interpretation is that the work was originally conceived by Hubert, who rough-cast the whole, not only in thought, but also in the tracing at least of the main features, or, so to say, as a cartoon. But to decide how far he was spared to wield his brush in its execution, and how much he was obliged by his untimely end to hand over to his brother, must be left to the judgment of each individual. But, compared with the question as to the authorship of the rough sketch of the whole, it would seem to be of little consequence. So much, however, may be considered certain, that Hubert completed the three chief figures of the upper series with his own hand.

In any case, marked differences may be observed without too much hair-splitting in the trick and method of their treatment, when contrasted with later works attributed to John. The latter nowhere displays such grand conceptions at once calm and truthful, nowhere such bold execution, nowhere such ruddy brown and well-toned colouring. We find, moreover, here concentrated Hubert's artistic nature, which inclined evermore to the severe ideal of ecclesiastical types, whilst fully alive to the realistic requirements of the composition. How his memory and the appreciation of his higher endowments came to be so soon effaced in the mind of posterity by the name of his brother must still remain an unsolved problem. For the various explanations that have been suggested are all of them more or less unsatisfactory, and even the assumption that besides the unfinished Ghent altarpiece he has left little or nothing

behind him is far from removing all doubt on the matter. It may have been partly occasioned by the oversight of a chronicler at that time engaged in collecting records of artistic performances, as well as by the early disappearance of the inscription to his honour on the framework of the piece which afterwards became buried beneath dirt and varnish. This result may have also been partly occasioned by the ever-increasing pleasure that subsequent generations took in the naturalistic tendencies of John, in his portrait paintings and the well-known widespread diffusion of his works, which were mostly on a small scale, and easily conveyed from place to place, combined with his practice of attaching his full signature to all his paintings.

And, in truth, besides his important share in the Ghent altarpiece, there is nothing that can be attributed with any certainty to Hubert. Amongst the works formerly, and still to some extent referred to him, the most important are:—"St. Jerome in his Study" (National Museum at Naples); "The Well of Living Waters," also known as "The Triumph of the Christian Religion," or "The Waters of Lebanon" (Museo del Prado, Madrid); and a "Madonna with the Child" (formerly in the possession of B. Suermondt, Aix-la-Chapelle, now in the Berlin Museum). The first, a wretched daub, in conception and treatment equally repulsive, feeble, and colourless, cannot certainly be attributed to him, and must be the work of some obscure Italian imitator of the Flemish School. Far less uncertain is the Madonna claimed for him by Hotho, but by Waagen referred to John, an opinion which has quite recently again gained ground (p. 222). The second of the above-mentioned works shows his genius most evidently, at least, in the invention; although, according to the results of the latest inquiries, the execution would seem to betray a later hand. On a platform laid out in terraces and in Gothic style, there is throned on high, beneath a lofty canopy, the same godlike figure that we see on the Ghent altarpiece, with the same arrangement of the mantle, crowned with the tiara; the right hand blessing, the left holding the sceptre. At his feet is seated the Lamb who bears the sins of the world, over a spring that supplies a Gothic fountain with water, and holding the host. To the right and left of the heavenly throne are Mary and John the Evangelist; beneath them, on the second terrace, are angels playing and singing; lastly, on the lowest step, and to the left of the fountain of life, various spiritual and temporal representatives of Christendom, kneeling in adoration of the divine spring of healing waters, towards which the Pope, in front, points with his right hand. In two of the back figures of this group may be recognised the same persons that a not improbable tradition identifies as the brothers Hubert and John in the Ghent altarpiece. To the left of the fountain are depicted, in various attitudes of malice and dejection, the Jews in despair at their blindness and exclusion from redemption. The conception of the effect of the symbolical waters is

clearly seen on the one hand in the elect who have received grace through



“Madonna,” by John van Eyck. (Berlin Museum, formerly in the Suermondt Collection.)

their saving virtues, and on the other, in those who have been rejected through

their obstinate unbelief. The thoughtful and nobly-executed composition is highly suggestive of the influence of the contemplative Hubert, at least in the conception of this work. As the three upper figures correspond in a most striking manner to the three chief figures of the Ghent altarpiece, whilst Hubert, so rich in genius and happy invention, would have scarcely repeated himself, the origin of the work must be traced to some follower of his, working under the immediate influence of the above-mentioned altarpiece, and especially of the creative genius of the founder of the old Flemish school. This seems the more probable that the hand of the elder brother has been recognised in it by no Art critic who has seen the painting, with the exception of Passavant.

And here the name that irresistibly suggests itself is that of John, in all probability the immediate pupil of his brother, who completed his great legacy, who inherited and even eclipsed his fame.

It may well be presumed that he, the younger and poorer in invention, would not have considered himself guilty of plagiarism in repeating the characters of his brother with little change, and in now and then adopting his style of composition soon after his death. And that this is what has here taken place may be argued from the lower figure standing away to the left and representing John, unless the above-mentioned tradition is at fault. At least its erect posture, whilst all the others are kneeling, the place it occupies, and its action and expression, all point at the painter himself of the picture. The hand of John is no less evidently betrayed in the remarkably sharp and well-defined effigies of the kneeling figures. Yet both Waagen and Mündler have pronounced not only against Hubert, but also against John, as the author of the painting. The former refers its execution to two elder pupils of Hubert, whilst Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as well as Bürger, have decided in favour of John.

Although our information concerning his early life is incomplete, yet we are fortunate in the possession of a considerable number of undoubtedly genuine works of John. Without exhausting the list, the more important of them may here be mentioned, in doing which we shall rely on the authority of Waagen, where we have had no opportunity of personal inspection.

The earliest work ascribed to him, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth, describes the "Consecration of St. Thomas-à-Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury," and bears the name of the master with the date, October 30th, 1421. It displays considerable skill in the colouring, and some of the heads are full of expression, but the early period of its composition is shown in the general treatment. It should, however, be mentioned that, on account of several peculiar characteristics, its genuineness has been called in question by other authorities. In any case the early date is certainly

remarkable, and obliges us to bridge over the whole period of eleven years, from 1421 to 1432, which date is shown by a Madonna and Child seated under a dais, a small painting, which, besides the name of the master, bears his motto, "Als ikh kan" ("As well as I can"), and Bruges, the place where it was painted. It is now at Ince, in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, and according to Waagen the head of the Madonna is exceedingly noble, but the folds of her dress sharp and angular.

In the London National Gallery (No. 290), the bust of a man, with the signature "Johes. de Eyk. me. fecit. anno mcccc. 33. 21. Octobris," with the sharpness in the conception of the individual character peculiar to John; very massive and highly coloured.

In the same place (No. 186), the portraits of Giovanni Arnolfini, and of his wife, Jeanne de Chenany, full size. They stand in the middle of their bedroom, reaching their hands to each other. To their right is a bed, and on the left a window, partly opened, and showing a view. Behind them there hangs on the wall a round mirror with miniature scenes of the Passion painted on the frame. The mirror reflects minutely a door and two persons entering the room in the direction of the spectator. From the ceiling is suspended a lustre with a light burning out in broad daylight, possibly symbolical. In the foreground a white "Pinscher" (rat-catcher). Immediately above the mirror are the words:

Johannes de Eyk fuit hic.
1434.

The work, which at present holds an honourable place amongst the pictorial treasures of England, was already held in high esteem in early times, Mary of Holland having granted a situation with a yearly stipend of 100 gulden to a barber from whom she had received it. She was evidently a woman of taste, for in none of his works that have reached us does John display such perfection of technical execution, such skilful, glowing colouring, such delicately-treated chiaroscuro, as in this gem of old Flemish Art. The spiritual grasp of nature, at least in the male figure, by far surpasses the average measure of excellence elsewhere attained to by this master. We see from these depressed and languid eyes, from the hectic hue of the cheeks, that in spite of his youth, this woe-begone person must soon yield either to a weakly constitution or to overwrought energies; whilst the wife, of healthy, though somewhat commonplace appearance, leaves far behind her the female types which the painter has elsewhere portrayed. A portrait of singularly bold conception is the bust of a young man, also in the London National Gallery (No. 222), with a roll of red cloth folded turban fashion round his head. It must have been a somewhat more recent work than the two previous

ones. Nearer to it comes a Madonna and Child, on a small scale, worshipped by the donor, an ecclesiastic for whom St. Barbara is interceding. It is in the possession of the Marquis of Exeter, at Burleigh House.

In Paris there are two excellent paintings by him. One, in the possession of the widow of Baron James Rothschild, a Madonna and Child, worshipped by three saints, two women and a man, and by the donor, an ecclesiastic. In the background a city, and mountains in the distance, all carried out with incredible care, and in its excellent state of preservation still displaying a freshness and a play of light in the colouring which is delightful to look on. The figures in miniature in the streets and neighbourhood of the city are treated with an intelligence and a love of which this period scarcely presents us with another example. The second, in the principal room of the Louvre (No. 162), is a Madonna and Child, crowned by an angel and worshipped by the donor, who, according to an old tradition has been recognised as Rollin, Chancellor of Philip the Good. The Mother of God is of a somewhat ordinary type, but the child is more spiritual and delicate than usual, and the chancellor in profile sharply and vividly depicted. The apartment in which the *forescene* is laid opens by a window in the back, behind which is seen a city animated by a number of diminutive figures.

The Antwerp Museum possesses two small works of John (Nos. 410 and 411): the first (see page 226) shows St. Barbara turning over the pages of a book, holding a palm-branch in her left hand, and seated in front of her prison, which is here represented as a stately Gothic church tower, in the construction of which a number of workmen are still actively engaged. The whole, which resembles an etching, seems treated with the tip of the brush, and bears the name of the author, with the date 1437. The most attractive features of the picture are the daintily-executed figures of the workmen. The saint herself in the foreground, with her hair scattered to the winds, yet closely secured by a band round the forehead, and her dress, with its sharp folds spread wide over the slope on which she is seated, offers a somewhat studied and pedantic posture. No. 411 shows a small richly-adorned Madonna and Child standing by a fountain of glistening metal. Above hover two angels bearing up a piece of red tapestry picked out in gold, with a background of sky and flowery hedges. The frame again bears the name of the artist, the well-known motto, and the date 1439. This little picture is one of the last of this master with a date, and shows that he persisted to the end in seeking his chief pleasure in unusually-painstaking and richly-executed details.

At Bruges itself there are still preserved of him two pictures in the Academy. In a Roman church Mary is seated with the Infant Jesus on her lap, holding a parrot in his little hands. The mother has the expression of an ordinary townswoman, probably taken from a living original, and the child looks very

old. Equally poor in ideal expression appears the figure of St. George standing to the right, who is awkwardly raising his helmet with an almost embarrassed smile; whilst, on the contrary, the donor kneeling beside him, Canon George van der Pael, full of a noble earnestness, presents a wonderfully natural appearance. Equally happy in its conception is the figure of St. Donatian, standing to the left of the centre group. According to an inscription, the work was completed in the year 1436. In its dimensions it approaches nearest to



"St. Barbara," by John van Eyck. (Antwerp Museum.)

the two-thirds life-size figures of the Ghent work, but here again the chief feature is the extremely solid and rich execution of the surroundings (page 227). A good, though somewhat modified, copy of this work may be seen in the Antwerp Museum. The second picture at Bruges, the portrait of the artist's wife about the year 1439, is also chiefly distinguished by its truth to nature. He is altogether incapable of attempting any idealisation of a somewhat harsh reality, or even of any spiritual expression of inward feeling.

In the Belvedere at Vienna are the busts of two men: one, an old man in a red robe trimmed with fur, wonderfully truthful, as was everything that John took from life; the other, a young man named Jan de Leeuw, with a black cap and dark fur coat, holding a ring in his right hand, and dated 1436—originally, no doubt, quite as clear and sharp, but now, through some mishap, much faded and dull, especially in the fleshy parts.

Since the year 1850 the Städels Institute at Frankfort has been in possession of a Madonna formerly at Lucca. She is seated, giving the breast to the child, on a throne in an apartment before which a rich carpet is spread out. To the



From the Altar of Canon George van der Pael. (Bruges Academy.)

right there stand an oil flask and a basin in a niche, and to the left some fruit on a windowsill. The expression of the Madonna does not lack warmth, the child is as usual very natural, and the whole, through the depth and skill of colouring, is pervaded by a certain marked gravity.

The rich Dresden Gallery also rejoices in the possession of at least one gem from the hand of this master. In the centre compartment of a triptych, Mary with the Infant is seated on a throne in a Gothic chapel; on the volets St. Catherine and St. Michael with the donor, and on the outside the Annunciation. This little altarpiece possesses such wealth of minute details, and the whole is

at the same time so delicately worked out, that it may well have deserved, as the legend states, to have been carried about by the Emperor Charles V. on his journeys, for his private devotion.

Lastly, besides those above mentioned, the Berlin Museum can boast of two other works of John. An older possession is the well-known head of the Christ in the antique and somewhat stiff and staring type, as the "*Salvator Mundi*," little animated by the treatment of the fleshy parts or by any warmth of colouring. The same is the case with the so-called "*Man with the Gillyflower*," a bust in recent times obtained with the Suermondt Collection. The head of an old man animated with characteristic wrinkles; thin, half-opened lips; large prominent ears, his eyes riveted on the spectator, wearing a rather high head-dress somewhat on one side with a broad fur border, a gold chain round his neck and a cross of St. Anthony attached; the whole stamped by a firmness in the character of the figures, as well as in the delineation, that worthily rank it among John's masterpieces. Whether the small Madonna and Child standing in the nave of a Gothic church, from the same collection, and now also in the Berlin Museum, is really from the hand of John, cannot readily be decided.

We must here overlook some of the other works, whether rightly or not ascribed to him, and limit ourselves to a few mentioned by earlier writers, but which have since disappeared. Bartholomew Facius, who soon after John's death wrote the lives of some distinguished men, amongst whom that of John himself, as also Morelli's "*Anonimo*," describe with rapture several of his paintings, amongst which notably a bathroom with women in various positions, and a mirror reflecting the backs of the objects facing you. Besides this, some fishermen in the water engaged in capturing an otter; a merchant looking over his accounts with his chief assistant; finally, a richly-displayed map of the world, which was at the time looked on as a wonder.

We thus see that the sphere embraced by his artistic pencil was by no means restricted. He contemplated and conveyed as by magic to his canvas the wide kingdom of nature, man and all his works, and what his eye beheld his hand grasped firmly and surely. At the same time, in contrast to his brother, he departed ever more and more from the ideal world—that is, from the limited circle of thought handed down by the Church, and the solemn and formal representation of which still adhered to the symmetrical outlines of the plastic art. A genuine child of a period in which a worldly leaven had already begun to ferment in restless, half-conscious, half-unconscious resistance to the all-prevailing power of mediæval ecclesiasticism, he yielded himself up with a cheerful confidence and an active loyalty to a higher revelation in nature herself. The brightness of heaven, with all its supernatural beings, visible only to the undoubting mind of faith, began to pale for him, and to fade

away before the charm felt by his earthly eye in all the rich forms and colours revealed to him by the glorious light of the sun in this material world.

Hubert, who knew nothing of all the joy and power of this new impulse, remained faithful throughout to the older conception of Art. This may have been partly due to his age, but his own inward depth of feeling must have in any case prevented him from ever fully yielding to such an outspoken worship of nature.

At the same time, so long as he was engaged on the Ghent altarpiece, John still to a certain extent felt the influence of his brother's higher inspiration. But as soon as he finds himself engaged on more congenial works or with subjects of his own selection, his preference for the things of this material world and his interest in its outward aspects break forth with such irresistible force that he lovingly contemplates the seemingly most trifling objects, and considers them worthy of being immortalised by his pencil. For him the outlines and design of a single leaf are as important as the composition of the whole tree, and the metallic glitter of the lustre as momentous as the sunbeam itself that lights up the whole room. In the same way the reproduction of the dress with its varied hues is deemed by him as worthy of imitation as the delicate carnation of the cheeks, and the lash of the eye as interesting as the language of the soul which speaks in the flash of the eye. His new discovery in the technical department, together with a wealth of light and shade in colouring, are the means by which in his art he arrives at a solemn gorgeous tone, and even a certain ideal effect.

But in this very wealth itself, in some respects inexhaustible, we already discover the limits of his art. Through all these details he often overlooks the soul of the piece; loses himself in them, and becomes outwardly and inwardly meaningless even in his portraits, for which he evidently possessed the highest talents. In the same way he willingly lingers over the minutest and even most paltry details, and this explains his preference for the diminutive proportions—to which he was, however, at the same time restricted by the taste of his employers. Inferior also to his brother in the sense of the beautiful, in the representation of individuals he at times inclines to commonplace, quaint and even repulsive types, and in the treatment of the dress mostly to harsh and purposeless folds and lines, which defect was ever more and more exaggerated in the works of his followers.

It may here be mentioned that judges such as Waagen believe they can trace the hand of the brothers in the miniature style proper, as in the famous breviary of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, now in the Paris National Library. They moreover suspect here the hand of Margaret, one of their sisters, also skilled in the pictorial art, and even rivalling them in reputation in the eyes of their contemporaries, though nothing positive concerning her has

reached us, except that she died before John, and was buried, like Hubert, in the Cathedral of Ghent. Besides this sister, a third brother, Lambert van Eyck, has recently started up, his name having been discovered in an account-book of Philip the Good. However, it cannot be concluded from the wording of the passage that he was also a painter, as some investigators have endeavoured to show. Hence the various theories based on this supposition, and formerly attributing certain particular works to him, must necessarily fall to the ground.



LUCAS VAN LEYDEN.

(Born 1494, at Leyden ; died there, 1533.)

BY ADOLF ROSENBERG.

A CONSIDERABLE period intervened before the great discovery of the brothers Van Eyck found its way from Bruges and Ghent, the brilliant centres of the trade and industry of the Low Countries, to the obscure little town of Leyden, removed as it was from the great commercial highways. The place did not begin to acquire importance till the middle of the sixteenth century. During the preceding century, embracing the lives of the two most distinguished artists of Leyden, no event of any consequence is recorded in the annals of the city. But this very provincial seclusion may help to explain the rise of an original school of painting, which of all the Netherlandish schools remained least affected by the influence of the Van Eycks.

According to the statement of the Art historian Karl van Mander, the first or one of the first to employ oil colours in Leyden was Cornelis Engelbrechtsen, born in 1468. He makes his appearance quite suddenly in the history of Art,

the name of his master being unknown, and the greater part of his works having perished "in the raging deluge of the iconoclasts." A great altarpiece alone, executed by him for the Convent-church of Marien Poel, near Leyden, was saved from destruction in the town hall, and now offers the only safe ground on which to form an estimate of his style.

In the centrepiece is Christ crucified between the two thieves, surrounded by the holy women and other persons in an open landscape. The left wing shows the sacrifice of Abraham, the right the brazen serpent lifted up in the wilderness—two events in the Old Testament which, according to the Christian symbolism, are taken as typical of the sacrifice of the Redeemer. On the exterior of the wings are represented the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns. The altar easel-piece also, with the dead Adam out of whom grows the tree of the New Life, is symbolically connected with the rest. This deep theological sentiment may have, however, been suggested by the canon who kneels with an abbess under the protection of St. Thomas on one side, whilst on the other five nuns are recommended by St. Augustine to the favour of the Saviour.

According to the pertinent critique of this work by Schnaase in his "Netherlandish Letters," the drawing does not approach the clear fulness of contour of the Van Eyck School. "The forms are hard and dry, the movements constrained and angular. Alone in the group of women near Mary, overcome with grief, is there an expression of softness and of pathos, which is perhaps deepened by the sense of harshness which it has to grapple with. The drawing approaches nearer to the contemporary South German than to the Flemish manner, occupying a middle position between the life-like fulness of the latter and the grand and more statuesque conception which was still traditionally preserved in the School of Cologne. There is here a sterner spirit, contrasting with the more genial style of the Van Eyck School, and from the first introducing into Art an intelligent earnestness that sets itself conscientiously to realise and accurately define each several part of the subject individually. According to such a conception of Art all free and spontaneous impulse would seem jarring, violent, and out of place, because incapable of blending with the whole through a softer treatment, as in fact happens in real life, owing to the rapidity with which incidents succeed each other in time. At the same time, the very sharpness with which each individual object is defined possesses a certain charm, which, however, lasts only so long as its one-sidedness is concealed by some other and softer influence."

The colouring is in tolerable keeping with this crudeness and one-sided embodiment of exaggerated expression in the individual, itself a natural consequence of a limited range of thought and of a school of Art built upon itself. The colours "are dark and vigorous, but without bright varieties,

and mainly restricted to brown-yellow tones, lacking brilliancy and not very agreeable."

Another painting, hitherto attributed to Lucas van Leyden, has been recently recognised as the work of Engelbrechtsen. It represents a game of chess between a lady and a gentleman, in the presence of ten lookers-on, and has passed with the Suermondt Collection to the Berlin Museum. It is interesting not only as one of the earliest Dutch genre paintings, but more particularly because it answers strikingly to the peculiar style ascribed by Van Mander to this master. "Engelbrechtsen," concludes his biographer, "was an able and excellent master, who besides his deep feeling and skilful execution bestowed great pains on his works, and by means of an agreeable embellishment contrived to give them a pleasant outward appearance. Like the ancients also he had an exceptional feeling for the treatment of the affections and of the human emotions."

This "cultivation of the affections" is shown in a wonderful manner in the countenances of the ten figures eagerly following the course of the game. In the features of one of them the expression of irritation at a false move almost reaches a pitch of tragical pathos, while the others also, according to the striking comparison of Woltmann, are as earnest and intensely absorbed as if they were assembled round the body of the dead Saviour, rather than at a game of chess. The praise of good draughtsmanship also, awarded to him by Van Mander, is here justified in the sharpness of the outlines, in the intelligent folding of the draperies, and in the plastic modelling of the flesh. In the colouring, the brownish tones prevail here as in the Leyden painting.

Cornelis Engelbrechtsen died in the year 1533 at Leyden. In the Latin lines attached to his portrait engraved by Hieronymus Cock, the fact that the flower of painters, Lucas van Leyden, revered him as a master is mentioned as redounding to his special honour.

Lucas himself was born at Leyden about the end of May or beginning of June, 1494. His full name was Lucas Jacobsz, and he received his first instructions from his father Hugo, himself an able painter. Lucas was an earnest and hardworking student. He sat till late in the night at his drawings, and was unwearied in the practice of his Art. His mother, anxious for his health, was often obliged to warn him that it was time to retire, or would herself put a limit to his excessive industry by removing the light at nightfall.

Besides oil- and water-colours he practised painting on glass, and especially the art of copperplate engraving so assiduously that he is said to have published his first copperplate in his ninth year. Although this may seem almost incredible, it is at least certain that his earliest dated engravings (1508) are already technically so perfect as necessarily to imply a long previous course of study. According to Van Mander's account he acquired this art from a certain

Harnassen and from a goldsmith ; and, in point of fact, the few engravers of those times of whom we have any information also practised the goldsmith's handicraft. Frans of Bocholt and Israel of Meckenem, who also resided in Bocholt, Alart du Hameel, who, according to Hieronymus van Aeken, worked as an engraver in Hertogenbosch, are nearly all comprised in the period of copperplate engraving that coincides with the apprenticeship of Lucas, though



"The Holy Family." (From a Copperplate.)

we may not be able to say that he was in any way influenced by any of them. The master also who signed his plates with the name of "Zwott" would belong to this group, if by "Zwott" we are to understand the town of Zwolle, in Ober-Yssel. His somewhat older contemporary, the highly problematical Alart

Claessen, is more akin to Lucas. Of him we only know that he lived in Utrecht, consequently not far from Leyden. The first date that we find attached to any of his plates is 1502.

It is equally uncertain when Lucas entered the workshop of Cornelis Engelbrechtsen. That it happened at a very early period seems to follow from a story according to which in his twelfth year he already possessed great skill in painting. It is to the effect that for the same Lockhorst, who also employed the master Cornelis, he painted the legend of St. Hubert in water-colours on canvas, for which he received as many gold pieces as he numbered years.

With the year 1508 begins the series of his dated copperplates. The large plate representing the murder of a monk by Mohammed in a drunken fit, fully confirms Van Mander's statement regarding his amazing precocity. Some of his plates on the ground of their technical treatment may be referred even to an earlier date, thereby giving us an authentic proof of their author's wonderful forwardness.

In the studio of Cornelis there worked together with Lucas two sons of the master, one of whom, Peter, was a skilled painter on glass. From him Lucas learned this art and acquired great perfection in it. The painter Heinrich Goltzins (1558—1616) possessed a glass painting by his hand representing the reception of David by the maidens of Israel. Saenredam made a copperplate engraving of this, reproducing the original style with tolerable facility. On the right of the observer stands the young David holding the head of Goliath aloft on a long sword. A number of richly clad women with caps decked with plumes greet the victor with songs and lute-playing.

Two other works treating similar subjects, and also engraved by Saenredam, may have formed pendants to this glass painting. One represents the slaying of Holofernes by Judith, the other that of Sisera, captain of the hosts, by Jael.

The round-shaped paintings of scenes from the Passion, with handsome borders, and bearing the date of 1509, are also supposed to be designs for glass paintings. This art was practised by the father of Lucas, and in the year 1764 there were still to be seen some glass work with scenes from the Old and New Testaments by his hand in the chapel behind the choir of St. Peter's Abbey-church, Ghent.

About the year 1515 Lucas married a young woman, a member of the Boschhuizen family, who brought him a handsome dowry. His now easy circumstances may have induced him to carry out his intention of exchanging the obscure little provincial town of Leyden for some more lively and more important place. He felt himself endowed with more than ordinary abilities, which he naturally wished to display in as wide a field as possible. He made choice of the thriving and industrious city of Antwerp, at that time the focus of trade and enterprise in the Low Countries. In the year 1521 a certain "Lucas

de Hollandere Scildere," that is Lucas the Dutch painter, obtained admittance into the guild of St. Lucas there, and this Lucas is beyond doubt identical with our master.

In Antwerp Albert Dürer visited his great fellow-artist, and was most cordially entertained by him. "Master Lucas has invited me to his table," he writes in the Diary of his Journey to the Netherlands, "the same who engraves on copper. He is a little man, a native of Leyden, who was in Antwerp." According to this last expression it might certainly be doubted whether Lucas had really settled in Antwerp or had only taken up his residence there for a brief period.

In return for his friendly reception Dürer painted his host with pencil in hand. At parting he exchanged a number of his own plates to the value of eight gulden for all the copperplate engravings of Lucas that had up to that time been issued. If this kindly intercourse between the two great masters renders highly improbable the rivalry of which Vasari speaks, his whole statement bearing on the matter appears as a pure fiction when subjected to the test of a careful examination. According to Vasari's account, Dürer engraved his great work, "Knight, Death, and Devil," to compete with the "History of Virgil" by Lucas. But this plate bears the date of 1525, while that of Dürer was produced twelve years previously. The same is the case with the "Passion," also said to have been engraved by Lucas in rivalry with Dürer, although there is an interval of nine years between them.

Lucas does not seem to have resided very long in Antwerp. The year after his arrival there he painted a Madonna, which came into the possession of the nobleman Frans Hoogstraet, in whose house at Leyden it was seen by Van Mander. Hence it may be concluded that Lucas had returned to his native place in 1522. During the lifetime of Van Mander this work was purchased by the Emperor Rudolph II., and afterwards found its way into the Pina-kothek, at Munich. It was originally a diptych, as appears from Van Mander's description, and was not till later on transformed to a panel piece.

It shows the Madonna seated with the Child on a throne in an open apartment. The Child holds in his hand a bunch of grapes with a tendril hanging down, evidently in allusion to the words of Christ, "I am the true vine." On the right, the donor, a life-like portrait, draws near in an attitude of prayer, and is directed by Magdalene to the Infant Saviour. The figures are visible to the knees. On the exterior there is a representation of the Annunciation. Besides the date 1522, the painting bears the monogram (L) of the master.

Its careful execution fully justifies the praise bestowed by Van Mander on the untiring industry of Lucas. Lest engraving might cause him to lose the skill he had acquired at painting, he seems to have made constant use of the

brush. The pale flesh tints of this work are also characteristic of him, while to the other colours, especially the red, he has contrived to impart more decided tones.

Van Mander mentions a whole series of paintings in oil- and water-colours, of which unfortunately none have survived. In the Calverstraet, at Amsterdam, there was to be seen one representing the children of Israel feasting and dancing round about the golden calf. This work was afterwards ruined by some ignorant botcher.

From the effects of the climate of Holland several water-colours were injured, which depicted the history of Joseph, and belonged to a brewer in Delft. Amongst these special mention was made of the prison scene with the chief butler and the baker. As the history of Joseph has been engraved by Lucas, and the genuineness of these paintings was otherwise doubtful, as is in fact the case with all works in public collections that correspond to engravings by Lucas, there is so far a *prima-facie* evidence against his having produced it.

A water-colour representing Rebekah giving Eliezer to drink at the well, with very lovely women and maidens in a beautiful landscape, was in the possession of a certain Van Sonneveldt. The painter, Bartholomew Ferreris, of Leyden, also possessed a little Madonna, besides which there were some very spirited portraits by Lucas, amongst others one owned by the burgomaster Claes Ariaensz. The Italian Art historian Baldinucci mentions a portrait of Ferdinand of Austria, showing the archduke in profile with a cap on his head and in his eleventh year, consequently painted in 1513. In the last century it was in the palace of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. One genuine portrait, however, by the hand of Lucas is still extant in the Auguseum at Oldenburg.

The earliest of all his extant paintings is, in Waagen's opinion, an altarpiece with volets in the Antwerp Museum. In the centrepiece the Madonna is enthroned with the Child, surrounded by four angels, of whom two are playing. On the wings we see St. George and the Dragon, and St. Christopher bearing the Infant Saviour over the water. In this work there are already to be observed those quaint peculiarities which grew out of his further development of the one-sided tendency of his master. Even the brown carnations still betray the influence of Engelbrechtsen.

With this work is chronologically connected a painting in the Liechtenstein Gallery at Vienna, representing the recluses Anthony and Hilarion in the desert. They are in the act of expressing their astonishment at the raven bringing them bread. In the background of the delicately worked-out landscape we see a rocky grotto with other anchorites.

But the most famous of all his works is the "Last Judgment," now in the burgomaster's apartment in the Leyden town hall, whither it was removed from its original site in St. Peter's Church at the time of the iconoclastic frenzy in

1566. Although large amounts were offered for it from time to time, the townspeople could never be induced to part with this solitary heirloom of their great fellow-citizen. But the work has been unfortunately so seriously injured by "restoration," that it is no longer possible to form any opinion as to the original colouring. This restoration, which extends to the centrepiece only, was taken in hand in the year 1807, when a portion of the colour was injured by the well-known explosion of gunpowder there.

Above we see Christ enthroned as judge of the world, and surrounded by saints and apostles. Beneath this group hover a number of angels, while the



"Christ and the Magdalene." (From a Copperplate.)

background is occupied with a green plain, in which are a few figures little more than suggested, presumably representing the Resurrection of the Dead, as some are received by the angels and others by the devils. In the foreground alone are to be seen some carefully executed groups, but so few in number that the composition seems poor and empty. The draughtsmanship, however, is deserving of all praise; in fact, the artist seems to have aimed mainly at exhibiting his skill in the drawing and modelling of the nude. Herein he contrasts advantageously with his Flemish predecessors, in this respect forming at the same time a material link in the development of Dutch painting.

On one of the side compartments there is a representation of Hell, though

seen only through an open gate, beyond which a sea of flames with the damned. Amongst these are especially to be noted two women, which give proof of the painter's surprising knowledge of the human figure. "One of them is being dragged along by an evil spirit who has seized her by the hair; a demon is endeavouring to carry off another by the feet as she lies on the ground, with her hands desperately clinging to the spot, and her still beautiful and pale features turned towards the spectator." (Schnaase.)

The corresponding wing shows the peaceful abode of the blessed—feeble pale figures, lacking all expression of joy, bliss, or inward devotion, whereby other older representations of this sort are so advantageously distinguished. For such a theme our master was not qualified. He well knew how to impart life and movement to his forms, but he was unable to give expression to a deeper feeling, or to the more delicate affections of the soul. The heads of his figures, even the portraits themselves, are altogether empty, jejune, and indifferent to any particular individual expression. This defect may, perhaps, be explained by the master's one-sided tendencies and by his wonderful precocity, preventing him from acquiring any deep insight into personal character.

The exterior of the volets shows the apostles Peter and Paul seated in landscapes. They are more carefully and less ornamentally treated than is generally the case with paintings on the outside of volets. Here also the colouring has been best preserved, and the Paul is dignified in character, of noble bearing, and finely draped.

But the most artistically perfect of his works is, in Waagen's opinion, an altarpiece, also with wings, representing the lifting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and formerly in the hands of the Art dealer Laneuville, in Paris. It is a very rich composition disposed in many groups, displaying extraordinary animation and excellent drawing; the colouring shows rare strength and clearness, while the execution in all its numerous details is of admirable mastery and finish. No other work so entirely justifies the great repute enjoyed by the artist amongst his contemporaries.

Of the paintings in lime-water colours on canvas, of which, according to Van Mander, he executed several, one may be seen in the Academy of Arts at Vienna. It treats a subject of which the old Flemish masters were very fond—the Sibyl and Augustus. The emperor is kneeling at her feet, while she directs his attention to the Madonna with the Infant Christ appearing in the sky. Here the expression of the features is deeper and more spirited than usual, but the colours have unfortunately faded away.

The Ducal Gallery at Darmstadt also possesses a genuine work with the master's signature, depicting the Madonna with the Child in the open air, and surrounded by angels.

In the picture gallery of the Berlin Museum there is a St. Jerome mortifying

himself in the desert. The work is particularly remarkable for its perfect state of preservation, and may have been produced in 1516, which date is inscribed upon an engraving handling the same subject. But the arrangement of the painting differs so much from that of the engraving that the latter may be considered as a preparatory study for the former. A comparison of the two at the same time throws light on the method pursued by Lucas, whenever later on again treating the subject of some earlier composition. While the pictures painted from his engravings keep slavishly to their model, at most departing from it in some trifling details, the painter of the Berlin work evidently possessed the fullest appreciation of the spiritual significance and artistic merit of the engraving. All that was good and suitable in this he adopted, with better discernment, recasting whatever after mature examination appeared either as defective or as opposed to the laws of a more severe style of composition. Such an intelligent understanding of the shortcomings and good points of a work can be fully possessed by the author alone. None but he can attain to it by a profound study of the production, a labour to which a mere copyist will scarcely subject himself. Hence no one will be inclined to raise any doubts as to the genuineness of this work, confirmed as all must admit it to be by a comparison with the engraving.

Through his marriage with a young woman of means, Lucas, as above stated, found himself very comfortably situated. His works also he contrived to turn to good account, and so he resolved for once to give himself a respite from the labours of the brush and the graver in order to visit his fellow-artists in the Low Countries. He bought a boat decked over, which he provided with all necessities for the journey, and in the year 1527 set out by the Leyden and Rotterdam canals.

After several days he landed at the island of Walcheren, betook himself to the town of Middelburg, and prepared a grand feast for sixty florins, to which he invited the famous Jan Gossaert, called Van Mabuse, and the other painters in the place. Lucas was dressed in yellow silk, and expected to outshine every one in the splendour of his attire. But the magnificent Mabuse, though not so well off as Lucas, made his appearance in a superb gold-brocaded robe. Lucas invited him to join in the excursion, and thus the renowned painters proceeded from town to town, through Antwerp, Ghent, Mechlin, and other places, everywhere sumptuously entertaining their fellow-artists.

From this journey Lucas returned the victim of a lingering complaint, which confined him for a long time to his bed. He himself thought he had been poisoned by a jealous painter. But the fact probably was that from the damp air on the canals the weakly constituted artist took a slow hectic fever, which gradually consumed his vital powers. On the occasion of his journey to the Low Countries Dürer had taken a similar illness, which never after left

him. "And when I was in Zealand," he himself tells us in his diary, "there overcame me a strange malady, of which I never heard from any man, and this disorder I still have."

But though quite bedridden, Lucas did not discontinue his work. He devised contrivances which enabled him to paint and to engrave in bed. To this period, according to Van Mander, belongs "the choicest and most beautiful of his works." The subject is the healing of the blind man of Jericho (Luke xviii.), a composition rich in figures disposed in an open landscape. In the features of the Redeemer there was expressed a genuine simplicity and gentleness, together with an earnest desire to confer the wished-for favour on the blind man; and in the man himself, who was led by a boy, the act of groping his way with outstretched hand was most naturally expressed. The landscape forming the background was also finely painted, and contained a second scene with two figures, showing Christ seeking in vain for fruit on the barren fig-tree. On the wings were a man and a woman bearing an escutcheon, with the date 1531, probably the donors of the picture. It was his last oil painting, and was procured for a large sum by the painter Heinrich Goltzius, of Haarlem, in 1602. It is now in the Hermitage Collection at St. Petersburg.

The artist's only daughter had married a certain Damissen. Nine days before her father's death she bore a son, who was baptized immediately after his birth. On the return of the family party from the church the grandfather asked what name he had been christened by, and when they replied that after his death a second Lucas van Leyden would remain behind, he turned aside troubled by this thoughtless answer. The sensitive invalid fancied he had become a burden to his family, and that they wanted soon to get rid of him. Two days before his death he caused himself to be taken into the garden, in order once more to be gladdened by the charms of nature and the light of the sun. He died in 1533 in the nine-and-thirtieth year of his age. His last work was a small engraving of Pallas, the plate of which was found all but finished on his death-bed.

The grandchild did not at all justify the hopes entertained of him. He was a very indifferent painter, and died at Utrecht in 1604. His brother, Jan de Hoog, seems to have been of more importance. He also was a painter, and chamberlain to Henry IV. of France. He died in Paris in the year 1615.

But few paintings, as already remarked, have reached us from the hand of Lucas, nor was his talent as a painter the most calculated to procure him the extraordinary reputation amongst his contemporaries which he really enjoyed, his greatness resting almost exclusively on his copperplate engraving. In this technique he competed for the palm with Dürer himself, though, as we have seen, there was no question of any personal rivalry in the strict sense of the

term, nor will any one hesitate to assign him the next place to the great German artist.

If we accept as strictly true Van Mander's statement that Lucas published his first copperplate in his ninth year, all the one hundred and seventy copperplates that have reached us will be distributed over a period of thirty years. However, the oldest works with a date do not occur till 1508, and but extremely few of the others can possibly be referred to an earlier time. Lucas would have



"The Dentist." (From a Copperplate.)

accordingly produced seven engravings every year—a truly marvellous number, when we bear in mind the unusual size of some plates and the almost painful care with which all are executed. He also, we are assured, attached great importance to obtaining superior impressions from the plates, often throwing whole masses of them into the fire when they did not prove satisfactory.

In the few plates belonging to his first period, which closes with the year 1508, the bias peculiar to the older times is still clearly conspicuous. It

harmonizes admirably with a singularly delicate outline and a slight employment of pictorial expedients. In the heads we still meet with the well-known type of the Van Eyck School—oblong eyes, long downcast eyelids, pointed chin, and forehead rounded off. The movements also in their gravity and formality still show the influence of the older manner, which betrays itself in the quaint attitudes and harsh treatment of the extremities.

On the other hand Lucas knows how to appropriate the excellent points also of the older school. On these plates we again meet with all the deep devotion, the heartfelt inward feeling, and the childlike artlessness of the figures in the old paintings. Later on, when he directed his attention chiefly to the drawing and the outlines, he no longer succeeded in reproducing so effectively the inward emotions of the soul.

To this period belongs a plate with Adam and Eve under the fruit-tree, another with Abraham driving out Hagar (exceedingly rare, and even at the time of J. von Sandrart, that is, in the second half of the seventeenth century, purchased by the Swedish envoy, Von Spiring, for 500 gulden), a representation of the Holy Family resting by the way on their flight into Egypt, and lastly another Holy Family at the foot of a tree, reproduced at page 234. This plate, for the expression of deep, inward feeling, undoubtedly occupies the first place amongst the engravings of Lucas. But the wooden and awkward movements refer it to a time when the devotional feeling still reigned supreme, to the total exclusion of all free beauty of form and life-like movement.

To the same period also belongs St. Luke the Evangelist, in the long robe worn by the learned, and seated on his symbol, the ox. Through mere devotion his eyelids are entirely closed over his eyes, so that he gives one the impression rather of having fallen asleep than of being occupied with a spiritual work.

Here also may be mentioned a pair of genre pieces. A man with a torch is embracing a woman, probably a scene from a torch dance, a naked boy is blowing a horn, while in the background two little fellows are dancing to the music. The other, showing a couple of pilgrims seated in a landscape, still excites unusual interest, because of its striking relationship with certain genre pieces produced by Quentin Matsys and his school, and in which the older Peter Breughel especially distinguished himself.

Another plate, a gentleman with a torch walking with a lady, is supposed to represent the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. But the principal plate of this period, showing the young artist already perfected in the engraver's art, handles a legend from the life of Mohammed. One of his soldiers, annoyed at the prophet's lengthy interviews with the hermit Sergius, whom he was in the habit of frequently consulting, once finding them both stupified by drink, slew Sergius, and placed the bloody sword in the hand of

Mohammed as he slept. On awakening, fancying that he had himself committed the murderous deed in a drunken fit, the prophet henceforth forbade his followers to indulge in wine. The soldier is here approaching cautiously and placing the naked blade on the prophet's knee. In the background we see one of those famous widespread landscapes, in the painting of which Lucas already shows his masterly skill.

"The Passion," round in form, and bearing the date of 1509, marks a second period in his manner of handling the graver, as well as in the individual expression and drawing of the figures. We now meet with strong-set, rough, bony, and ungainly figures, with thick repulsive heads. The beautiful and agreeable is altogether sacrificed to a bias for the eccentric and unshapely. Arms and dress are worked out with great care, and his command over the graver has acquired greater breadth and pictorial effect, while the shading becomes firmer and the light more sparingly applied. The composition does not lack grand motives, but in the straining after effect the old depth of conception and the heartfelt language of the soul have disappeared.

Amongst the engravings of this period may be mentioned a large piece representing the meeting of King David and Abigail, and the "Samson and Delilah." In the latter, an uncouth, broad-shouldered giant, with a flat head and a full beardless face, is asleep on the bosom of the far from attractive daughter of the Philistines, who is shaving off the locks from his head with an expression of unspeakable indifference and listlessness. In the background the Philistines are anxiously pressing forward—spindle-shanked figures, who do not seem in the least capable of any warlike deeds, but look more like plain, peaceful artisans.

But this treatment of the repulsive is most painfully felt in every imaginable form in the plate representing the resurrection of Lazarus. The expression of firm trust in God on the features of Christ is aimed at by an upward straining of the lower eyelids, whereby the whole face becomes horribly distorted. By these and other similar tasteless accessories, including two figures that have clambered up into trees in order to lose nothing of the show, the whole subject becomes divested of all its sublime significance, and verges closely on the ridiculous.

Fortunately this worship of the offensive was but a passing feature in the artistic development of our master. "The Conversion of Paul," a large plate rich in figures produced in the year 1509, already reveals a different character, to which he henceforth remained faithful, rendering it the special individual type of his Art. His former delicacy in handling the graver has now revived and to it is superadded a greater firmness of touch. The softness of the lines is brought to still greater perfection, while the draughtsmanship is free and correct.

The next year shows us the master, though still but sixteen years of age, already at the very height of his Art. One of his most important engravings, and in fact one of his most mature and finished creations, the "Ecce Homo," bears the date of 1510. On a somewhat raised platform, standing in front of a number of buildings and shut in by a barrier, the Redeemer with bound hands is presented by Pilate and two soldiers to the people, who are noisily crowding forward. Respectable country folk in extravagant costumes, soldiery armed to the teeth and wearing costly equipments, stunted boys and children, all are crying and shouting, and with foul gestures reviling the lowly victim of the will of the sovereign people. Even two little children, who are playing near a large stone in the foreground, interrupt their game in order to take part in the general uproar. A great multitude of armed men are hurrying up from the right, whilst another crowd to the left of the observer is engaged in animated conversation in front of a two-storied house, whose windows are closely packed with the heads of curious spectators. A strange couple are approaching from the left. The bearded man wears a turban on his head, and the woman, barefooted, has tucked under her left arm a naked child, who is playing with an apple. It is remarkable that this is the only female in the whole plate, rich as it is in figures. Was this due to a certain feeling of delicacy which induced the artist to exclude women from such a revolting scene? Or was he merely conforming to the custom of the country, which forbade women from being present at executions and expositions of criminals in the stocks? The Turkish family, wandering on their way, are evidently strangers to the place, hence do not take part in the surroundings. Here also Lucas has trespassed on foreign preserves, having copied this group with but slight modifications from one of Dürer's early engravings.

In this plate the religious element is kept altogether in the background. Apart from the figure of the Redeemer bowed down by sorrow, there is nothing suggestive of a biblical scene. The religious subject merely offered the artist a ready excuse for giving the fullest scope to his artistic resources. And in truth the shrewd power of observation here displayed by him is very wonderful. He reveals to our gaze an endless number of highly characteristic and lifelike figures, each of them distinguished by some individual trait borrowed from every-day life. In the variety and pictorial disposition of the costumes he allowed full play to his fancy, but little troubling himself, as may be supposed, with historic accuracy. Neither he nor his followers, any more than their predecessors, ever for a moment took into account that people formerly dressed otherwise than in their own time. And this very artlessness with which historic scenes of earlier periods are represented has for us no little charm. What these paintings may forfeit to strict historic truth they gain in directness of conception and in freshness and vigour of exposition.

The purely religious character of mediæval Art little harmonized with the animated temperament, tending towards the brilliant and fanciful, which had gained the ascendant towards the close of the fifteenth century. Feeble efforts were at first made to introduce the genre element into the traditional typical scenes from Scripture and the hagiologies, until the incidents of ordinary life



The "Owl-glass." (From a Copperplate.)

almost completely stifled the religious germ, breaking at last altogether away from it, in order to take up an independent position in works of Art. The development of this genre manner goes hand in hand with the fading away of the mediæval idea, with the increase of the worldly spirit in Christianity, and with the love of life again infused by the Renaissance into the old classic culture. From the time that the individual gets detached from the masses and

acquires an independent value of his own, his joys and his sorrows, his life and all his doings, become the legitimate object of artistic treatment.

But the bent of our artist became more and more exclusively directed to the reproduction of the individual character, even at the total sacrifice of all beauty of outward form. Herein we have the clearest evidence of the influence of his master Engelbrechtsen's artistic tendencies. These he pushed further, "and ensured to himself the advantages thereby entailed—definite characteristic expression, correctness and even elegance in individual figures. But even while attaining this goal he must have felt the one-sidedness of the tendency and its lack of bright, genial life. As was at times unwittingly the case with his precursors, he was thus led to the crude expression of accidental, exceptional, and even eccentric peculiarities. The wonderful forms, movements, and costumes, which in his copperplates seem to us so strange and often even offensive, produced no such effect on his contemporaries, accustomed as they already were to such things in the well-meant and faithful treatment of the traditional element. In order to overcome the inharmonious, both artists and their contemporaries were driven to the comical, at first unconsciously, but soon in a spirit of self-irony and kindly recognition of the imperfections of mankind, whence arose that mingling of harsh earnestness and whimsical playfulness, which, however, became unsuitable for subsequent artistic tendencies." (Schnaase.)

A copperplate of the year 1510 offers the best illustration of this characteristic. It shows our first parents on a journey. Adam, an angular, weather-beaten figure, with long shaggy beard and hair, strides along violently gesticulating with his left hand; a skin is wrapped around his loins, and he carries a spade on his left shoulder. By his side walks Eve with a child in her arms. Here everything is quaint and grotesque—the quick, angular movements, the wonderfully dangling hair, and the sharp-edged, broken folds of the drapery. In the features alone of Eve do we detect a kindly expression, a heartfelt inwardness, such as is to be met with elsewhere amongst his contemporaries in Albert Dürer alone.

In truth, the German master becomes henceforth the guiding star of the young Hollander. His influence works evermore potently on him, without, however, crushing his individuality. His own peculiar artistic manner, a feeling for the brilliant and fanciful, the full expression of life and motion, and the faithful delineation of individual characteristics reaching even to the whimsical, all this strives to blend with the grand style of Dürer. But this grandeur, when thus mingled with such diverse elements, is naturally far from being reproduced with unimpaired effect. On the other hand, Lucas has succeeded in appropriating something of Dürer's grace and depth of feeling. A whole series of plates may be mentioned which fully bear the impress of this special character, and which begin with the year 1514.

Three lovely pictures of the Madonna with the Infant, standing on a crescent and encircled by nimbi, at once recall in their motives similar copperplates by Dürer, without at all yielding to them in delicacy of execution. Of equal merit are some scenes from the legend of the Virgin, which move in an earthly atmosphere. In the face of the Madonna seated at the foot of a tree, with the Child holding a pear in his hand, one seems to recognise the manner of the German master in its full extent.

Equally fervent and true to nature is a representation of the Madonna and St. Anna, reaching an apple to the Infant; whilst a Virgin with the Child seated on a stone bench before a tree, with two angels as playmates of the Christ in the background, belongs to the master's very finest plates. Its date is 1523.

In grandeur of conception Lucas approaches nearest to his model in the representation of Christ appearing as a gardener to Magdalene (see page 238). The suffering Redeemer also, in his grave surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, and with his hands bound, resembles the same plate for breadth of execution. On the other hand the Passion of 1521 is in no way comparable with that of Dürer. Neither novel in its motives nor original in the character of the individuals, the composition suffers also from a perplexing fulness, while the heads are both flat and meaningless. Equally unsuccessful is the master in "The Disciples of the Lord and the Twelve Apostles," produced about the year 1511. The features and figures are very commonplace, hence far from creating any imposing effect. Whereas Greek Art conceived the dress as the "echo of the body," imparting to the one all the movements and contours of the other, the northern artist on the contrary completely conceals the body beneath an entanglement of broken, mean, and meaninglessly repeated folds in the drapery, so that it is no longer possible so much as to guess at the outlines of the figure.

Three of his engravings, reminding one mainly of Dürer's "Dancing Peasants" (1514), and of his "Peasants at the Fair" (1519), are perfect masterpieces of genre Art, and in every respect on a par with the best cabinet pieces of an Adrian Brouwer or an Ostade. A rustic, racked by a frightful toothache, has fallen into the hands of a quack, and while the decayed tooth is being wrenched out a woman is quietly emptying the pockets of the hapless victim (see page 242). The three figures are of unsurpassed truthfulness and extremely lifelike expression, of masterly draughtsmanship and most striking effect.

Of equal merit is the second plate, also representing an operation. An old surgeon has got firmly between his legs a man crouching on the ground, and seems to be cutting from behind his ear one of the warts with which his head and repulsive face are covered. Excellent also is the third—an elderly couple seated in the open and playing a duet. The man is fingering a guitar, and

listening with intense eagerness to the notes which he is extracting from the chords, while his spouse accompanies him on the fiddle.

These three works belong to the years 1523 and 1524, consequently to the period of the master's highest excellence. A few years earlier was produced the so-called "Owl-glass," a work that has become famous less through its good qualities than on account of its extreme rareness (see page 246). A bagpiper in tattered garments and wearing a pointed felt hat, in which two spoons are stuck as tokens of his calling, is jogging along merrily piping at the head of his numerous family. His back is bent beneath the weight of a large dosser from which two chubby little brats are protruding. On his right trudges his wife carrying the youngest child on her shoulder, and by a rope leading the donkey, from whose panniers three more youngsters are peeping out. The procession is headed by a little rogue with a full, cosy-looking countenance. His head is wrapped in a hood, in one hand he holds a stick, a jug in the other, while on his left shoulder is perched an owl. From this excellent figure the plate has received its name. As early as the year 1644 a proof copy of the work was sold for fifty ducats, in consequence of which Hondius prepared a transcript, on which he set this price. Sandrart also tells us that the already mentioned Swedish ambassador procured the "Owl-glass" for two hundred thalers. But the copperplates of Lucas had as a rule commanded high prices at a very early date. At the time of Karel van Mander, consequently about 1600, the "Burial of Christ," the "Conversion of Paul," the "Magdalene Dance," the "Adoration of the Magi," and the "Great Crucifixion," were all sold for one gold florin each. Sandrart was informed by the painter John Ulrich Mayer that his master, the great Rembrandt, purchased at a sale twenty-four good impressions for 14,000 gulden, and in the year 1659 the plate representing Esther before Ahasuerus was sold for 215 livres in Paris, for the imperial library at Vienna. The cause of these exceptionally high prices may have partly been the extraordinary delicacy of the engraving allowing of but a limited number of impressions, and partly the great popularity that Lucas van Leyden has enjoyed at all periods. In our own days the industry of collectors of engravings has been directed more towards the rare than the important works of the master. Thus the "Owl-glass" at a sale in the year 1871 was knocked down for the amazing sum of 4,500 marks (£450).

With the year 1525 there sets in a decided turn in the style of our master. The Italian Renaissance had in the meantime made its triumphal entry into Germany, and Lucas was not gifted with sufficient original strength to resist the pressure of its influence. Then also the "antique Art" was everywhere looked on as the best, to which the native styles would have to yield. As we have seen, Lucas had already formed an intimacy with Mabuse, who was known to have been one of the first champions of the Italian style in

Holland, and who may have probably used his influence on his younger fellow-artist.

But he was most powerfully affected by the copperplates of Marc Antonio, whom he generally studied to rival in his drawing, in his free command of the graver, and in his refined technique. Unfortunately he took as his models the last creations of the Bologna master in preference to his earlier works, the drawings for which were furnished by Raphael. The disagreeable, turgid, and discordant manner of a Giulio Romano appears in its worst aspect in the Teutonic master, on which account the works of his last years are for us utterly void of interest. His faults now show themselves in the strongest light, while the original and robust types, which rendered the plates hitherto under consideration so attractive and artistically important, now yield to a conventional conception of the beautiful that is far from indemnifying us for the change.

Fortunately about twenty plates only belong to this period, which extends from the year 1529 to his death. During this interval he treated the history of the Creation in six plates, the Deluge twice again in different forms, whereby his rivalry with Marc Antonio becomes specially conspicuous. To a simple natural sentiment has succeeded an obtrusive pathos, proclaiming itself in almost declamatory movements, as, for instance, in the "Eve bewailing the Death of Abel." An utterly degraded mannerism is displayed in "The Seven Virtues," "Mars and Venus" (1530), and the little Pallas, his last work, which, as we have seen, he left not quite finished on his death-bed.

Of the years 1527 and 1528 a few excellent plates have been preserved, which illustrate the transition stage from the German to the Italian manner. Four ornate compositions are fully on a level with the best creations of the "German Little Masters," such as Aldegrever and S. Beham. Two finely drawn genii, bearing a helmet and a banner, and two winged genii, as shield-bearers, also come within the better influence of German Renaissance. A Venus with Cupid hovering in the clouds already begins to fall into the Italian manner. Its French device, "*Vénus la très-belle déesse d'amours*," is remarkable in its way.

At etching also Lucas tried his hand, perhaps in imitation of Dürer. The most important of his etchings, as the "Owl-glass," a St. Catherine, and the fine portrait of the Emperor Maximilian, all belong to the year 1520. In the two latter works the etching needle is still combined with the graver. Thus in the portrait of the emperor the head is exclusively carried out with the graver, while the breast, the suggested parapet behind which he stands, and the other details are all etched.

He also prepared drawings for the wood engraver, but the delicacy of his draughtsmanship found no adequate interpreters in this technique. In the hand

of the form-cutter almost everything vanished in any way characteristic of his special manner. Hence the woodcuts, of which some thirty have been preserved, can bear no comparison with the grand works of a Dürer. Especially noteworthy are two series, each in six sheets respectively, illustrating the fatal ascendancy of woman over man: Eve offering the forbidden fruit to Adam, Samson shorn of his hair by Delilah, Solomon attended by his heathen women worshipping the idols, the wizard Virgil suspended by his mistress in a basket, according to the mediæval legend, also engraved by Lucas, and so on.

These subjects he drew directly on the block, just as he seems to have prepared no special drawings for his copperplates, which partly explains his extraordinary productiveness. At least none of his drawings have survived to our times, and everything of the kind in public collections passing under his name is certainly spurious.

There exist on the other hand some copperplates of a later date, which have been prepared either from drawings or from paintings by Lucas. Unfortunately the engravers have introduced so much of their own style into them, that the character of the original is scarcely, if at all, to be recognised. It is best preserved in an engraving of a round shape by F. Dolendo, the "Sibyl showing to the Emperor Augustus the Madonna appearing in the Clouds with the Infant Saviour," probably after a glass painting. Fine compositions are also the four Evangelists in their studies, engraved by C. van Pasch; of less consequence the bust of a Madonna and the Holy Family in a Hall, from the Art publisher, H. Goltzius.

Lucas died, as we have seen, in his thirty-ninth year. This early death was no loss to Art itself, the last five years of his life being coincident with the manifest degeneracy of his style. From the moment that he turned his attention to the Italian School he ceased to be original. He belonged to the severe old style, which was brought to a close with him and Dürer. In the domain of the Renaissance, which substituted grace and geniality for the old characteristic earnestness, his Art was unable to take root. But by introducing everyday life into the sphere of his artistic industry, and, rightly considered, making it the main feature of his works, he laid the foundation of genre painting, which acquired its highest development in the ensuing century.

Two portraits of the master by himself have been preserved. One belongs to his earliest period, and has been engraved by Andreas Stockius after the original painting (or drawing), and published by Hondius. It is a bust, the head covered by a large cap, beneath which the thin hair falls down over his low forehead. The face is strong and bony, the nose broad, and the mouth strikingly large in contrast with the short and lightly developed chin. But the great animated eyes, with their deep thoughtful expression, show that it is

the likeness of no ordinary individual. The early maturity of the youth has imparted to his features an earnest and almost solemn expression.

The other portrait is a copperplate of the year 1531, the last plate of the master produced in the German style (see the portrait at page 231). The features have undergone but little change, only the face has become more lank and bony, the lips are more firmly compressed, while the glance has acquired more expression and thoughtfulness.

QUENTIN MATSYS.

(Born 1466 at Lowen; died 1530 in Antwerp.)

BY DR. OSCAR EISENMANN.

WHILE Gerard David of Bruges, though a remarkable and prolific painter, had become so completely forgotten, that his name may in a sense be said to have been again newly discovered in our days, his contemporary and fellow-artist Quentin Matsys (also Massys, Messys, and Metsys) has on the contrary ever enjoyed an uninterrupted and revered reputation. For this he is doubtless partly indebted to his really exceptional merits as an artist. Even in his life-time this secured to him unusual distinction, which has been kept alive in the memory of his fellow-citizens by a most admirable and impressive work accessible to all in the Cathedral of Antwerp.

At the same time, however, his permanent fame has been preserved to no small degree by the fact that he became traditionally the hero of a little romance eagerly repeated from mouth to mouth, and again in our own times made the subject of a well-known epic by Gottfried Kinkel. He was known as the Antwerp blacksmith, and it was related how he was originally a farrier or a locksmith, afterwards devoting himself to painting either in order to gain the affections of his sweetheart or the consent of her father to their union, becoming thus directly indebted to love for the great success he achieved in the Art. Whether there be any truth in this legend, which was afterwards embellished with various details and with the addition of more definite names, cannot here be discussed. Though mentioned in his work on the painters by Carel van Mander, he would seem to doubt its authenticity, as he explains Quentin's change from the forge to the studio on other grounds. He tells us that after a serious illness, and while still too weak to wield the hammer, Quentin sought occupation in illuminating the pictures of the saints, thereby discovering his genius for colour and acquiring a taste for painting.

However, the anecdote is in any case very old, as the lines turn upon it which were composed by the learned Lampsonius for the portrait of the master issued in Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock in 1572, consequently about forty years after his death. The idea that it was love which inspired him to become a painter, a thought here elegantly and learnedly worked up in association

with Vulcan and Venus, seemed in itself so attractive that it was again repeated in a still more agreeable form in the epitaph on the monument raised to his memory by his admirers on the centennial anniversary of his death. In it occurs the line :

“Connubialis amor ex mulcibre fecit Apellem,”—

which transformation from the locksmith's craft to the brush, if it can be at all accepted as an historically ascertained fact, must in any case have occurred during the early youth of Quentin. We know on authentic evidence that he entered the guild of St. Lucas at Antwerp as a master so early as the year 1491—1492, and there resided in the enjoyment of high repute, probably also in outwardly brilliant circumstances, for a long series of years till his death in 1530.

He was a great friend of music as well as of poetry, and is said to have industriously cultivated both these arts. He also appears to have associated on intimate terms with the men of letters at that time residing in Antwerp. The renowned Sir Thomas More, to whom Erasmus and the Antwerp savant Petrus Ægidius sent their portraits painted by Quentin, celebrates him in elegant Latin verse as the reviver of the old Art, not inferior to the great Apelles himself. Albert Dürer also notes in the diary of his visit to the Low Countries (1520—1521) that he “had been to the house of the Master Quentin.”

He was born in 1466, not, as was formerly universally supposed, in Antwerp, but in Louvain. He was thus a native of Dutch Brabant, a province which although in close proximity to was yet independent of the Flemish School; and this circumstance seems not without importance. It enabled him to raise himself above the local character and tendency of the Flemish School, which had hitherto remained almost unchanged since the beginning of the century, while he still retained all the strength and peculiar tone of the Netherlandish sentiment. He stood near enough to appropriate the good points in the earlier productions of his native Art, without being enslaved to all its details. Carel van Mander in fact thinks it necessary in the appendix to his work expressly to inform us that Quentin “learned painting from no one;” and this statement, which may possibly be intimately connected with his traditional love affair, is in truth not without significance for the position occupied by him in the Art world. He was in immediate dependence on none of his predecessors, and possessed greater artistic freedom of action than any of them, the brothers Van Eyck alone excepted.

Both in Antwerp and Louvain there are shown rich specimens of the blacksmith's craft which Quentin is supposed to have executed before taking to painting: in the former place the covering of a well in front of the cathedral,

in the latter the cover of a baptismal font in St. Peter's Church, of which a part, however, has recently disappeared. Whether these are really genuine works by his hand must of course remain unsettled, but it is in any case certain that he occupied himself at a subsequent period with works in metal. Thus in the year 1519 he cast a bronze likeness of Erasmus, seemingly a medal, with a Latin and Greek inscription, as Erasmus himself states in his letters (xix. epist. 43: "*effigiem meam fudit ære*"). But this was probably but an isolated essay, undertaken, perhaps, out of respect for the famous man of letters, so that painting remained on the whole the special object of his Art as well as of his fame.

The number of pictures, however, that can be with certainty ascribed to him is very limited. But amongst them is that masterpiece which would have of itself alone sufficed to establish his reputation and demonstrate his pre-eminent artistic importance. This is an altarpiece with volets executed by him in the year 1508, by order of the Cabinet-makers' Guild at Antwerp for their chapel in the cathedral, and which is still preserved in good condition in the museum of that city. Soon after being placed *in situ*, this work acquired such celebrity that Philip II. of Spain was anxious to procure it for his collection, offering the guild a large sum for its purchase. But the offer was rejected, and the apparent risk of losing it thereby incurred had the effect of inducing the Council of Antwerp, mainly at the instance of the painter Martin de Vos, to enter into negotiations with the owners, thus securing the work for the town in the year 1577. The for the time relatively large sum of 1,500 florins paid for it, and which enabled the guild to erect a hall for themselves, shows the high value at which that commercial mart estimated this artistic treasure.

The central panel contains the "Burial of Christ." The friends of the Saviour have assembled in the valley before the grave at the foot of Calvary, on which we see the cross still standing in the background. They have laid the body on the ground to prepare it for interment and give vent to their grief. The figures are nearly life-size, and the body of Christ, supported by one of the bearers, lies in the near foreground without any perspective foreshortening, but stretched across the picture and filling the greater part of its width. Magdalene, bowed down in deep sorrow at the Redeemer's feet, is on a level with him in the lowest portion of the picture. A higher position is occupied by the other mourners in a somewhat compact group, and hence in scarcely reduced proportions. They are thus by no means disposed in perspective, but still clearly grouped in a certain regular order.

To the lowest and already mentioned line, formed by the heads of the Saviour and Magdalene, there corresponds a second at a higher elevation, indicated by the three more or less inclined heads of Joseph, Mary, and a

female attendant, and yet a third still higher up, formed by the heads of the remaining five figures—Joseph of Arimathea, another attendant bearing the crown of thorns, John, and two women. As these figures are so disposed as to be seen in as full outline as possible, the highest level is broader than the



The "Burial of Christ." (Antwerp Museum.)

intermediate, and this again than the lowest, the whole group thus presenting the form of an inverted and truncated pyramid.

The body of Christ is drawn with an evident effort at anatomical accuracy. Muscles, sinews, and veins are carefully worked out, more so almost than the painter was in a position to grapple with. The body is thin and harsh; the bending of the limbs lacking that peculiar contour assumed soon after death, before the stiffening of the softer parts, and which is caused by the involuntary

motions determined by the mere weight of the body alone. The head is colourless, but painfully disfigured by wounds and the death-struggle. If, however, the whole figure gives the impression of mere earthly weakness in a more intense degree than we are wont to expect in the treatment of this subject, this effect is at least softened by the surroundings, and especially by the strong and bitter expression of sorrow in the attendants. The passionate Magdalene, bending down in order to anoint her Master's feet with her hair, which she has moistened with the soothing spikenard, betrays in her attitude a precipitate movement regardless of her own comfort. Mary seems totally overcome—her features almost as pale as those of the dead Christ, the muscles of the forehead pressing the heavy eyelids down over the tearful eyes; similar sharply broken lines about the mouth and chin showing how grief has interpenetrated every nerve. Not less impressive is the expression of the woman occupied by her side, with a sad look reaching one hand for the sponge which a third woman is holding towards her, in order with it to bathe the left arm of the body, which she is supporting with her other hand. One of the assistants, bearing the crown of thorns, seems more indignant; but in the features of Joseph of Arimathea we see even in his grief the expression of kindly feeling and manly gentleness. John has the typical features common to him in early Art—almost square head, dry, and strongly contracted by grief.

Thus we find ourselves in a world where everything speaks out deeply, pointedly, and earnestly. Sorrow here reveals itself not only on the surface of the figures, but we see it working inwardly in them, violently moving them, and breaking through their passive demeanour. The very structure of the body seems no longer the same, its usual soft outlines yielding to a passionate, quick action, the sudden predominance of which leads more to angular forms than to soft contours. Outward nature itself, the very landscape, shows none but rugged forms. It is wild and rocky, and by projecting upwards from behind the group towards the vertical point of the picture leaves but little space for the sky.

In the colouring also Matsys shows himself peculiar, and in advance of his predecessors. All of them, with the exception, perhaps, of Hubert van Eyck, Dierick Bouts, and Gerard David, had for the most part worked with decided tints, which they laid on side by side without any attempt at shading or further transition from one to the other. Thus we would have a positive blue followed by a positive red, and so on. Matsys, on the contrary, though he also may at times show some such violent contrasts, inclines still rather to the softer shadings, modelling with delicate transitions in the carnations no less than in the draperies. He also prefers cool broken colours to local tones.

Quite peculiar to him are the iridescent or prismatic and shimmering fabrics which he is especially fond of introducing in the dress of his women, as is the

case in this picture; whereas with a delicate symbolism he clothes his men rather in dark-coloured garments. The weak and fickle nature of the gentle sex seems reflected in the former, while the earnest manly type harmonizes with the deeper tones of their costume. The only elements of the old school which he seems to have retained perhaps to excess are the over-rich head-gear of the women and a profusion of brocades, which are apt to arrest the attention of the observer, diverting it from the spiritual meaning, which is yet itself depicted with such impressive truth and vigour. With a sort of divided interest we unwittingly follow the dazzling display of the various samples of textile fabrics, robes, and head-dresses that are spread out before us, whereby the pathos of the subject is undeniably weakened, especially for the modern observer, to whom such sumptuous tissues are apt to suggest thoughts of the technical expedients brought into play in their representation.

The side panels are less satisfactory than the centrepiece. In the latter the figures are placed prominently in the near foreground, while in the wings we have intricate groups depicted with a deep perspective in a narrower compass. On the volet to the left of the observer we see in the foreground Herod seated at a banquet in an open hall, with ministers and spectators, while the daughter of Herodias holds the Baptist's head up to her mother, who is gashing it with a knife.

The problem how to represent the struggle of frivolity and vanity with the not yet quite extinguished sense of pity in the youthful and delicate figure was too difficult of solution for the tendencies and times of our artist. For such subtle and mingled sentiments the maturity of form was as yet unequal. Even the light dancing motion of the body seems strained and awkward.

On the corresponding volet we have the martyrdom of John the Evangelist. He stands naked in the cauldron of boiling oil. In the foreground, particularly striking are the executioners, in the garb of Flemish boors, with brawny arms and sleeves tucked up, while busily engaged in keeping up a brisk fire under the cauldron. In the background are some rather indistinct groups of spectators and soldiery. The accurate individuality of the heads, and the delicate, harmoniously blended colours, resemble the corresponding qualities in the principal piece; and although the side panels are inferior in arrangement and expression, the bespeakers of the work may be partly to blame for this, by compelling the artist to group together more figures than he could well keep under control. The case is otherwise on the exterior of the volets, where we find represented, *en grisaille*, the two Johns only.

If we compare this work with those of the earlier Flemish painters, the Van Eycks and their school, or even with Schoreel, Quentin's junior, and educated in Italy, an important difference will be seen not merely in the manner of conceiving the subject, which might possibly be explained by the

peculiar personal bent of the artist, but in the style itself, and in the artist's manner of looking at his self-imposed task. For the older school the picture was a necessary portion of the whole world, in which its essential parts at least, such as heaven and earth, were to be becomingly represented. Hence they preferred to place the action of the piece in the open air, and were fond of broad richly furnished prospects, valleys watered by streams, with mountains and trees, towns and strongholds. But where this was impracticable, as with incidents taking place between the four walls, they at all events contrive to give a distant vista through the open door, or else allow the sunbeams full play through the casement. In this broad picture of the outer world, the drama itself with the characters taking part in it were no doubt the central point, but they were nothing more than this. The scene of action was well-nigh as important as the agents; they were accordingly represented on a reduced scale and so as not to fill up the whole space, but leave room even in the foreground for the beginning of the picturesque surroundings which thence stretched away in the background.

The human figures were doubtless treated with loving care, but not more so than all the rest. Without accurate anatomical execution, and lacking ideal beauty, in the world of these artists they are certainly the most important objects, but their pre-eminence is more a question of degree than of kind. They are not the exclusive objects of interest, besides which all the rest becomes merely so much incidental detail. Hence the groups of actors fit very clearly into the perspective arrangement of the whole. Even in their persons, in the rich array of their splendid attire and equipments, the individual details again assume such prominence that even here the dignity of the human form does not fully assert itself in the midst of its surroundings.

The unity of the whole being thus less conspicuously affected by the dramatic representation, the need was felt of some other powerful means of giving unity to the several parts, and this was discovered in the magical effect of light. Hence they gladly introduce in the very heart of the piece, perhaps, a sheet of water, or a golden vase, a burnished coat of mail, or some such object in which were more or less brightly mirrored the light and colours of the whole.

If we now cast a glance at any later historical work, say of a Rubens, we shall perceive in it a totally opposite tendency. Even if the action takes place in the open, the landscape itself is but seldom visible. At least there is no question of a distant prospect, but we have at most suggestions of some object near at hand, and accordingly merely sketched in a few bold strokes—a pillar, it may be, or a few steps instead of the building itself, a solitary tree doing duty for the woodland scenery, and as a rule not even so much, or else so treated that it vanishes altogether as of no consequence by the side of the

subject itself, or of the groups and actors in the piece. After withdrawing from the picture, the attentive observer is scarcely conscious of having noticed any accessories to the chief centre of attraction. The artistic universe of the old school has disappeared, or has merged in the human figures; which are,



Centre of the Altarpiece in St. Peter's at Louvain.

however, by way of compensation, depicted with full power and in all their importance. Thoroughly to understand and fathom them, to realise them in all the peculiarities of their form and all the varied motions of their limbs, thus becomes the aim and the mastery of the artist in a very different sense than in those early periods.

The beginning of this new aim we recognise in the present work of our master. Here the figures are not merely a part, even though the noblest and most important of the work; they now form its whole substance. Almost life-size, brought well forward and directly in front of us, they at once claim our undivided attention. But this very change of method involved at the same time a thorough treatment, carefully embracing all the individual details. For this alone could now satisfy the exigencies of figures cast on a really large scale. It, moreover, necessitated a much more marked and vivid pathos of expression, for this again could alone impart spiritual unity to the complex physical details. Lastly, all this itself involved a consequent serious alteration in the style hitherto prevalent.

That Quentin was aware of all this is clearly evident from the work under consideration. The body of the Christ in all its details is evidently drawn on an obvious study of the nude, and even after a real corpse, as may be concluded from the straining of the sinews and the stiffness of the members. By disposing the groups in a new and hitherto unattempted manner he obtained sufficient room to display all the figures distinctly, and so as to leave the greater part of their bodies visible. In their movements and in the expression of their countenances he has evidently striven to give them a stronger pathos than his predecessors had attempted. He doubtless here lacks the means of fully realising these new ideas, and his knowledge of the human figure is obviously unequal to the task of reproducing with freedom and ease all the endless changes in the more flexible parts brought about by every outward or inward movement. Passion itself seems to do violence to the body—to break it, so to say, rather than to pervade or interpenetrate it.

But he was himself not yet fully conscious of all the consequences entailed by his changed standpoint. His improvement, like all first steps in advance, was but one-sided; while abandoning the good points of the older manner, he was unable at once to supply the defect thereby created. In the Van Eyck School the human figure, not claiming the exclusive attention of the observer amidst the realities surrounding it, could very well assume the form of actual individuals with all their casual peculiarities and without any attempt at ideal embellishments. Herein the artist enjoyed a great advantage in respect of the truthfulness of expression, as with a more idealized conception the figure itself becomes moulded to the character and sentiment in the artist's mind. But for that very reason the expression, by partly becoming embodied in a definite form, must lose somewhat of its momentary strength and dramatic force. But when, as in real life, the figure is fashioned more fortuitously, independently of the individual character and especially of any passing sentiment, then the very soul itself and the passion of the moment assert themselves independently of the body. They appear all the more vivid inas-

much as they so vehemently excite frames with which they are not necessarily associated. Hence by means of that free and unshackled conception the painter was enabled to give much more animated and thrilling expression to the feeling of the moment.

But the adoption of such highly individual characters—the representation of ordinary humanity, as it is called—was itself attended by certain drawbacks. Harshness of form and movement in some, discordant lines in many, the suspicion of exaggeration in passionate and of mawkishness in mild types, lastly a want of repose in the broken folds of the drapery—for this also was necessitated by the straining after reality and variety—none of these things could be very well avoided. Still, all such shortcomings disappear for those who move in the artist's sphere of thought. The blending of the groups, the picturesque background, and other elements lovingly treated, prevent us from lingering over isolated figures or over their special relations to each other. The vivifying thought permeates and overflows in all these details, but reaches its goal only in or through the general effect. Hence a cheerful tone, announcing as it were the heavenly solution of earthly complications, pervades the whole, rendering all those crudities and scattered defects raked up by the critic but so many casual discrepancies, which, like powerful notes, have precisely the effect of making the harmony of the whole all the more perceptible.

But all these relations vanished as soon as the human figure came to be represented in closer proximity to the spectator and on a more enlarged scale. The surroundings, whether picturesque or architectural, were thereby thrust ever more to the background, their importance falling off in proportion as that of the human figures increased. As these now assumed forms of intense personality, inasmuch as the incidental traits of real life, and consequently the unqualified expression of feeling, asserted themselves through the outward form, more sharply contrasted inharmonies were thereby necessarily brought into play, while the softening influence of the surrounding outer world has itself become impaired. Hence there vanished also the highest aim of Art—god-like repose and harmony of the subject—unless again possibly restored in the figures, which have now risen to exclusive importance. Thus also the outlines of the body must acquire more regularity. The pleasant expression of merely well-formed traits or of manly vigour and dignity now no longer suffices, but the need is felt for a higher physical type of beauty in a sense which brought painting into closer relation to the plastic style.

Another necessary consequence was a greater uniformity and purity in the expression of the feelings and temperament. Such expression must no longer disturb the unity of the groups or the beauty of outward form. The figure must no longer, as in real life, seem out of harmony with the soul and the

passing sentiment, so as, in a sense, to become disfigured by the struggles of the inward feelings in asserting itself. It must rather be fashioned in harmony with the definite character and the momentary expression. Hence here also



Exterior of the Volets of the Altarpiece in St. Peter's, Louvain.

there was an approach to the deeper repose of plastic Art. But at the outset the artists themselves were far from being aware of all these consequences of the new tendencies. Thus Quentin himself, like a true artist, acting more from

an inward impulse than through conscious purpose, retained in the details much of the old school. The harsher form of the body as well as the rough expression



Interior of the Volets of the Altarpiece in St. Peter's, Louvain.

of feeling have already been alluded to. To the same cause must also be referred the regularity of the groups, although conceived differently from the hitherto prevalent manner, and lastly the prominence of his picturesque back-

grounds, which, though unsuited to his ideas of perspective, he still felt reluctant to sacrifice.

Through these various and discrepant elements a certain strangeness is imparted to his productions. They seem less intelligible to us than the Van Eyck School, removed though this be from us as much in spirit as in point of time. It is not till a given tendency in Art has reached its highest pitch that the master succeeds in so perfectly realising his conception as to be fully appreciated in all its harmony and spirit by the remotest posterity. But when this is achieved the older works become more intelligible than many more recent ones, just as we discern objects on the top of a distant hill more distinctly than those in the intervening but overshadowed dale.

It is Quentin's happy lot to stand on such a lofty eminence. The struggle going on in him between mediæval form and the dawning modern spirit imparts to his work, at least at the first glance, a something out of tune or not yet fully harmonized. On a more careful study, however, we begin to perceive that these discordant elements have been blended together by the uniform perfection of the whole, and we recognise, especially in the expression of grief in the middle panel, an earnestness and a depth scarcely to be achieved by a more delicate sense of harmony.

But when we ask how this master came to light upon the new path, all information bearing on the question utterly fails us. Some later writer tells us that he visited Italy, but they quote no authentic records, nor is the statement itself at all likely. Such an event, which gave to his contemporaries greater importance in the eyes of the next generation, would not have been easily overlooked, and must have necessarily come to the knowledge of Van Mander. Nor is it at all confirmed by Quentin's style. In contrast with the Van Eyck School, he no doubt so far approached the Italian conception as to detach the human figure more sharply from the surroundings. But until Michael Angelo gave them a fresh impulse the Italians directed their attention chiefly to the outward natural forms, and above all to the grace of the individual figures. Hence if Quentin had acquired his Art from them he would, like Schoreel, Bernard van Orley, and others, doubtless have adopted the same views and conformed to their school. But instead of this he reveals quite a different tendency, availing himself of the deeper study of the body alone for a deeper expression of the inward feeling, and this he could have learned neither from them nor from his fellow-countrymen.

Least of all can a visit to Italy be implied, as is supposed, by his mostly fanciful architectural forms, which in their details alone reflect the spirit of the Renaissance. Thus he stands entirely alone, and really seems, as the legend goes, to have been self-taught, with the reservation, however, that the Van Eycks, and especially Roger van der Weyden, were presumably studied by him.

He may have further lent an ear to the reports of many artists home from Italy, rather than have in himself realised their studies from a Germanic point of view, and such reports may well have fired him to nobler onward strides. But in any case his highly individual turn of mind, though still somewhat akin to the Italian manner, is in itself a proof that the new revelation in the north must be ascribed not to foreign influences, but to an inward exigency and to a local development.

We may now pass to a survey of whatever other triumphs of our master may have survived to our times, besides the world-renowned Antwerp Burial. In the very first rank, and on a level with this great work, the tongue of the balance scarcely wavering between them, stands the still richer and nearly as large altarpiece, also with side compartments, in the chapel of the choir of St. Peter's Church at Louvain. In the centre picture are the holy kinsfolk, disposed in symmetrical order—Anna and the three Marys, with their four husbands and seven children, the mothers variously occupied with the little ones, the men partly reading and partly gazing thoughtfully before them. Mary and Anna are seated on a bench in the centre, the two other women on either side of them on the ground. The men stand behind beneath a sort of open hall in the Italian manner, through its arches showing a distant landscape enclosed quite in the background by the mountains.

On the side panels are scenes from the lives of Joachim and Anna. On the interior—to the left, the angel's promise to Joachim with the shepherds in the field; on the right, the death of Anna. On the exterior—to the left, the young couple presenting the offerings to the high priest, and bearing the inscription, QVINTÊ METSYS SCREEF DIT, 1509; to the right, Joachim dismissed from the Temple.

The work has been recently cleaned with great care and success, and, notwithstanding the gloomy atmosphere of the place where it is preserved, it once more shines with fresh lustre to the delight of every observer.

The centrepiece, with its still somewhat antique disposition of the groups, possesses the good qualities of all Quentin's genuine works—delicate harmony of the softly blended colours, noble types of heads, the hazy background gently toned away in the distance. Yet with all this it is far surpassed by the side paintings, which are exquisitely conceived and most lovingly carried out. Look at the expression of the most deep-felt grief on the countenance of Joachim as he turns from the temple. Then there is the admirable scene with the angel, so characteristically pointing with one hand upwards to where the forsaken and despised must seek for comfort, and with the other towards the city, whither he may return confidently relying on the promise of the heavenly messenger. Lastly, the death of Anna, a scene such as for truth and pathos had not yet been compassed in pictorial Art. In these creations there is revealed a dramatic

artist, a painter of the soul standing in the very front rank. An intelligent observer further remarks that Matsys is a painter whose best points cannot be enjoyed at the first glance, and that this work consequently invites a certain earnest study.

A third important work, formerly in the collection of the Prince of Orange, and now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, shows the Virgin with the Infant on the crescent, and hovering in heavenly glory, surrounded by two angels, the one playing on a violin, the other on a lute. Above, the Holy Ghost and God the Father crowning her; below, worshipping, King David with the harp, two prophets, and two Sibyls, one of whom according to the legend directs the attention of the Roman Emperor Augustus to the appearance above. The background is filled up with a landscape.

This work, which belongs to the master's middle period, was walled in at the time of the destruction of the Cathedral of St. Donatian at Bruges, and to this circumstance doubtless owed its escape from the vandalism of the image-breakers in the sixteenth century. The composition is somewhat straggling, but the female heads, especially that of one of the Sibyls, are treated with great delicacy, those of the men with exceeding vigour, above all that of the emperor, which is very noble.

Besides the Burial, there is in the Antwerp Museum the bust of an *Ecce Homo* and a half-length Magdalene with the box of spikenard in the open hall—a touching though youthful production still somewhat confused in its conception, of meagre draughtsmanship and colouring. On the other hand, there is in the same place a bust of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, with his mother—a youthful figure, which has been copied innumerable times and is now known everywhere. It occupies a transition period between the traditional stereotyped devotional treatment of the subject and a more modern style, peculiarly stamped with the individual character of its creator. Duplicates by himself almost more delicately executed than this are preserved in the London National Gallery.

When at the summit of his Art, Quentin again painted the Magdalene, as we see her in the collection of James Rothschild's widow, in Paris. The half-length figure of the three-quarter life-size penitent stands behind a parapet, on which is the ornamental gold ointment-box, of which she has just removed the cover. "The features and colouring of the head are handled with a rare delicacy, and the whole is executed with much taste and feeling. Especially charming are the sleeves, of some shimmering fabric, with a play of lilac. In the rich hilly landscape, with the mere of the background, the artist shows his mastery of aerial perspective. Two agate columns, enclosing the picture on either side, closely resemble those of the beautiful work in the Berlin Museum. Still as a whole it approaches nearest to the admirable altarpiece in the cathedral of Louvain."

In the just-mentioned collection there is a "Mother of God on a rich decorated throne and embracing the Infant Saviour. It belongs to his middle period, is characterized by a pure childlike sentiment, a warm though bright tone, and excellent draughtsmanship. On the small table to the right are wheaten bread, butter, fruits, and a glass of water; in the background a landscape with a well, buildings, and a distant prospect."

Whether the "Portrait of a Man" (No. 574 of the old catalogue) and the "St. Jerome in his Cell," transferred with the Suermondt Collection to the same gallery, are really by Matsys, as Waagen assumes of the former, and J. Meyer and Bode of the latter, cannot here be determined. The "undoubted" original of the frequently transcribed St. Jerome, Waagen believed he had in his time discovered in the possession of Count d'Arrache, in Turin.

That Quentin really was a portrait painter also we know from the letters of Erasmus, who during his stay in Antwerp in 1517 had his likeness, together with that of his friend Petrus Ægidius, taken by him for Sir Thomas More. Unfortunately that of Erasmus has disappeared, but the other is probably in the collection at Longford Castle. At least the copy there preserved is by the painter's hand, and possesses such excellence that we must estimate his skill in this department also very highly.

Lastly, of works in public collections we may mention the "Money-changer and his Wife," in the Louvre, executed by him at a late period in life, and bearing the inscription, "Quinten Matsys Schilder 1514." It shows a remarkably archaic tendency by no means to his advantage. In the sharply cut features, the closely pressed and short-waisted figure of the woman, and in the bony, harshly modelled fingers, there are unmistakable reminiscences of Van der Weyden; and the same is true of the almost painfully treated accessories, amongst which the well-known favourite article of the old Flemings, the little convex mirror, minutely reflecting a window and beyond it the street. A second and richer representation of a money-changer and his wife ought to be in the possession of Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen in his Castle of Sigmaringen.

With this subject we come upon a series of works which, considering the deep earnestness, the delicate sense of beauty, and the noble reserve elsewhere shown by him, could scarcely have been expected from our master. These are the well-known paintings of moral and social subjects in life-size half-length figures—harpagons, usurers, quarrelsome couples, and the like, generally conceived in a somewhat gross manner. It should, however, be remembered that the invention alone is to be referred to our master. This is true even of the famous "Two Misers," in Windsor Castle. But that he may or rather must have on one occasion at least executed such a piece is proved by the executioners, spectators, and musicians on the side volet of the Antwerp Burial.

He was after all a child of the times, and these had become more or less realistic. Hence he also was obliged to pay tribute to this tendency, and this he did after his own fashion, though, perhaps, not so willingly or readily as Lucas van Leyden in his way.

Of pupils or followers of Quentin, at least in this degraded branch of the Art, we are acquainted with two only whose works have been preserved. These are his degenerate son Jan and Marinus (Seeuw) van Roymerswalen or Reymerwalen, the latter of whom is mainly responsible for copies or variations of the above-mentioned themes—misers, usurers, and so on.

Influenced in a wider sense by our master is a German whose name has but recently been again brought to light—Jan Joest, probably a son of Calcar,



"Money-changer and his Wife." (Original in the Louvre.)

and painter of the "Death of Mary." He assuredly does his model greater honour than the others, and is altogether by far the greatest painter on the Lower Rhine during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. His works are not unfrequently ascribed to Matsys, as, for instance, a Madonna with the Infant, (No. 377 in the Royal Gallery at Brussels), a Lucretia in the Belvedere at Vienna, and a Holy Family in the Palazzo Balbi-Piovera at Genoa.

Here also may be mentioned another great German name, that of Hans Holbein the younger, who made the acquaintance of Matsys on the occasion of his journey to the Netherlands and England, on an introduction from Erasmus, procured through the mediation of Petrus Ægidius. In connection with this

event A. von Zahn cogently remarks, "I am now firmly convinced that the peculiarities of Holbein's finished style must be dated from the influence of his residence in the Low Countries, and especially from his contact with Quentin Matsys. When I visited the Antwerp Gallery immediately after the exhibition of Holbein's works, I found in Quentin's whole drawing and colouring, in his treatment of the colours, and in several peculiarities, especially the handling of the accessories, distinct evidence of a previous influence of the older master, which is already to be recognised in the Darmstadt Madonna."

Thus, while remaining somewhat isolated in his native country, because standing too far above the level of those around him, Matsys found amongst his neighbouring fellow-kinsmen some worthy disciples.

It remains to be stated that he was twice married, and died in 1530, not very old in years, but gloriously matured in his Art.

Already, some considerable time before his death, a new direction side by side with his own began to make itself felt in the Low Countries, and, as above remarked, through artists who had studied in Italy. Their works, aiming at a higher recognition of the human figure, but depicting less the deep and earnest than the bright and soft phases of life, were necessarily more attractive to the public and the younger artists, and must have tended to cast the old master into the shade, at least in the favour of the multitude.

The first to carry out his Italian studies in the Netherlands seems to have been John Gossaert, known as Jan Mabuse (born apparently about 1470 and *ob.* 1532). His formerly most famous work, an altarpiece in the abbey at Middelburg, was admired by Dürer less for its draughtsmanship than the colouring.

Dürer also met in Brussels the younger Bernard van Orly, known as Barend van Brussel, born about 1471, died 1541 (?), supposed to have been a pupil of Raphael. About the same time Jan Schoreel also (1495—1562), a native of Utrecht, returned from Italy and became a popular representative of the new school in his native country. All of them, as well as the others of this first generation of the new period, Lambert Lombard, Michael van Coxcyen, had retained a feeling for the charm of the older works of their country, and kept many of their peculiarities in the disposition, grouping, and the like. In Italy they had studied Raphael mainly, and in him more especially the soft graceful motives. Hence all those occasional harsh and artless irregularities of the older school now vanished; the figures became larger, finer, and more correct, the groups more distinct and ornate, and the whole assumed a soft genial tone, the effect of which is even still felt. But here as elsewhere the union of two opposite principles had the effect of weakening both. The earnest, devout, and mystic spirit of the older manner, as we see it in the Van Eycks and Memlinc,

was sacrificed, being unable to be kept alive as soon as taste and a knowledge of form were developed sufficiently to take offence at their apparently faulty outlines.

Nor did the new school succeed in retaining the old spiritual depth with the peculiar grace of Raphael's female types. At the same time a return to that earlier simplicity was no longer possible, after the eye had once been opened to the true proportions of the human figure. Hence nothing now remained except to march onwards in the new direction towards greater earnestness of conception.

This was the task set to itself by the ensuing generation, which had found in Italy also a new spirit abroad, with Michael Angelo for its model. The most distinguished artists of the Low Countries during this second period were settled at Antwerp, partly because born or educated here, partly attracted hither by its affluence.

The head of the new school was FRANS FLORIS (1520 (?)—1570), who came of an Antwerp family distinguished in Art. He studied at first under Lambert Lombard in Liège, and afterwards formed himself on Michael Angelo and the antique in Rome, thus acquiring the antique-modern spirit at its very source. In 1539 he entered the Antwerp guild; his fame soon spread, and he was now everywhere hailed as the "Flemish Raphael." Guicciardini considers him admirable in draughtsmanship and invention, wonderfully skilled in the portrayal of the muscles and the human figure, perhaps without a rival on this side of the Alps. This rapturous praise can nowadays scarcely be endorsed; still we can understand how, once the new direction had set in, the representation of the figure in all its muscular vigour must have, like a new and long anticipated truth, so fascinated artists and connoisseurs as to blind them to all attendant shortcomings and cause them to forget all the excellent points of earlier schools.

In the Antwerp Collection is preserved the painting by Floris which found most favour with his contemporaries. It is the "Fall of the Wicked Angels," a large high panel, altogether filled up with human figures falling headlong in the most varied attitudes, and, being somewhat closely packed in this downward movement, they cover the whole surface of the picture like snowflakes, uniformly and without perspective distances. This disposition would doubtless seem less jarring were it hung at a higher elevation, so as to be viewed not on a level with the observer but obliquely upwards; but we should then have a less distinct view of the individual figures with their diversified expressions of rage and despair, as well as of the beauty of form still perceptible amidst all these violent contortions.

Floris seems to have made a special study of Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment" in Rome, and like its model the Antwerp composition also seems more an instructive study for artists than a really enjoyable work. However, it is not merely the subject itself that renders it so disagreeable to us; for another work

also in the same gallery, the "Adoration of the Magi," a subject so happily treated by Art in all stages of its development, has in the hands of Floris lost all its wonted charm. The bodies are unduly drawn out, the features evidently but fitted into the oval outline, the carriage stiff and strained, the colouring yellow and monotonous. Even at an early date the Italians censured Floris for making his figures too lank through an excess of muscular play, while Karl van Mander retorts upon them that through their indolence they avoided such conscientious workmanship. Both statements are characteristic of the inward contrast everywhere manifest in the two races, as we see it here illustrated in



"Madonna with Angels," attributed to Frans Floris.

the treatment of the human figure. The Italian type of beauty seemed too superficial to the Germanic mind, which in its turn distorted it by an apparently greater thoroughness of workmanship.

It is remarkable that this school, based on a deeper conception of its Italian studies, flourished in Antwerp, while the graceful manner of Bernard van Orley and contemporaries immediately preceding it here, never struck root at all. This can hardly be ascribed to outward circumstances alone. It would rather seem as if the Art world, being trained in the more earnest and severe

spirit of the older traditions, and especially of Quentin Matsys, could not be reconciled to the Italian manner, until Floris had imparted to it a greater degree of earnestness, though according to our taste this was itself misunderstood or misapplied by him.

Floris was the centre of a very flourishing school. Some hundred and twenty pupils worked under him, and many famous masters here received their inspiration. But even his contemporaries, though it may be uncertain whether they were actually instructed by him, still stand so close to him that they must in a wider sense be included in his school, a school which we meet with so richly illustrated in almost every church and public collection. Unfortunately, they all closely resemble each other in their monotonous insipidity. They stand in an unhappy position between the older school and the free application of Italian principles. The quiet manly bearing and the devoted love pervading the characters of the older masters have vanished, while the overflow of sensuous life has not yet acquired that atoning spirit which was imparted to it by many Italians and by Rubens himself. Neither do they in the old fashion venture on any broad, bright, perspective views, nor yet represent their figures life-size or in the near foreground, nor develop the full wealth of bodily motives, resting satisfied with a flat and superficial perspective grouping.

NOTE.

This account of Quentin Matsys is based on Schnaase's "Netherlandish Letters," and some notes accompanying them by Professor Lübke.

The Madonna at page 272, attributed to Frans Floris, and in the original stated to be by him, would seem to be more probably the work of an Italian artist.—ED.



GERARD TERBORCH (TERBURGH).

(Born 1608, at Zwolle; died 1681, at Deventer.)

BY KARL LEMCKE.

WHEN, with the opening of the seventeenth century, the Dutch discovered and took possession of new fields in painting, as in other domains, there arose amongst them three genre painters who, like the three princes in the fable, shared with each other the three estates of their nation, in order to enjoy artistic supremacy over them. These were Gerard Terborch, Gerard Dow, and Adrian van Ostade. The first chose the higher, the second the middle, the third the lower rank of society. They were all of them highly-gifted men. They were the first in their profession, which is saying not a little, at this flourishing period of genial powers and rare talent. They have moreover, which is saying no less, remained models in their special line to the present day.

They were also fortunate. The mission of great pioneers and reformers is seldom an enviable, or, as the world views it, a profitable one. The man who opens up new fields of invention, or brings about great upheavings, or foresees and seeks out new realms of thought, must not shrink from the fiery ordeal of stubborn convictions and deep-rooted prejudice, nor must he dread making shipwreck when he launches on the waters of the unknown.

But, in view of fresh conquests, to follow closely in the footsteps of the pioneer, sure of your goal and way; as a disciple of the new revelation, still to hold the new impulse as the only true and right one; to choose a province limited perhaps, but proportioned to your strength—all this is not so sublime, but safe, good in its way, even weighty, and it pays. Your strength is not then frittered away by doubt, wavering, and bootless struggling with fate. Therein you find such repose as a limitation of energy alone can give. The issue is guaranteed by your natural gifts and perseverance, and doubtless herein, also according to the usual acceptation, true happiness is to be found.

Gerard Terborch and his two associates fully deserved their good fortune. All went well with them; they experienced no such sad misadventures as for instance their precursors and masters, Elzheimer, Frans Hals, and Rembrandt van Ryn. In order to understand this transition period of Dutch Art, we must understand what the state of Holland was at the end of the first half of the eighty long years of its War of Independence.

The race that was born about the year 1609—a race coming after the stirring events of the deadly struggle, brave, free, confident in the consciousness of its past achievements—became the inheritor of the glorious period now dawning. And instead of yielding to corruption, as the enemy expected, and many feared, this generation broke away boldly from the traditions of the past, and found itself suddenly at the head of the new era.

The thirst of freedom and love of country had come out victorious from its struggle with the two mighty powers, Spain and the Papacy. Henceforth, proud in the feeling of newly-acquired independence, the whole nation marches onward, heedless of all foreign influence, in the enjoyment of its personal freedom and convictions.

Thus the Netherlands, in their realistic impulses, offer a most decided contrast to the flourishing period of Greece in life, science, and art.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages a great stride was made by all the foremost European nations in the pictorial art. At the time of the Reformation this was the case in Holland, no less than in Germany, of which it at that time still formed a part. Lucas van Leyden was Dürer's contemporary. But it fared at first here as in Germany, until the freedom of the new life had been fought out in the deadly struggle with the tyrant. In Holland, as in Germany, the mediæval Catholic idealism was abandoned in paintings; but the power had not yet been acquired of working out a national realistic type. Hence, an equivalent was sought in the highly developed, excessively overstrained, yet beautiful Renaissance, which, in its religious neutrality, became the ideal of Catholic and Protestant alike.

It could even teach something, and before it disappeared the old stiffness and grotesque style. Schoorl's adoption of the Venetian school was not with-

out effect in colouring, and the turning-point of the Renaissance in Dutch painting is shown by Cornelis Corneissen van Haarlem (1562—1638); but even here the old spirit has not yet quite vanished, as we see for instance in Pier's genre paintings.

This Renaissance was in high favour with the learned classes, but it was



"The Admonition." (Berlin Museum.)

pedantic and without sympathy with the nation, whose rich natural endowments, thus still for a time, remained dormant.

As is often the case, the true revival was brought about by an impulse from without, and, as it happened, from the home of Renaissance itself.

The theories of tradition, as well as those of the present ideal overstraining, had been pushed too far. The mannerism of the now soulless Renais-

sance and of the new ecstatic catholicism begot the reaction of naturalism in painting.

This revolution was effected by Caravaggio, but it was attended by yet another mighty reaction. Against the monstrosities of a bewildering fresco painting and mere daubing there arose the delicate and minute style of Elzheimer, as a revival of the at one time popular and prevalent miniature painting, with its small proportions, its neat drawing, and enamel touches.

The naturalists now no longer sought to reconcile the ideal with the real, but recognised the latter alone as their true goal. Even everyday life supplied them with subjects, and they restored genre painting to its full rights. Light and colour are ever the charm of the painter, and the painters of the ecstatic school were now revelling in all their glory, Correggio leading the way. Caravaggio was himself a great colourist, and he was the first to realise the peculiar effect produced by a single ray of light streaming into a dark chamber and falling upon some of the objects, leaving the rest in gloom. Thus were opened up new fields of study in the play of light and shade. And it was here that the rising schools of Spain and Holland were destined to attain the highest degree of perfection.

The young Dutchmen who were at that time in Italy, either studying under Caravaggio, or associating on friendly terms with Elzheimer in Rome, brought home with them the discoveries of these men. Foreign models and native skill now produced the same marvels in Dutch Art, as are shown in the astonishing maritime development of that people. They were not, however, the discoverers of the new worlds, either in Art or in geographical research, wherein they outstripped their forerunners, and in which domain they soon acquired a long-undisputed supremacy.

Within a period of two decades the whole school of Dutch painting became revolutionised. What in Italy had remained restricted within the narrow limits of a particular school or party, was here universally adopted. The whole nation took part in it, and for a time all other foreign elements were discarded. Thus all was here thoroughly genuine, of natural growth, unaffected and characteristic. And although side by side with them the Brabant School of their southern kinsfolk was also achieving the greatest triumphs, yet this was a school of men who had again fallen back beneath the yoke of despotism and the Papacy. They were but little affected by it; they fashioned themselves in their own manner, and went their own way.

To Catholic idealism they now uncompromisingly opposed that of the Renaissance. But here again the great spiritual change is at work, which was mainly upheld by the Renaissance itself. The old dualism between God and the world, between the mind and nature, disappears. Men now are fain to recognise the greatness of God, and of the good in nature herself, such as she is.

The world of Art is no longer circumscribed to the one all-absorbing subject of man and his everlasting destinies. God is met with everywhere; a godlike spirit, a divine essence, pervades all things, and the old doubts embodied in the mediæval legend of *Faust* are put to flight. Nature and the outer world, science and Art are all alike contemplated with the eye of a new spiritual and genial life. Hence arises a new poetry, hence new aspects of the landscape, of the animal kingdom, of leaf and flower, of still domestic life.

This was naturally more conspicuous in the realistic school of painting, which draws its materials from the actual every-day life of man. Holland, taking the word in its widest sense as including all the revolted provinces, is now a Commonwealth. At its head stands no doubt the princely house of Nassau; but in the subordinate rank of Stadtholders only, and precisely at a critical period for Art they are shut out from power by the hostile republican party.

The element of aristocratic birth is also wanting, its place being gradually usurped by the wealthy middle classes; and by these is developed an aristocracy of trade, money, and office. These men consider themselves as the true representatives of the republican body, and outwardly assume a certain republican simplicity. This is shown even in the appearance of their towns and house architecture, where we find no isolated palaces, but all laid out in the same uniform straight lines, plain and simple without, lavish wealth and princely splendour within.

To this self-conscious citizenship corresponds the portrait painting of this epoch, whilst the republican, aristocratic commonalty is reflected in its social and convivial compositions. But after all the people are the true sovereign, and it is the people that are now accordingly glorified and flattered by the artist. Blunt, free, and overflowing with animal spirits, they are here so represented, often like King Gargantua himself. Citizen and peasant alike feel themselves sovereign lords and masters of their political destinies. They are emphatically the State. The least of them felt himself freer, and therefore all the better, than the noble burgesses, or the enslaved peasantry of the surrounding States, sunk as they were ever deeper in the bonds of despotism. What a mighty feeling this is, and what a sense of freedom achieved and paid for with our substance and very life itself! And all this, with all its contrasts of light and shade, is vividly depicted in the pictorial art of the day.

And here portrait painting naturally acquired especial pre-eminence. It offers a sort of neutral ground between idealism and realism, and thus becomes a refuge for the artist in the midst of party struggles, such as the rival claims of the Protestant and the papal factions by which the Netherlands were now agitated. Portraiture was thus highly favoured, and acquired an independent development, so that the old historical painting began to cast envious eyes at it,

as is made evident by E. J. Potgieter, in his historical account of the portraits in the Amsterdam Trippenhuis.

Thus it happened that with the opening of the new era in the first decades of the seventeenth century, portrait painting was pre-eminent in its highly realistic and technical development. But it made all the difference whether the leading masters, such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Titian, happened also to



"The Trumpeter." (Hague Museum.)

be great portrait painters, or whether they were exclusively or mainly portrait painters, such as was the case with Mierevelt and Frans Hals.

Portraiture proper is rather averse from, than inclined to, dramatic subjects. It requires calmer situations, and only so far animated as is needed to reproduce vividly the characteristics of the individual in his bearing, his expression, and action. If the artist attempts anything beyond this—such as the representation of any particular scene, however interesting in itself—he becomes a historic painter.

In the same way the dramatic action of a stormy landscape does not lend

itself naturally to Art, for which that is best adapted which can "sit for its portrait;" violent action thus being suppressed, the results, though circumscribed, are all the more clear, and such situations alone are chosen as can be copied. Thus also, however, the imaginative faculty is the less called into play, giving place evermore to quiet, still scenes, and at last sinking even into drowsiness and Philistinism. Dutch pictorial Art betrays the consequences of this theory quite as much as the academic school does those of its idealism. The brighter side of the picture—truth, delicate shading of character, charming accuracy and finish—there is no occasion here to mention.

Such was the spiritual ground out of which sprang those powers whose fresh activity we have here to consider.

Gerard Terborch (Ter Borch), like a happy child of sunshine and fortune, found everything ready to his hand—impulse, bent, spirit, materials—all of which he was enabled to turn to account and blend together for his own special purpose.

The old northern ties had already vanished before the masters of Italian Renaissance, and the grotesque and uncouth now gave place to a more delicate humour. Portrait painting inspired a finer and more spirited treatment of character. The Brabant artists and the swarms of young men returning from Italy, disciples of the new school of colouring, gave a fresh impulse to the study of the effects of light, and taught the secret of harmonizing colour and perspective. Elzheimer's friend Poelenburg now charmed by his neat method, which so fully corresponded with the requirements of the prevailing taste for diminutive proportions.

The transition from the old conceptions to clear, sound, though limited views, now no longer presented any difficulty. It is daring innovators alone, such as a Rembrandt van Ryn, who, ever following their own bent, find it irksome to adopt the theories of others.

Gerard Terborch threw himself with zest into the stream of the new idea. He chose portraiture and genre painting of the higher circles, the so-called "conversations," the pictorial counterpart of the then new romances of the *salon* and the modern novel—such, for instance, as Philip van Zesen essayed in his "Rosamond." He was the king of the cabinet piece, and reigned supreme in the drawing-room of those days. Wherever the satin robe, the rapier, and the plumed head-dress play a part, there is his world. And the hangers-on to this select circle he also embraces, but in exceptional cases only condescends to a still lower range.

Of his life little is known for certain. The details only of such curious accessories have reached us as were most readily handed down from mouth to mouth, and thus preserved. Here we may follow the account given by Hou-

braken, and copied by Wierman without the introduction of much fresh matter, although the works of Terborch were even then diligently sought out.

He was born, as Houbraken tells us, in the year 1608 at Zwolle, in Oberyssel. He came of a good old family, and his father was himself a painter of some account, who had practised his art for several years in Rome, somewhere about the year 1600. Gerard possessed much talent, received a careful education, and the first instructions in his art from his father. Later on he seems to have resided in Haarlem, with a painter whose name is unknown to Houbraken. Before appearing as an independent master he visited some foreign lands, such as Germany, Italy, England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, everywhere leaving behind him proofs of his capacity.

Whilst the negotiations were pending for the Treaty of Münster, he proceeded thither, where he assisted Penaranda, painter to the Spanish embassy, in painting a Crucifixion, and thereby made the acquaintance of the envoy, who sat to him, and entrusted him with some other commissions. At the very first sitting Terborch, through his vigorous smoking, well-nigh ruined his chances with the over-punctilious Spaniard; who, however, was talked over by the assurance that the excellence of the likeness must be laid to the charge of the smoking. Through Penaranda's favour Terborch became painter to the embassy, which subsequently secured for him the commission to paint the picture of the "Münster Treaty of Peace." Terborch accompanied the envoy to Madrid in 1648, where the king also sat to him, and knighted him. The grandees, as well as the court ladies and other well-to-do people, also patronised him. But his personal appearance found such favour with the ladies that it stirred up the jealousy of the Spaniards, and he preferred to escape from their dangerous designs on him by a sudden retirement.

He withdrew to England, where he also acquired money and esteem. Thence he turned to France, where he painted some portraits and cabinet pieces. After passing many years abroad, he returned home, married a kinswoman, and settled at Deventer. Highly esteemed, and in the enjoyment of all the honours and offices of the place, he survived till the year 1681. His body was conveyed thence to his native town of Zwolle, where it received honourable burial.

So far Houbraken.

The statement that Terborch visited Haarlem is for us, from the artistic point of view, of the highest consequence. Were it not for the careless manner in which Houbraken relates the events of his life—as, for instance, the order in which the countries visited by him follow each other—we might be able to conclude from his account that Terborch was at Haarlem before setting out on any of his longer journeys. His visit to Münster must be assigned to the year 1646, but it is impossible to determine with any accuracy when he was in

Italy; yet Herr Netscher, a descendant of Caspar Netscher (see John Smith, in the Classified Catalogue, under *Terborch*), has attempted to fix it by means of a note in an Italian sketchbook of our master. Assuming that he visited Italy after completing his studies under his father, therefore some time after the year 1625, is it not probable that he first went to Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Haarlem? In any case he was still young enough to be susceptible to fresh impressions in 1635, at which time he was elected a member of the Guild of St. Lucas in Haarlem, as shown by the register of Vincent van der Vinne Laurenszon.

By this account Houbraken's statement is confirmed, and Terborch is shown in the closest relation with the circle which, considering his artistic development, we must have otherwise concluded him to have been connected with.

In all probability, Terborch resided in Haarlem from 1635 till about 1646, when he proceeded to Münster. At all events we find no trace of him elsewhere during those years, and a painting from the Suermondt Gallery, now in Berlin, bears date 1635.

But a critical glance at the first impressions of his youth may perhaps help to remove the astonishment that has been expressed at the absence in them of any Italian influences, either through his father or as the result of an assumed personal visit to Italy.

The pupils of even greater Renaissance masters than Terborch's otherwise unknown father, enrolled themselves under the new colours; and if the elder Terborch was, as seems likely, chiefly a portrait painter, the transition was still easier. For Gerard's youthful intuitions we should think of H. Terbrüggen's works. But when he reaches Italy, what does he find? The selfsame impulses that the Dutch reformers had long since introduced at home. What Rubens, Van Dyck, Teniers, Honthorst, Lastman, Poelenburg, and others had seen there with a special eye, he also may have seen with a special eye. Judging from his subsequent career, he must have been chiefly attracted by the lifelike school of Venice, and above all by that of Paolo Veronese, at that time exercising the greatest influence on art. We should indeed feel surprised had he not learned much from this master for his own special province, as was the case with Van Dyck, of whom his manner often reminds us.

All things considered, there could be found no better teacher than Paolo Veronese, for the treatment of the new Dutch "conversation" style. If his lifelike painting be transferred to the new realism, or be reduced to the proportions of the genre and diminutive manner, and if his scenes be shifted to the northern home and house life, how little will there be still wanting to the perfection of the new cabinet style? The painting of satin, silk, ornament, accessories, and the like, may have already been learned from him. Some of Terborch's paintings also recall the influence of Correggio.

But assuredly we have no need of journeys to Italy in order to explain this master. Haarlem and contemporary development in Holland itself are sufficient for the purpose. What he was destined to achieve in his genre style was already at work, though still in a somewhat desultory way, so early as the year



"The Glass of Water." (Formerly in the Delessert Collection.)

1630, in Haarlem. Here was the spirit by which he himself was animated, and here also were the forms chosen by him. In Haarlem, Frans and Dirk Hals were at work (see Bode's "Frans Hals and his School"). Both brothers, it may be incidentally remarked, belonged, like Terborch himself, to the higher ranks of society. And here it should be remembered how universally popular

the more elegant genre style now was—how Gerard Dow, the disciple of Rembrandt, how Adrian van Ostade, the disciple of Frans Hals, devoted themselves to it, notwithstanding their great models and masters. To paint daintily, neatly, and with the smooth finish of an Elzheimer or a Poelenburg, became for many a downright passion.

In the older biographies, Terborch is praised mainly as a portrait painter, and at that time no one stood higher as such than Frans Hals.

This distinguished man (who in our opinion gave to the Haarlem School a far more decided anti-Philistinistic tendency than can be observed even in Wouverman, Jacob van Ruysdael, and others) was himself the issue of the daring, reckless theories then prevalent among his more southern countrymen. Owing to family circumstances, he was born and brought up in Antwerp, and did not probably come to the old native town of his family until about the time of Rubens' return from Italy.

He was of a good family, a fast liver, a hearty hater of all foppery, possessed of such an overflow of boisterous mirth and spirits, that he acquired an evil reputation through his jovial and somewhat rakish ways.

He was a great portrait painter, the most genial in hitting off character, unsurpassed in giving expression to the flitting flash of the soul, and in seizing the most sudden, unconscious, unstudied action. In this respect he must have inspired the congenial nature of Terborch, as he does others to this day. He had shaken off all idealism, boldly grasping instead of it the transitory flash of actual life, as scarcely any one before him had done: a Leonardo da Vinci in his way. And where he seized life, it was in his hands a life that gleamed, full of soul, and interesting.

But the peculiarity of his natural gifts estranged him from the strictly dramatical. Thus, in his genre pictures—of which style he has often been considered the true originator in Holland—he reproduced throughout nothing but a free, spirited reflection of the situation. Herein he was surpassed by Terborch, who was chiefly indebted to him for his peculiar grasp of the individual character. In the technical department, the Haarlem School (about 1680) aimed at a special treatment of colour, which in many ways recalls that of Rubens and of the coming Rembrandt. Thus, for instance, the paintings of Peter Grebber (1628), in their struggling efforts, remind us as well of Rubens and Van Dyck as of Rembrandt. The influences at work upon these men were also at work upon those of Haarlem; they had before them the older schools of Cornelis Cornelissen and of Mierevelt; and they were in actual contact with those of Antwerp and Elzheimer.

Frans Hals, in his second period, outstripped his earlier efforts, and shook off the heavier brown tone peculiar to them. His "*Maiden in the Hofje Beresteyn*" (1629) is a marvel of colouring, suggesting to one not other-

wise acquainted with him, now an exceptionally splendid Rubens, now a Rembrandt.

In general, Frans Hals failed to emancipate himself from the light and dark, the "white and black," the clear grey tints, and remained a stranger to their further development effected by Rembrandt. However, in the painting of the Regent (1641), he let the light fall on the three centre figures, much in Rembrandt's manner, and producing a similar effect. But, above all, he aimed at depicting the individual character, and Terborch carried this speciality even still farther. His portraits partake of the novel or the comedy, but though not overlooking temper or humour, they are not, nor are they intended to be, pictorial elegiacs. Next to character, he gives special prominence to the colouristic element.

If from any one, it was assuredly from Frans Hals that Terborch acquired, besides the power of displaying unconscious traits of character, the striking breadth and firmness of his touch. We are here reminded of Frans Hals, Van Dyck, and Paolo Veronese. Small genre paintings, which, on account of their subject-matter, require to be looked at closely, should be finished off neatly. Yet the touch of Terborch is never mean or finical. He was far too fresh and vigorous, and too fully absorbed in the spirit of the subject, to allow himself to be overruled by the technicalities of his art.

On the other hand, the genre style chosen by him was not altogether new. Dirk Hals had preceded him in it, and A. Palamedes, J. A. Duck, and others were his contemporaries (see Bode's work). But Terborch could take up what had been left unfinished by Dirk Hals, who in his heavy colouring betrays a period of transition.

He surpassed him also in the "conversation" style, and was the real master of this new description of genre. He ever brought his own special gifts to bear upon what he acquired from others. A good drawer—herein painstaking as in all else—skilled in technical execution, a shrewd observer of character, a born portrait painter, genially reflecting his subject to its minutest traits, he is without a rival in describing those scenes of actual conversation wherein the gist of the whole turns on a glance of the eye, or it may be on a single word. How the wag laughs! what wonder in the maiden's look! how unspeakably true are all these living beings! So much may no doubt be said of Frans Hals also; but with Terborch we ask further, What are they doing? what is the precise subject of their conversation? of what is she thinking?

A genuine realist of his period, he did not go far afield for the subjects of his conversation pieces, but painted what came daily in his way. The most commonplace is enough to enable him to display his special powers. None of his types make any pretension to exceptional consideration on account of beauty, rank, or any other personal property. Still less is prominence given

to individual repulsiveness, moral or physical; and he never touches the silly, or the coarse and vulgar. He seeks his triumphs in the spirited conception of the most ordinary, giving preference to scenes of social life, without showing any desire to draw his experiences from any special court and diplomatic circles, or from foreign lands. A few rare scenes, such as that in which a trumpeter figures as the conveyer of dispatches or of a letter, are the only reminiscences he leaves us of the warlike times and events of which he was witness, both at home and abroad, of the Thirty Years' War, of the English Revolution, which he must have seen soon after the execution of Charles I., and of all the mighty and fateful land and sea-fights his country was then engaged in. "The Dispatch" (in the Hague) bears date 1655; hence the supposition falls to the ground that Terborch's military pieces were suggested by the events of 1672. We find here another instance of the wonderful difference between what the artist loves and aims at, and what the times offer. Rare contrast between the mind and reality!

Terborch's manner does not consist in enlisting the observer's sympathy in his scenes, or in addressing them pointedly to him. On the contrary, he loves so to display his characters as if indiscreetly surprised by us, whether in the act of musing, reading, writing, playing, or conversing. The attitude with the back turned towards the looker-on is characteristic of Terborch, and we feel that one so placed has nothing in common with the observer. There is something evidently going on within the privacy of the four walls which is not by any means intended for the uninvited. The wily artist merely gives us a forbidden peep behind the scenes, and we feel the full charm that lies in the contemplation of those who suppose themselves wholly unobserved. An Italian poet might compose a sonnet, embodying the idea that while gazing on such scenes we hold our breath to catch, as it were, what is being said, such is the curiosity with which Terborch inspires us. He frequently, by a skilful touch, produces the effect that the persons have no suspicion of being overlooked. The dog in the group, however—for of course animals see spirits—detects or gets wind of the unlicensed obtruder. The youth with the pointer on his lap, and so absorbed in his sporting visions that his schoolwork is totally neglected, little dreams that we are observing him; but how suspiciously the hound watches us! We expect at any moment to hear him growl. And elsewhere, with what a comical shyness the lapdog perceives our rashness, as we notice how the maid is pouring the water from the jug on the hands of his beautiful young mistress.

Terborch leads us by the accessories up to the situation, which is made clear without further details. His bows are tied with wonderful skill, concealing all their harsh formality. It is, however, a game in which the artist does not show all his cards.

He thus understands how, even in the most trivial details, to comply with the

requirements of the "unlimited" in æsthetics; he rivets us, binds us down, and prevents us from seeing through to the end. What, for instance, are we to conclude from the famous painting in the Louvre, in which the great heavy trooper with gold in his hand is seated by a lady? Have we here the embodi-



"The Lute-player." (Cassel Gallery.)

ment of Jupiter and Danaë again, in the costume and in the *salon* of the period of the Thirty Years' War? A vulgar touch in the lady, and the picture would become, no doubt, very clear, but also very vulgar.

Terborch's genial style consists in imparting to his characters that undefined something produced by the intricate nature of the situation, which is not

to be grasped in the offhand "twice two are four" fashion by every observer and presumptuous critic. We get from him the impression that "the character itself" is painted, as d'Argenville has already observed of Terborch. He pictures the most hidden feeling of the heart, as Weyerman himself boasts.

But his character scenes add a stimulus to our curiosity. We should like to know more about them. What gave rise to the situation? What will be the upshot? Efforts have thus continually been made to supply a full descriptive account of his scenes.

Terborch arrived in Spain in 1648, when forty years old, and in the same year Velasquez was on his way to Italy, where he remained till 1651. Nor need we here trouble ourselves about his gallantries and such-like stories, which in any case have been called in question. Enough that his life and associations fully harmonized with his favourite subjects. For some of these we should remember that it was an era that reached its acme under Charles II. in England, and which is represented in German poetry by such lax writers as Wasserhuhn, Greffinger, and Schwieger. We may accordingly feel surprised that these genre paintings are on the whole so free from the license of the day, the more so when we recall the gross representations of an earlier period in Art. On the occasion of this prolonged journey to Spain, Terborch no doubt picked up many fresh impressions, as is best shown in some portraits betraying the influence of the Spanish colourists. But, speaking generally, he allowed himself to be but little affected by foreign taste, either in the choice or treatment of his subjects. At the same time his residence in England is not confirmed by any further evidence. Walpole does not mention him in his contemporary allusions to foreign painters in this country.

Hence he must have passed through France and Flanders on his return home previous to his settling down at Deventer. And now fresh currents of thought were already beginning to make themselves felt. The Italian genre landscape painting was endeavouring to combine grace with truth, and, in Terborch's own genre style, exquisite finish and manner were gradually gaining predominance over the substance amongst the younger race. The older masters of the previous epoch were losing ground before the highly-polished artists working under the influence of Italian Renaissance and that of Poussin. As far as we know, Terborch himself, to the end of his life, remained unaffected by this reaction, continued firm and true to his school, and to the last retained the full favour of the age, in order, after his death, to acquire still greater esteem.

Concerning the whole of this period, from about 1652 to 1681, we learn little more than the history of that artistic triumph which he enjoyed in 1672, when the Dutch Commonwealth received the fatal blow from which she never recovered.

On the overthrow of the aristocratic party which had excluded him from power, William III. had seized the reins of government and hastened also to Deventer in order to put that town in a position to defend itself against the armies of Louis XIV., at that time overrunning the Netherlands. The townspeople urged him to have his portrait taken by their burgomaster Terborch. He promised them a copy of his likeness by Caspar Netscher as he had no time to sit, and had, in truth, something else to do. But they declined it with thanks, adding that they had Netscher's master amongst them. And William was in the end obliged to yield to this somewhat untimely zeal of the people of Deventer for the house of Orange, and to sit to Terborch. The language made use of by the young prince on this occasion shows that Terborch, even in advanced life, was still a cheerful and valiant man. The artist had lived through the whole flourishing period of Dutch Art. At his death decay had already set in.

Of Terborch's works about a hundred are known, all daily increasing in favour. But strange to say his once far-famed portraits have, with a few exceptions, disappeared. As a matter of course, however, several fictitious ones are now constantly coming to light, for it is often true in the history of Art, that "who seeks shall find." Those that are genuine differ greatly in merit both of conception and execution. That above mentioned of William III., which the master subsequently bartered with an Amsterdam burgess for a fine coach, has also disappeared.

The historical painting of the "Münster Treaty," already mentioned by Houbraken, is very formal in its arrangement, as Görling remarks, and recalls forcibly some older paintings, such as the "Fishers of Men," now ascribed to Adrian van der Venne and Jan Breughel. Terborch wanted 6,000 gulden for it; so it remained an heirloom in his family. In 1721, it was in the possession of Receiver-General Terborch in Deventer. It probably found its way thence into the collections of Van Leyden, Talleyrand, and the Duchess of Berry successively, whence in 1837 it passed for 45,500 francs into the Demidoff Collection, and is now in the London National Gallery. It seems, says Kramm, that about this time (1837), Terborch's works obtained the highest price, a "Toilet Scene" by him having been sold for 7,800 francs in 1857, for which Patureau had given 25,000 francs.

Terborch was not a man agitated by the impulses of great restless minds. It was no business of his to be ever solving fresh problems. Like a popular singer or actor he was restricted to a narrow circle of ideas, which he, however, commended ever with the same zest and skill—a musical scene, a letter, drinking a glass of wine, reading, a conversation, and the like. Favourite

types are repeated, as, for instance, the famous "Lady in White Satin," and "The Trumpeter." Even whole scenes are rehearsed, as, for example, the "conversation" painting, known by the title of "A Father's Admonition," three times: in Berlin, in Lord Ellesmere's Collection, and in Amsterdam, with the addition of a lank greyhound behind the cavalier's chair. It may be incidentally remarked that this picture affords an example of the difficulty felt in explaining Terborch's subjects. From Wille's engraving it has received this title of "A Father's Admonition." The same description is adopted by Göthe in his "Elective Affinities," in which Luciane plays the part of the lady in white satin. Still it is difficult to recognise any trace of the father in the appearance of the man, who is not at all advanced in years, is in the dress of a visitor with his plumed hat in his hand, and is seated by the side of the lady in black, with an expression in his eye not in the least suggestive of remonstrance. He seems more like a gentleman who has called with a lady friend as an ally in his designs on the heart of some young widow, though others may in their turn interpret it differently.

Terborch's genius, firm grasp, sweetness and skill, leave him—all things considered—master of the field in his own peculiar province. In some points he has been excelled by Gabriel Metzú alone, and often excelled by his pupil, Caspar Netscher. In freshness he was unrivalled. In spite of some few somewhat studied favourite subjects, his paintings never seem to be the mere result of art. Their purpose is always evident at the first flash, whereas even with Dow and Frans van Mieris the subject seems often chosen for the sake of the painting, and hence looks too much like the product of the workshop; and in the case of Adrian van Ostade, what strikes us mainly is the harmony of his colouring. In Terborch alone, subject-matter and execution seem to be thoroughly at one. Hence it is that he remains so truly lifelike, and such a genuine artist, which cannot be said of many others of his famous contemporaries.

As a colourist he was always justly considered one of the most finished artists of this great epoch. With him the subject must always be clearly and sharply defined, and this guided him in the general treatment. He means to show us what is going on, and not merely to harmonize colours. The leading subjects are not microscopically exact, but painted to meet a free, casual glance. Sharp, glaring contrasts are carefully avoided. The light in the foreground is bright, falling by preference on a silk dress or the like. The colours are delicately shaded off and carefully contrasted, whilst the dim background of the chamber presents excellent ornamental designs.

Metzú formed his style upon Terborch's, and Caspar Netscher was his pupil, as was also Roelof Koets of Zwolle (1655—1728), who when but eighteen years old appeared as an independent portrait painter. A great admirer and

imitator of the master was Gerbrand van den Eeckhout also, who painted a great deal in his style.

At one time a daughter—either Mary or Constantia—was spoken of, who was supposed to have made some excellent copies of her father's pieces, afterwards touched up by him, and often taken for originals. But more recent research has been able to discover a sister only, named Gezina, who drew, and possibly also painted. (See Immerzeel and Kramm.)

Engravings of his subjects have been made by Jonas Suyderhoef, Vaillant, Wille, Basan, Lavallée, Audouin, Barry, Van Somer, J. W. Kaiser, W. Unger, and others.

Owing to their popularity, his paintings have been always eagerly sought after, and retained in private collections, especially in England. Following John Smith's Classified Catalogue, vol. iv., and Appendix, we may mention the following in public collections.

IN DEVENTER.—A large painting of twenty councilmen, grouped in the same hall where it still hangs. Behind, on raised seats in the centre, and beneath the great clock, there are the two burgomasters, with the groups of ~~even~~ each on either side, and a table in front, at which three figures seated and one standing. The grouping is too regular and formal, and the prevailing hues brown. Painted 1667. Near it are four paintings of the Four Evangelists, by H. Terbrüggen, also a native of Oberyssel, then residing in Utrecht. They are interesting as examples of the high colouring of Terborch's early period, and remind us of Rubens's yellow ruddy hues, such as Rembrandt was for a long time partial to, but still rather feeble. They bear date 1621.

IN THE HAGUE.—Portrait by himself—striking proportions, very beautiful, and highly interesting on account of its Spanish colouring and dim light. "A Trumpeter" (1655), very fine and peculiar, the tints recalling the Brabant painters, and even Correggio. Often engraved by Audouin, Lerouge, and others.

IN AMSTERDAM.—In the Trippenhuis: "A Father's Admonition," and a copy of the "Münster Treaty." In the Duppe Collection: portrait of self and wife, unimportant. Van der Hoop: "Youth and Dog."

IN BERLIN.—"A Father's Admonition;" "The Knifegrinder," and a portrait. Suermondt Collection: three portraits; "The Smoker;" "The Consultation" (1635), the earliest known work of the master, then twenty-seven years old, of a prevailing grey tone; "Interior of a Church."

IN THE MUNICH PINAKOTHEK.—"A Room in a Peasant's Hut," for him a rare subject; "A Youth and Dog;" "A Trumpeter bearing a Letter to a Lady in white satin," described in the Catalogue as an episode from a novel.

In the Dresden painting the officer seems to be writing the letter, which the trumpeter is waiting for, and here conveys it to the lady, who hesitates to take it in presence of the "abigail." In "A Father's Admonition," the text seems to be read to her. In the Hague painting she has accordingly broken with the officer, and in "The Toilet" is washing her hands in all innocence. But all such attempts at stringing the pieces together must be left to the judgment of each.

IN DRESDEN.—An officer seated at a table, and a trumpeter waiting for a letter; a young gentlewoman in white satin, washing her hands in a basin which her maid presents to her; "The Music Lesson;" another lady in white satin, standing at a table with her back to the observer.

IN CASSEL.—"The Lute-player." (See *Zeitschrift für Bild. Kunst*, VII. Section 196.)

IN VIENNA.—The portraits of Willem Marienburg, burgomaster of Deventer, and of his wife Gertrude. This is in the possession of Count Czernin von Chudenitz, and is genuine, but all the Terborchs in the Vienna Gallery are doubtful.

IN THE MUNSTER TOWN HALL.—The portraits of the plenipotentiaries at the Treaty, and of some living nobles, mostly painted at the time of Terborch from life.

IN THE LOUVRE.—The lady formerly described as "The Courtesan." It is the picture in which a captain of troopers is putting money into the hands of a lady; "The Music Lesson;" "The Concert;" "An Assembly of Ecclesiastics."

IN THE HERMITAGE AT ST. PETERSBURG.—"The Glass of Lemonade;" "The Duet;" "The Tavern Scene;" "Portrait of a General Officer."

Monograms:   

THE EARLY ITALIAN MASTERS.

MASACCIO.

(Born 1401, in San Giovanni ; died probably 1428, in Rome.)

BY KARL WOLTMANN.

TILL the beginning of the fifteenth century the more recent school of painting was lacking in those essential preliminary conditions by means of which alone it could fully and freely develop its powers and accomplish its greatest and highest destinies. About this time, however, all the necessary strides in advance were effected under the influence of the various elements with which the Renaissance was ushered in, as well in the Netherlands as in Italy.

The Italians, however, had preceded the Flemish School by perhaps some decades in actual results, as well as in the theoretic perfection of those preliminaries and in the conscious handling of the newly discovered laws essential to the development of true perspective. Italy was at that time animated by a many-sided active and vigorous life. Theory and practice mutually supplemented each other, though history must naturally award the prize to the latter element, which was the first to give thorough effect to the new laws.

Notwithstanding all the controversy that has been raised respecting many works attributed to him, notwithstanding all the obscurity in which his history is involved, and notwithstanding all the share that must be conceded to a number of his contemporaries in the development of the new style of painting, the undying glory must probably still remain to the great painter known by the name of Masaccio, of having been the true pioneer and perfecter of modern painting. For not only are the most finished and the grandest works of the whole of this period undoubtedly by the hand of Masaccio, but these same works equally without question surpass not only all previous, but even all subsequent, paintings of this century till the time of Leonardo da Vinci, who opened up a still grander and more perfect era.

This Masaccio is accordingly selected from the number of his fellow-

workers for special consideration here. An account of his life and works will at the same time afford ample opportunity of mentioning some of those other artists whose names are inseparably linked with his. But it must be confessed that a description of his life and works is one of the most difficult tasks in the history of Art. At every step we stumble on debatable ground and dark problems, and on some of the main points the views of those writers still remain unreconciled, who have treated of Masaccio subsequently to Rumohr. Even the most recent historians have arrived at opposite conclusions concerning him, while his earliest biographer, Vasari, got entangled in such contradictory statements as must recommend more than usual caution in accepting the facts recorded by that writer. In the following notice we shall therefore endeavour to present as consistent a picture of the life and creations of the great artist as may be under the circumstances.

It will, however, be scarcely possible in a biography of Masaccio quite to avoid a number of disputed points, which would be otherwise somewhat unsuitable to the character of this work. But by dealing at the outset with this controverted matter, the further account of him will perhaps run all the more smoothly.

Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century Florence was the centre of the intellectual life not of Italy only, but of the whole of Europe. Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio had already reflected undying glory on that city, and the great revivers of architecture and plastic art, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Donatello, were likewise natives of Florence.

Masaccio also was born within the territory of that commonwealth, his birthplace having been Castel San Giovanni, in the valley of the Upper Arno, where he saw the light on the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, December 21st, 1401. His father, the notary Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, belonged to the family of the Scheggia, and his name of Masaccio is merely the familiar diminutive form of Tommaso, the patron saint of his anniversary. The word Tommaso is clipt of its initial syllable to *Maso*, and lengthened by the ending *accio*, which in Italian simply means anything physically or mentally uncouth or despicable. But Vasari assures us expressly that our artist was so called not on account of any moral depravity, as he was goodness itself at heart, but solely because of his awkwardness, notwithstanding his readiness ever to render a service or do a kindness to his neighbour.

Vasari explains further, that this clumsiness consisted in a certain inattention and mental abstraction from his childhood upwards, such as might be expected in a man who had turned all his thoughts and energies in the one direction of Art, taking little heed of himself, and less still of others. He seems to have been very careless as to dress, and in the most urgent necessity only would he apply for money to his debtors. In this way is explained the fact that, though he was of good family, and soon acquired celebrity, yet he

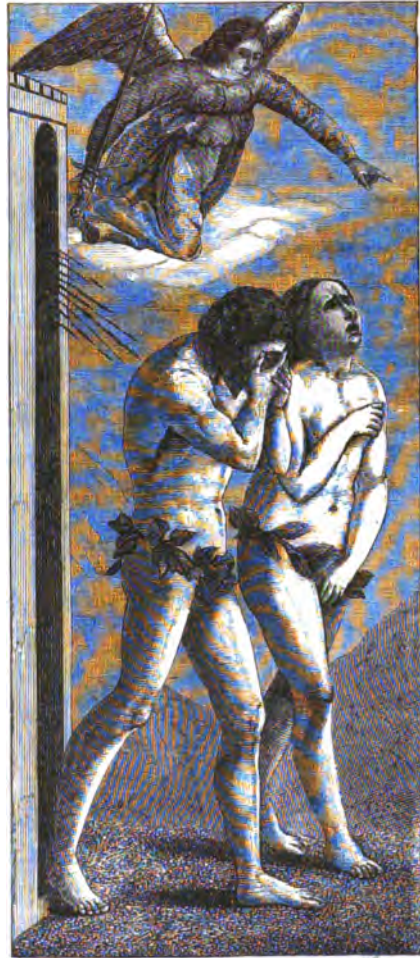
appears, in his outward relations, to have constantly had to struggle with pecuniary embarrassment.

We have but very imperfect information concerning his earliest development. He seems to have received a good education, and to have soon removed to Florence, where, at a very early age, he turned his attention exclusively to Art, under the influence of the vigorous artistic life which had at that time developed itself, especially in the direction of the plastic art. Vasari mentions the master Masolino of Panicale as his instructor in painting. But the mention of this name at once introduces us to debatable ground, which must be cleared up at the very outset.

The father of the history of Italian Art does not himself appear to have been quite clear as to the individuality and the labours of Masolino, whose name, like that of Masaccio, is a modification of Tommaso, but conveying rather the opposite meaning of fondling or endearment. At least, his account does not tally very well with the facts that more recent research has firmly established regarding the life both of Masaccio and of Masolino.

According to Vasari, Masolino of Panicale was at work about the year 1440, but died when but thirty-seven years of age, so that he must have been born, at latest, in 1403; hence he could not possibly have been the teacher of Masaccio, who was himself born in 1401, and who soon arrived at maturity.

The same authority, doubtless, assigns the year 1417 as that of Masaccio's birth; but it may be taken as settled that the artist so named by Vasari is identical with the artist of the same name, the year of whose birth, in opposition to the assumption of his first biographer, is now firmly established as 1401. If, therefore, Masolino really was Masaccio's teacher, then some other year must be found for his birth also; and, in truth, it is highly probable that this Masolino is the same as the Tommaso believed, on documentary evidence, to have been born in 1383 or 1384—not, however, in



"The Expulsion."

Panicale, but in Florence. This Tommaso, again, was the son of Christofano di Fino, of whom we otherwise know that he was a painter, that he was entered on the register of physicians and apothecaries at Florence in 1423, that, in 1427, when forty-three years old, he was in Hungary, and, perhaps, was buried in the cathedral of Florence in the year 1447.

Opinions are at variance as to the works which must be ascribed to this Masolino, and, consequently, as to his position in the history of Art. This alone is certain, that, in his twentieth year, he was actively engaged at Castiglione d'Olona, not far from Milan, where, by the inscription, "*Masolinus de Florentia pinsit*," he has marked as his work a painting in the Collegiate Church; and, further, that he was also engaged at Florence in the year 1425, as appears from a document quite recently brought to light by Knudtzon ("*Masaccio*," pp. 160, 161).

On an old tradition, borrowed by Vasari from the still older writer Albertini, is based the assumption that Masolino executed half of the famous paintings in the Brancacci Chapel of the Church of the Carmine at Florence, which are the real groundwork of the new direction in Art. Albertini gives no further account of this half, but Vasari, besides the paintings on the ceiling and others no longer extant, mentions some of the wall-paintings still in existence, as forming part of the half executed by Masolino. But Crowe and Cavalcaselle have made it in the highest degree probable that Vasari was mistaken, and that the paintings on the ceiling and the arches alone are by the hand of Masolino. This opinion, which is confirmed by several more recent investigators, is grounded mainly on the assumption of these writers that the date 1428, on the portal of the church at Castiglione, must refer also to the execution of the paintings in the choir by Masolino, whereas those in the Brancacci Chapel attributed to him must, according to Vasari, have been completed much earlier, or about the beginning of 1420. These two assumptions cannot be reconciled, because those later works at Castiglione are in a much weaker and more primitive style than those at Florence referred to an earlier date. Hence, Ernst Förster, who, like others, was unwilling to deny Masolino's share in the still preserved wall-paintings of the Brancacci Chapel, hit upon the device of assuming two artists of this name, one born in 1383, who worked at Castiglione d'Olona, and the other, born in 1403, who worked together with Masaccio at the Brancacci Chapel. But there is always something improbable about such doubling of names, an expedient which, in the history of Greek art, has generally been obliged to be again given up every time it has been resorted to. Hence we should have recourse to it in the last necessity alone, and it cannot be admitted that the grounds of Förster's disagreement from the views of Crowe and Cavalcaselle are strong enough to justify it in this case.

Förster relies chiefly on the statement of Albertini in 1510, that Masolino painted half of the chapel. But "half" should not here be taken in a strictly mathematical sense; and if we suppose that Masolino really did paint the ceiling and archways, which have unfortunately since disappeared, while all the wall-paintings are by Masaccio, so far as they are not to be referred to the much more recent Filippino Lippi, there will be nothing in all this at variance with the assertion of Albertini.

But Förster relies also pointedly on differences of style. He fancies he detects a radical difference between the paintings ascribed, both by himself, Vasari, and others, to Masolino, and the unquestioned works of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, rendering it impossible that they can be by the same hand. We agree, on the contrary, with Crowe, Cavalcaselle, and Lübke, who cannot discover any radical difference between them, and maintain that the more mature portions merely display a riper development of the same artistic tendencies. In fact, it seems impossible to deny the probability of such an expansion of the same artist, and especially of one so young as Masaccio was when all his works were executed—of an artist too who, at a fervent period of transition, himself introduced a new direction in Art. Without dwelling on similar differences in the works of Raphael at various dates, even the present day, which would also seem to be a period of transition in painting, will suggest many still more striking examples of this nature to any one at all versed in modern artistic movements.

Besides, this appeal to radical differences can have weight with those only who positively deny that the paintings in St. Clement's, Rome, are by Masaccio; for if he could have painted these he may have also very well painted those in the Florentine Chapel ascribed to Masolino. On this point Förster is undecided, while Knudtzon refers the painting in St. Clement's decidedly to Masaccio.

This young Danish writer appears as a strong and formidable opponent of the views advocated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. He endeavours to shake their conclusions especially by a fresh chronological arrangement. According to him, Masolino painted the frescoes of the choir in Castiglione d'Olona before the year 1423, therefore before he became a member of the Florentine guild; whereas he was engaged on the Brancacci Chapel not only in 1425, but also in 1427 and 1428. Hence the finer frescoes in Florence would be more recent than the feebler ones of Castiglione, in which case Crowe and Cavalcaselle's assumption would be no more needed than Förster's discovery of two Masolinos. At the same time Knudtzon has done no more than render possible his chronology, without overthrowing that hitherto received. To us it seems much more probable that the Brancacci frescoes ascribed to Masolino form an intermediate step between the works of the young Masaccio in St. Clement's, Rome, and

the riper works of the same artist in the Florentine Chapel, between which we should have otherwise no transitional work to point at, except that Masolino, when forty years old, effected another development, such as that from the Castiglione frescoes to those of the Brancacci Chapel. The doubtful works seem to agree more with those avowedly by Masaccio than with those avowedly by Masolino; and as for Vasari, all theories alike must on some points in the lives of these artists depart from the statements of that writer.

With regard to the other question already referred to, A. von Reumont has recently advanced the opinion adopted by Lübke, that the frescoes of St. Catherine's Chapel, in St. Clement's, Rome, since the time of Vasari always held to be by Masaccio in his younger days, are really by the hand of Masolino. But that the historical grounds urged by Von Reumont are but half convincing will be readily admitted. If the St. Clement frescoes were bespoken by a cardinal with whom Masolino, in his later years, was openly connected, it does not follow that the same cardinal may not have also appointed the young and talented pupil of Masolino to execute them. Masolino may, in fact, have himself recommended his pupil and sent him to Rome for the purpose.

Besides, Förster himself has shown that, when contrasted with the Castiglione frescoes, confessedly painted by Masolino at a more recent date, those of St. Clement would have to be declared not by him, on the same grounds as those ascribed to him in the Brancacci Chapel; for the Castiglione paintings, bearing a certain date, are decidedly inferior in freedom and strength even to the most indifferent portions of those in St. Clement's. And should any surprise be felt at our ascribing such works as these to Masaccio when but sixteen, or at most eighteen years of age, it should be remembered that, as will be shown farther on, there is no difficulty in assuming that they were not actually completed till between his eighteenth and nineteenth year; and, further, that precocious talent was in those days no exceptional phenomenon. But the result which most concerns us in these researches is that we are no longer able to avail ourselves of the St. Clement frescoes in forming an estimate of Masolino's style, so that, for this purpose, the only available works now are the frescoes of Castiglione d'Olona.

With regard to these latter, the oldest and the most feeble, namely, those in the choir of the Collegiate Church, are alone believed with certainty to be the work of Masolino. Hence we are restricted to these in pronouncing on his style. They represent scenes from the life of Mary—her Betrothal, the Birth of Christ, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Assumption, and the Coronation of Mary in Heaven.

These paintings betray as yet scarcely any traces of the new realistic era. In the manner of their composition, and in the treatment of the backgrounds, they are still essentially of the age of Giotto, from which, like the paintings

of Fiesole, they differ mainly by a deeper, calmer, and softer tone. The figures are tall and somewhat lifeless, the outlines being concealed by the fall of their dress, and the individual heads have a very common look.

In contrast with these paintings, those on the walls and arches in the choir of the same church, representing, on the left, the features of St. Lawrence, on the right those of St. Stephen, and, in a still higher degree, the fine wall-paintings in the baptistry adjoining the church containing scenes from the life of John the Baptist, display a very different, a fresher and more realistic manner of composition, and one corresponding more to the altered impulses of the times. If these also are by Masolino, he must have executed them after the death of Masaccio, as we otherwise conclude from the date 1435, which, though more recent, must still be held as correct. Hence he would here in his turn be influenced by the innovations of his pupil.

Anyhow, he cannot in these works have influenced Masaccio; nor can, for instance, the oft-mentioned shivering figure in the baptismal scene of the Castiglione Baptistry have served as a model for its famous counterpart in the baptismal scene of the Brancacci Chapel, but the very opposite must have been the case. At any rate, in our opinion, Masolino was still painting about the time of Masaccio's death in a style little influenced by the spirit then abroad. Hence, also, we must ascribe the innovations of Masaccio less to the lessons of his master, Masolino, than to his own efforts, to the influence of the contemporary sculptors who were leading the way in the new direction, and to his rivalry with some of his fellow-painters, amongst whom Paolo Uccelli especially endeavoured to work out the principles of perspective scientifically, whilst Andrea del Castagno tried to introduce that crude naturalism characterized by the Italians with the epithet of "il terribile."

But we are not in a position to state in what special way all these varied tendencies affected the young Masaccio, all absorbed as he was in his art. He must have taken an independent footing at a very early stage; nay, if any weight can be attached to the order in which Vasari mentions his works, he must have already produced a series of paintings still seen by Vasari in Florence, even before his very first visit to Rome, early as that was. Amongst these may have been a tempera painting representing the Madonna seated, with the Child in her arms, at the feet of St. Anna, and seen by Vasari in the Church of St. Ambrose at Florence; also an Annunciation in a house adorned with columns, the perspective of which struck Vasari as very successfully handled, and painted for the Church of St. Nicholas beyond the Arno. He is said to have also depicted with exceptionally good foreshortening, St. Ivo of Brittany at a pillar *al fresco*, in the Abbey at Florence.

He had moreover painted, also *al fresco*, a Holy Trinity in the Church of Santa Maria Novella, and another sacred subject in Santa Maria Maggiore.

He is even supposed to have found his way while still quite young to the city of Pisa, in order there to execute a good-sized altarpiece in the Church of the Carmine; after which, returning to Florence, and still before his journey to Rome, at least according to Vasari's order, he there painted in the nude a male and a female figure for the house of the Ruccellai.

Of all these works two only are still extant—the Holy Trinity of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, and the Holy Family seen by Vasari in the Church of St. Ambrose. There is another painting in the same church, brought to light in this century, but very badly restored, the perspective of which is greatly praised by Vasari. This praise is partly justified by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who saw it in a better state than it is now in. They also speak highly of the fine foreshortening of the feet of the Eternal Father; and they praise the strikingly natural treatment of the muscles, reminding one of the sculptor Donatello, in the lines of agony on the features of Christ, although the whole head, hands, and feet belong, in many respects, still to the earlier Giottesque type. In any case the painting seems so very characteristic of Masaccio that it can with difficulty be referred to such a very early period of his life.

This may have much more easily been the case with the above-mentioned altarpiece seen by Vasari in the Church of St. Ambrose, and now in the Florentine Academy (Room No. 36, containing large subjects). This work also has suffered much from time and the restorer's hand, especially in the colouring, but the composition and form may still be readily recognised. In a pointed Gothic frame, St. Anna is seated on a throne, her left hand resting on the shoulder of Mary, who is seated between her knees, at her feet, holding the naked Infant Jesus in her arms. Angels in flowing garments are introduced on either side and above the group. St. Anna is veiled to the chin, and Mary's head is wrapped in a covering falling down on both sides. All the heads have massive halos partly filled in with Gothic inscriptions, and the whole composition is still clearly stamped with the mediæval character of Giotto's school. But in the details the new freedom of style everywhere breaks out, especially in the nude parts, as in the body of the child, and in the heads of both women, which display homely traits, much more personal than Giotto's school would have ever ventured to impart to sacred characters. The head of the Madonna, judging from the photograph lying before us, might almost be taken for that of a Florentine woman of the present day, some forty or fifty years old. There is a certain fretful expression in the face of the young Saviour, while the heads of the angels are poor in expression, not at all in advance of the usual Giottesque type.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle rightly point out that the style of this painting, which there is not the remotest reason for not ascribing to Masaccio, is weaker

than that of those in the Brancacci Chapel usually referred to him; so that this circumstance would argue in favour of his being the author of those works.

We have entered on the discussion of these paintings, following Vasari's arrangement, without advancing the opinion that they belong to the first period of Masaccio's Florentine studies; they may, at least in part, have been produced after the artist's return from his first visit to Rome. This will even seem extremely probable with most of them, when we remember at what a very early age Masaccio must have first found his way to that city. This event took place in his seventeenth year, whether it was the plague of 1417, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle assume, that drove him out of Florence, or whether he was attracted thither through his desire to make the acquaintance of the Eternal City and of the ancient works of Art therein deposited, towards which Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Donatello had long directed the attention of artists; or whether, lastly, he undertook the journey on the direct invitation of the Cardinal of St. Clement's, possibly also on behalf of his teacher, Masolino. Vasari writes: "Yet he did not feel perfectly at home in Florence, and, impelled by his love and zeal for Art, he resolved to go to Rome, in order there to study and outstrip others; and so he did. In Rome he acquired great repute, and he painted 'The Passion' in fresco for the Cardinal of St. Clement's in a chapel of that church; also the 'Thieves on the Cross,' and events from the life of the holy martyr, St. Catherine."

For the reasons above stated, we hold that this account of Vasari must be accepted as substantially correct. The chapel here spoken of lies to the right as you enter by the north side doorway of the interesting old basilica, which is supported on Ionic pillars and richly adorned with mosaics.

Of these paintings the Crucifixion is found on the narrow wall behind the altar; the history of St. Catherine, on the contrary, is painted on the side walls, or at least on the side wall to the left, whilst the scenes on the opposite wall between the windows are referred by many to another legend.

In the picture of the Crucifixion, what strikes us most forcibly is the break with the traditional style of composition of Giotto's school—a break which, however, shows itself by no means to advantage through a want of unity in the outlines. In the formation of individual groups and figures of this painting, on the other hand, the beginning of a freer life and an attempt at producing better perspective foreshortenings clash with the still clearly perceptible influences of a still earlier impulse.

Of the paintings on the side walls we are chiefly interested in those which face the windows, and which avowedly represent events from the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria. There are five distinct scenes. In the first the saint is described in discussion with heathen philosophers before the judgment-seat



"The Tribute Money." (Brancacci Chapel, Florence.)

of Maxentius. The dispute takes place in a hall painted red and green on the panelling. The haughty judge, with scowling glance, and dressed in a blue robe, is enthroned before a red arras on the narrow wall of the room, at the side walls of which the philosophers are seated on benches, in groups of four, on either side. We have here characteristic animated heads of various ages, yet mostly bald—genuine features of philosophers, whose truth to nature is even still clearly perceptible.

Between these sages stands the saint, turned towards the left, arrayed in a simple blue robe. The fair, artless, yet clever little head is encircled by a thick golden halo, and the artist has most skilfully contrived to represent the action of expounding her faith by the motion of her hand. She is explaining her reasons on her fingers' ends, and we already perceive, from the expression on the faces of the philosophers, that these learned persons are yielding assent, partly unwillingly and with reluctance, partly with joyful acquiescence.

The consequences of their conversion are set forth on the same painting with reduced figures in a simple mountain landscape, visible through a window in one of the walls of the hall, and not "in a painting on the wall," as Förster supposes. They are suffering for the faith in the flames, still somewhat awkwardly handled by the artist, and above which their heads appear, whilst the saint stands before them inspiring them with confidence and hope.

The composition of the whole still betrays much weakness. The colours are skilfully disposed, although naturally not blended, in the artistic sense, in perfect harmony together. Individual details show a fresh, throbbing life such as no previous Italian artist had attempted. The new impulse is here clearly struggling to sever itself from the past.

Of the other paintings of the series, the scene in which St. Catherine is deriding the idol in the presence of the assembled multitude, is marked by prominent sharpness of personal character in the heads of the spectators. The picture which represents the saint standing unharmed between the wheels of the instrument of torture broken by the angels, has suffered severely from an overcoating of paint.

The most interesting, perhaps, of all these paintings is that which in two scenes describes the emperor's daughter, converted by St. Catherine, gazing on her from the prison, and the subsequent martyrdom of the princess.

The centre of the semicircular painting is occupied by the lofty prison, from which the road to the left, designed with an evident eye for the perspective, leads up to where the emperor's daughter is seated on a stool before the window. St. Catherine is gazing out at this window. The scene between the two women is justly famous. In pious devotion and resignation the imperial princess is seated, clothed in a simple green dress; a crown lies on the drapery that envelops her head, and her hands rest upon her breast.

She hearkens to the words of the saint, whose action is again clearly one of exhortation. The whole scene is perhaps more ideally than realistically conceived; but it is very charming and beautiful.

To the right of the prison, the execution of the convert is depicted. The headsman, a fair, slim youth, whose tight-fitting dress affords scope for the display at least of the outlines of his figure, has just accomplished his bloody work, and is again sheathing his sword. On the ground lies the head of the martyr, severed from the trunk, which has rolled over, and lies there with folded hands. In the background her soul is being carried up, by a red-winged angel, to the purple vault of heaven. A true realism is not yet even here thoroughly worked out; but the striving after nature is unmistakable.

The fifth and last painting of the series depicts the martyrdom of St. Catherine herself, in an open landscape confined by rugged heights. In a kneeling attitude, bending slightly forward, and with folded outstretched hands, she awaits the deadly stroke from the headsman, whose sword-arm is already raised for the blow. A number of insolent soldiery crowd round. To the right, a sheer bare rock stands in the centre, and on its flat summit the saint lies on her bier, surrounded by three angels, whilst in the middle of the picture another angel with red wings bears the soul away to heaven in the form of an infant.

The embodiment of the soul under this form, which we meet with again in the painting of the Crucifixion, where the souls of the thieves are drawn out of their mouths, is still the mediæval conception of the previous century. On the other hand, the expressive attitudes in this last painting display a truth and freedom that point directly to the new era. The whole series is clearly the work of a transition period, and of an artist educated in certain traditions, from which he has not been yet able thoroughly to emancipate himself, but whose independent onward striving may be perceived at every step he takes—in the treatment of the nude as well as of the perspective, in the significant action as much as in the application of the colours.

It cannot be stated positively when these works were painted, but it is certain that they were completed before the year 1421, because Masaccio can have returned to Florence at latest about the beginning of that year. He must have therefore executed them not earlier than in his nineteenth year; hence there is no reason to suspect their authenticity, at least on the ground of his age.

Nor can it now be ascertained whether the other works executed by Masaccio in Rome are to be referred to his first or to his second and last residence in the Eternal City. Vasari, however, seems to incline to the first view.

The most important of these seems to have been a tempera painting in a little chapel near the sacristy in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. On it the Santa Maria della Neve was represented surrounded by four saints, so well painted that they seemed to stand out in relief. There were also depicted in this painting Pope Martin V. and the Emperor Sigismund II. Vasari tells us that he examined the work in company with Michael Angelo, who greatly praised it. Yet it seems to have since perished with the rest.

It is certain that soon after completing the frescoes in St. Clement's, Masaccio returned to Florence, although, as Vasari informs us, Pope Martin V. had intended to intrust other works to him. If, as Vasari assumes, political changes induced the young artist to return to his native place, these cannot have arisen, as the biographer of the Cinquecento era supposes, from the recall of Cosmo de' Medici from exile, for this event did not take place till the year 1434, that is, after Masaccio's death. And in truth it appears, from the comparison of sundry dates, that the artist must have re-entered Florence either in the last months of the year 1420, or during the first days of the next year. For Pope Martin, who, as stated, meant to give Masaccio further commissions in Rome, did not reach the Eternal City till the end of September, 1420, while Masaccio had already joined the Florentine guild of physicians and apothecaries on January 7th, 1421.

If his return was brought about by political motives, these must have had reference to Giovanni de' Medici, who about this time found himself at the head of affairs in Florence, although he was not appointed Gonfaloniere till September, 1421, which Knudtzon ("Masaccio," p. 148) justly mentions as diminishing the probability of this motive. Enough, therefore, that Masaccio effected his return about the end of the year, and that he may have accordingly been at work in St. Clement's, Rome, while still in his nineteenth year.

The fame of his great performances in Rome must have already reached Florence. Immediately after his return, he was engaged to complete the frescoes in the chapel belonging to the Brancacci family in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine. When and by whom this chapel was founded cannot now be ascertained. But there is no reason to question Vasari's statement that the paintings in it were begun by Masaccio's teacher, Masolino. Indeed, it seems likely enough, as Vasari says, that he had painted the "Four Evangelists" of the ceiling, and on the arches the "Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew," "Peter's Denial of Our Lord," and the so-called "Navicella," or shipwreck of the Apostles, all of which unfortunately have been plastered over, and other subjects painted on the fresh ground.

But, on the other hand, Vasari does not seem to be correct in ascribing to Masolino the two still preserved wall-paintings—one representing the

resuscitation of Tabitha or Petronilla by Peter, together with the healing of the lame man at the gate of the Temple by Peter and John; the other, of smaller proportions, the preaching of Peter to the heathen. For the reasons above stated, these works also seem more probably to have been executed by Masaccio.

Nothing positive is known as to the reason why Masolino was relieved by Masaccio while engaged on these works. But in any case both artists worked together for some time, for we know that Masolino was still in Florence in 1423, and even in 1425, and did not set out for Hungary till after that year. However, before being intrusted with the chapel, Masaccio was obliged to give proof of his skill by painting a "St. Paul" near the bell-rope of the church. Of this figure, destroyed in 1675, Vasari wrote: "Herein he displayed extraordinary excellence, for the head of the saint, in which is reproduced from the life that of Bartolo di Angiolino Angiolini, has something so powerful and vivid (*una terribilità tanto grande*), that speech alone seems to be wanting to it. And who is unacquainted with the St. Peter will recognise in this figure that majesty of the Roman painting, and at the same time the invincible power of that divine spirit, which was entirely devoted to the faith. In the same painting, he showed his really marvellous skill at foreshortening the aspect upwards (*di scortare le vedute di sotto in su*), as is still shown by the feet of the apostle, in which we see how he has thoroughly grappled with this difficulty. For the hateful old fashion, as above described by me, of making all the figures stand on tip-toe, continued till his time without any attempt at improvement. He alone, and earlier than any other, brought this feature of Art to its present perfection."

Anyhow, the issue of this trial was, that the completion of the wall-pictures in the chapel was intrusted to him. But he appears to have scarcely begun this, when the consecration of the church, on April 19th, 1422, gave occasion to some intermediate work, also intrusted to him, including the execution of a painting in commemoration of this event. He painted it with *terra verde* on a grey ground, over the cloister door. "In it," writes Vasari, "he introduced the portraits of a great number of citizens, following the procession in mantles and cowls, amongst whom Filippo di Ser Brunelleschi in clogs, Donatello, Masolino of Panciale, his teacher, Antonio Brancacci, and so on." Here also Vasari praises the hitherto unapproached truth and naturalness of the painting, the perspective grouping of the figures in the Piazza, the special characteristics of individual types, and the way in which they all seemed to stand firmly on their feet "not otherwise than it appears in nature."

Unfortunately this painting also has disappeared. On the other hand, Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe to him another fresco recently discovered

in the same church, which also sets forth a procession, but in bright colours. But we cannot in this place enter into further particulars concerning this painting.

The work commemorating the consecration he probably completed in the year 1423. In this year (or, according to another version, in the next) Masaccio is believed, on documentary evidence, to have joined the painters' guild of St. Luke, and now, while still but twenty-two years old, he seems to have set himself earnestly to work on that grand series of paintings in the Brancacci Chapel, to which he is indebted for his undying fame as the true originator of the new direction in pictorial art.

How thoroughly recognised were the innovating and radical tendencies of these works, even at the most flourishing period of the Cinquecento, is fully witnessed to by Vasari, who expressly tells us that "all the famous sculptors and painters that lived since his time and became distinguished, worked and studied in that chapel—Giovanni da Fiesole, Fra Filippo, Filippino, who finished it, Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea del Castagno, Andrea del Verocchio, Domenico del Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Fra Bartolomeo di San Marco, Mariotto Albertinelli, and the divine Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Here Raphael d'Urbino also learned the first beginnings of his magnificent method; and, in a word, all who wished to study art have ever taken lessons from that chapel, in order to learn the rules and precepts of the right process from Masaccio's figures."

It would be impossible to state more emphatically that Masaccio really stands at the head of the whole of modern pictorial art. We have now more closely to examine the paintings by which he secured for himself this position.

As the already mentioned paintings on the ceiling and arches have perished, our remarks must be restricted to those on the walls of the chapel. With the exception of the representations of "The Fall" and "The Expulsion from Paradise," all of these treat of events from the life of the Apostle Peter. There are, first of all, the two pillars at the entrance, adorned each with two narrow pieces, one above the other, after which follow the two side walls of the chapel, each with two large and broad paintings, rich in figures, placed one above the other. Lastly, the back wall of the chapel, adorned on either side of the altar, and of the window above it, with two pieces, making four altogether, but broader than those on the entrance pillars.

It is the upper paintings of these latter that show the history of Adam and Eve. On the pillar to the right, they stand under the tree of knowledge, the snake, with a female human face, coiling its long neck above the head of Eve. On the other pillar, to the left, they are quitting the gates of Paradise with gestures expressive of grief. An angel with a sword hovers above, motioning them out.

Of the paintings beneath these on the same entrance pillars—which, however, were not completed till the second half of the fifteenth century by Filippino Lippi—that to the left depicts the visit paid by Paul to Peter in prison; and that to the right, Peter's liberation.

Of the wall-paintings within the chapel, the four great pieces on both side walls describe each of them two or more scenes within the same compass. The upper piece on the left wall represents that in which Peter, at the bidding of Christ, takes a coin from the mouth of a fish, in order to pay the tribute. The event is arranged in three distinct scenes. In the great centrepiece, the publican demands the tribute of Christ, who stands in the midst of his twelve followers and gives the order to Peter. To the left, in the centre, Peter is seen extracting the ring from the mouth of the fish, and on the right we see him handing the piece of money to the publican.

The lower painting on the same wall contains two different scenes. That on the left shows Peter encircled by a great crowd of earnest and noble-looking spectators, and healing a naked young man kneeling on his shroud. On the right, the same apostle appears enthroned in the cathedra and in prayer.

Various portions of this painting are justly referred to a later period, and to the hand of Filippino Lippi.

On the right side wall of the chapel, the upper painting comprises two distinct scenes. That on the left depicts the healing of the cripple by Peter and Paul at the Temple gate; that on the right shows the resuscitation of a young woman, seated upright in her shroud, and in presence of several members of her family. She is sometimes described as Tabitha or Tebea, and at others as Petronilla. The Peter on the left of this painting turns his back to the Peter on the right of it. In the street between the two are seen people walking about, in the Florentine dress of the day. This work was formerly attributed to Masolino.

The lower painting, on the same right side wall of the chapel, shows on the right Peter before Nero or the pro-consul; on the left, the crucifixion of the prince of the apostles. This, as well as the two lower paintings on the entrance columns, is now at last universally ascribed to Filippino Lippi.

Finally, of the paintings on the back wall of the chapel, that to the left above shows Peter preaching, and is, by Vasari, referred to Masolino. All the others he already attributes to Masaccio. They are, "Peter baptizing the Converted Heathen," on the right above; "The Cripple healed by the Shadows of the Apostles Peter and John, as they pass by," on the left below; and, corresponding to it on the right, "Peter distributing Alms."

Thus the whole cycle comprises a great part of the life of the Apostle

Peter, though the sequence can make no claim either to completeness or to a regular arrangement of the events. Besides this, we have Adam and Eve as representing the Old Covenant, and originally on the ceiling the Evangelists as symbolizing the New Covenant.

Of these pieces, those referred to Filippino Lippi will be discussed when we come to speak of that artist. All the rest we have assigned to Masaccio. Doubtless great discrepancies may be detected in them; some stiff, weak, and evidently older ones contrasting forcibly with others, more mature, freer, and grander. Still these differences are not so serious but that they may be readily explained as various phases of development of one and the same young artist vigorously striving for improvement, and acting under the inspiration of fresh impulses. If Masaccio was scarcely twenty-two years old when he began to work on the series, he had scarcely completed his twenty-seventh year when he abandoned the work in 1428. But who will deny that it must have been during these very years that an artist of Masaccio's peculiar bent would have from year to year developed an ever freer and grander style? Hence it seems but natural that a contrast should be evident in works executed by him in his two-and-twentieth and seven-and-twentieth years, such, in fact, as exists between the more feeble and the best of the Brancacci frescoes.

Especially striking is the difference between the two paintings exhibiting Adam and Eve. On the first of these, our first parents stand naked in a somewhat awkward posture under the tree. The figures are no doubt partly correct, but still somewhat lifeless. The expression of the features is also rather flat; although the realistic traits of Adam are already cast quite in the spirit of the new era.

In the second painting (see woodcut at p. 295), on the contrary, not only is the angel in the air drawn with bold foreshortening and simple grand movement, but the guilty pair being driven out of Eden are depicted with the most artistic animation.

The modelling of the naked bodies is already plastic and full of life, while the bodily and mental action are expressed so excellently that Raphael himself has repeated them in his Biblical illustrations on the ceiling of the Vatican Loggie. Adam holds both his hands to his face, in an attitude of the deepest shame and most overwhelming grief; but Eve gives expression to the feeling of shame with the free and natural position of the arms and hands which is seen in the *Venus de' Medici*, whilst her uncovered face seems almost distorted by the violence of her anguish. Realistic painting here awakens to the full consciousness of its capabilities, and to the complete command of its materials. In contrasting these two paintings, however, we should make allowance for the intention of the artist, who in the first evidently meant to express a state of repose, and in the second quite as evidently vehement

action. Action clearly corresponded better with his own energetic nature. However, when we examine more closely both these works, we shall not fail to detect the same common traits and the same common method of treatment, which point to the same hand at various stages of its development. This relation is still more manifest in the two other paintings, which, being more feeble, were formerly referred to Masolino. These are the preaching of Peter, and the large piece containing the healing of the lame man at the Temple gate, and the resuscitation of the maiden. Here the unrealistic and almost Giottesque appearance of the building in which the resuscitation takes place, and the by no means Giottesque looseness of the composition of the painting last mentioned, are fully overbalanced by the quite modern correctness of perspective of the other buildings, and by the naturalness of the individual figures therein depicted.

Still the figure of Peter preaching, though full of character and finely drawn in profile, in features and bearing is a weaker, though by no means a *much* weaker, precursor of the Peter handing the tribute money to the publican. Of all the paintings in question, the most perfect are certainly "The Baptism," "The Alms," "The Healing of the Lame Man," and, above all others, the grand tribute scene (see woodcut, p. 302).

Unfortunately "The Baptism" has suffered much. The at one time famous shivering figure, standing in the foreground to the right, and awaiting his turn to be baptized, can now be scarcely appreciated at its real worth. But Vasari assures us that it was a constant subject of admiration for old and recent artists, and another Italian historian asserts that it almost makes an epoch in the history of Art. But we are, on the other hand, still fully enabled to estimate the value of the excellent finish of the nude in all these figures, the grand appearance of Peter baptizing, in long flowing robes, and here also in profile, the admirable and animated grouping of the whole, and the harmony of these groups with the open, realistic, yet simple and grandly conceived mountain-landscape of the background. Before the time of Masaccio, nothing at all approaching to all this had yet been produced.

The two corresponding pieces, below and on either side of the altar, to the left, the healing of the cripple by the shadow of the apostles Peter and John, as they calmly and majestically pass by, and to the right, the distribution of alms by the same apostles, are in their grand simplicity, combined with an almost crude realism, highly characteristic examples of the art of our pioneer. Those apparently contradictory qualities are scarcely to be met with so combined in the works of any other artist. We fancy we see the very individuals before us, they stand out so lifelike. Yet they are set forth with a dignity, an inspiration, and a hallowed fire, which transplants us into a higher sphere. The simple, grand foldings of the somewhat antique apostolic

robes play their part in producing this effect, while the heads are amongst the most expressive ever created by Art.

In the first of these paintings, the characteristic features of the beggars deserve special attention, whilst the fresh young woman, with the thinly-clad child in her arms, in the centre of the other, has often been praised.

But as regards the great tribute piece, in three separate scenes, this assuredly belongs for all time to the greatest masterpieces in the history of Pictorial Art. It no doubt bears the stamp of a work of the fifteenth century. The treatment of one subject in three scenes, not only within one framework, but even within the same realistically conceived landscape, is an illogical expedient which the sixteenth century, if at all, certainly in exceptional instances only, had recourse to, but which, as was not unfrequently the case with the painting of classical antiquity, seemed perfectly natural during the whole of the fifteenth century. Characteristic also is the method of grouping, which is still unacquainted with the graduated arrangement of the next century, and disposes the figures side by side, as far as possible at one uniform elevation, according to the "isocephalous" fashion of the antique reliefs. This is specially remarkable in the grand centre group, consisting of the already-mentioned individual figures of Christ, the publican, and the twelve apostles. The heads of those in the background are here on a reduced scale, with a view to the perspective; but being placed directly on an even line together, they come out all the more vividly in contrast with each other.

This general method of grouping, more or less peculiar to the whole of the fifteenth century, and which is especially remarkable in the work under consideration, is at the same time in no way at variance with the monumental style of such broad and expressive wall-paintings. In any case, even with these peculiarities, it is one of the most important works of monumental painting. The heads of the apostles, apart from their personal character—shown, for instance, in the fact that his contemporaries recognised one of them as a likeness of Masaccio himself—are of a noble grandeur and moral elevation, raising them high above all mere earthly inspirations. Not mere fishermen, but really hallowed beings, Masaccio here portrays, whose sanctity at the same time, however, is not displayed in affected distortions of the features, but in a manly, vigorous, and moral earnestness.

The foldings of the somewhat antique drapery are also handled simply and boldly, while the movements are thoroughly lifelike and natural. This is particularly true of the Peter in the left scene, taking the coin from the mouth of the fish, and in that on the right, where the apostle, here an exceptionally majestic figure, hands the piece of money to the publican.

The gestures of the Saviour also, and of the first apostle in the centre group, are equally natural. The open lake and mountain scenery, again, set

off in the centre and background with fine, slim trees, and in the foreground to the right with a stately building, reveals in every touch the new direction that Masaccio so mightily aided in bringing to perfection. And if the perspective is here also worked out with more feeling than consciousness, it is a feeling moving in the right groove, and guided by much study. It is, as stated, altogether a characteristic work of the fifteenth century; it shows traces of all the innovations by which the Art of this period is characterized, as well as a certain lack of freedom, which was not entirely overcome till the Cinquecento epoch. But if Italian Art of the Quattrocento times produced any work destined for immortality, surely it was this.

With respect, however, to the knowledge of perspective displayed by Masaccio, it should be remembered that Vasari states that he was instructed in the rules of this art, as well as of architecture, by the great architect Brunelleschi, and his early death, much to the regret of Brunelleschi himself, seems alone to have interrupted these studies.

Besides all the advantages of composition, of natural features, and of spiritual expression, these frescoes exhibit moreover an effect of colouring such as, in the opinion of many good judges, is not again met with till the time of Correggio. Masaccio painted very rapidly, in great sections, with transparent colours on a white ground. "The broad shadows were glazed with warm and transparent tones, and fused through the semitones into equally broad lights. The flesh tints thus gained a bright though soft and golden tinge, and relief was obtained by the perfect juxtaposition of tints rather than by careful minuteness of stippling. . . . The colours are in the proper key for securing harmony, substantial and showing stuff, subordinate to each other, and full of that uniting vapour which is so admirable in Titian, Andrea del Sarto, and Correggio." (*"History of Painting in Italy,"* i. 539.)

Masaccio did not complete the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel. We know for certain that the last of the wall-paintings were finished by Filippino Lippi, though probably after Masaccio's sketches. Masaccio can have been at work in Florence not later than the year 1428, nor is it easy to say for what reason the famous young artist interrupted his work. We know, however, that he was still in Florence in the year 1427, though, in accordance with Vasari's account of his natural carelessness, by no means in comfortable circumstances. The only document we possess referring to his life at this time, is a declaration of his ways and means in his own handwriting, such as was then exacted of all Florentine burgesses, with a view to a fresh assessment of their incomes. We learn from this important record that Masaccio was then residing with his mother and brother Giovanni, five years his junior, in a house in the Santa Croce district. His mother possessed a small income, which, however, seems to have consisted mainly in a number of doubtful outstanding accounts.

Masaccio himself had little else but debts, though he was in receipt of six soldi daily. He had also an assistant, named Andrea di Giusti, whom he, however, does not seem to have been able to pay regularly, as he owed him six florins in 1427. This declaration is the last document we possess concerning the life of Masaccio. Whether it was urgent poverty, or the jealous persecutions of his enemies, that again drove him from this city that he had made his home, we cannot say. But it may be accepted as certain that he abandoned the great work of his hands and genius, that he forsook mother and brother, and again found his way to Rome, seemingly in the year 1428, in order here to disappear and die a lonely death. For when Masaccio should have again made a return of his income for the year 1429, an unknown hand wrote upon the usual schedule these words: "*Dicesi è morto a Roma*"—"Said to have died in Rome." The painter whom Masaccio himself returned in 1427 as his creditor in the sum of 102 lire 4 soldi, a certain Niccolò di Ser Lapo, stated in his schedule for the year 1430 that Masaccio still owed him 68 florins, but that he had no hope of recovering this amount, the painter having gone to Rome, and died there, while his brother Giovanni wisely declined to accept the family inheritance.

The dark end of this highly gifted young painter gave occasion to all sorts of rumours. Vasari says: "Whether it happened through envy and persecution, or because the rarest things mostly perish soonest, he was carried off in the full bloom of his genius, and so suddenly that there were not wanting men to say that he died of poison rather than by any other mishap."

The above-quoted records leave little or no doubt that Masaccio died in Rome in his twenty-seventh year, though we hear nothing of his body being transferred to Florence. Yet Vasari tells us also that he was buried in the Church of the Carmine at Florence, where two inscriptions, one in Latin and the other in Italian, were said to have in after times marked his tomb. The drift of the first was that he painted vividly from nature, was Buonarrotti's master, and learned his art of himself alone.

At present no such monument or inscription seems to exist in that church. But it must be remembered that the old building, dating from the thirteenth century, was destroyed by fire on the night of the 28th January, 1771, and rebuilt towards the close of the last century.

Fortunately for the interests of Art, the Brancacci Chapel escaped the flames on that occasion, and it is probable that what Vasari saw in the old church was merely a memorial tablet to the artist.

We are unable here to notice any of his other works, whether genuine or not. Of all the paintings said to be by him in sundry galleries, not one can be considered undoubtedly authentic. Nor is this the place to examine into the many sketches referred to him, and dispersed amongst various

collections. The high place in the history of Art awarded to Masaccio by the older Italian writers is sufficiently justified by his still-preserved genuine works. Those writers felt surprise chiefly at the striking truth of his paintings. Thus Cristoforo Landino, in his commentary on Dante, wrote so early as 1481, that our artist possessed remarkable invention and the gift of plastic representation in a high degree, relying solely on a close imitation of nature and the relief of his figures. Further, that he was distinguished for his perspectives, and that he worked very easily, so that he would have very probably reached the highest pitch of perfection, had he not been cut off in his twenty-seventh year.

Vasari also, as we have seen, praises beyond everything else the truth to nature and the improvement of the perspective introduced by our master. In truth, we can readily understand why the older writers must have pronounced such a judgment, nor is it easy to see why Zahn should feel surprised at it. For all those successive advances in the Art, which may nowadays seem to us essential, and, in fact, universally accepted technical first principles of every painting, and which alone render possible a really perfect work of Art, although not exclusively constituting its essential nature, all these were secured for all time to Art by Masaccio and some of his associates; but, practically speaking, before all others by our master. Before his time, no age or people, perhaps, not even the ancient Greeks and Romans themselves, had emancipated painting in this respect, or revealed to it its peculiar capabilities, or even its essential constitution in the technical sense of the term.

Hence it is but natural that, as with the egg of Columbus, these very technical improvements should be looked upon from the first as the points in his works that established a new era in the progress of pictorial art. And in truth these are what mainly constitute fresh landmarks. But when, besides them, we further discover a harmony in the lines, a dramatic animation, a depth of personal character, and a nobility of spiritual conception—a series of qualities raising him not only above his predecessors, but his immediate followers also, and ranking him with the very greatest artists of all times—all this becomes doubtless for us the chief point of interest; while for the inquirer into the history of the development of Art, it is but an enhancement of his fame, rendering it doubly to be regretted that this mighty genius was not spared to enrich the world with the fruits of his riper years.

NOTE.

The works consulted or referred to in the foregoing notice of Masaccio are :—
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FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, SANDRO BOTTICELLI, AND FILIPPINO LIPPI.

BY KARL WOERMANN.

THE three artists at the head of this section in many respects form a group by themselves amongst the Florentine painters that grew up under the influence of Masaccio in the fifteenth century. Fra Filippo seems to have been born in 1412, while Botticelli, who outlived Filippino Lippi, died in 1510. Their lives, therefore, jointly fill well-nigh the whole century. Doubtless this epoch produced many other energetic and spirited artists in Florence; but they all either belong, as teachers or pupils of renowned artists, to a different connection, or else their individual importance is not sufficient to allow of their receiving special consideration in a work of this nature.

In any case, Fra Filippo, Sandro Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi belong to the really influential painters of the fifteenth century, and their joint treatment under one section is justified as much by the intimate connection that exists between their works, as by their outward relations; for Sandro Botticelli, at least, developed himself under the influence of Fra Filippo's style, while Filippino Lippi was at once Fra Filippo's son and pupil of Botticelli.

I.—FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

(Born probably 1412, at Florence; died 1469, at Spoleto.)

The Carmelite friar Filippo Lippi was one of those remarkable men of genius between whose character and performances we often seem compelled to detect a marked discrepancy. Hence in forming an estimate of this man, a former theory, as in all such cases, either frankly declined to extend the praise due to his works to the man himself, or else had recourse to the "white-washing" process, and endeavoured to show that his evil reputation was based on mere slander. Even Crowe and Cavalcaselle could find no other solution of the difficulty, and in the first, or English, edition of their excellent history of Italian painting, adopted the latter alternative. But in the second, or German,

edition, Fra Filippo's delinquencies having been meantime established on documentary evidence, they took refuge in the former plea.

The principal crime laid to Filippo's charge was that, though a monk bound to celibacy, he had a mistress who bore him a son. It seems hardly incumbent on us to view a misdemeanour of this sort with the eyes of the ecclesiastical disciplinarian. In the present instance, we feel ourselves all the less called upon to do so, inasmuch as during the century when our artist flourished, such things were viewed in a tolerably mild light, not by the world only, but even by the Church herself; hence our moral indignation should in any case be directed rather against the times and their institutions than against the man. Filippo Lippi was, in fact, a thorough son of the times, as monk, man, and artist. But, as artist, he further in his turn reflected back much of his own character on the century in which he lived.

His father was a butcher, by name Thomas Lippi, and his mother, Antonia, died in giving him birth, seemingly in the year 1412. Two years thereafter, the father also died, and Filippo fell to the care of a sickly and almost destitute aunt, Mona Lapaccia, his father's sister. Hence the first years of the young Filippo must have been passed in extreme poverty. When eight years old, his foster-mother becoming alive to the impossibility of further supporting or educating him, handed him over to the convent of the Carmelites, to be brought up as a brother of the order, and his name accordingly appears on the convent register for the year 1420. As a novice, he was put to learn Latin with the others; but it soon became evident that Filippo had little taste or talent for these studies, displaying all the greater genius for drawing and painting.

The Carmelite convent adjoined the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine belonging to it, and Masaccio had here begun, precisely in the year 1421, to paint that series of frescoes which ushered in a new era in Art. Hence there is good ground to assume that it was the example of the illustrious young painter which powerfully distracted the attention of Filippo, now in his eighth or ninth year, from his Latin studies.

The prior of the convent had intelligence enough not only not to thwart but even to encourage the manifest natural bent of the child. It was determined that Filippo should become a painter, and we may well suppose that he henceforth visited Masaccio's operations with greater assiduity than ever. We do not learn, however, that he was actually taken in hand and regularly instructed by Masaccio, though, considering the close proximity of the church to the convent, it is natural enough to suppose that an intimacy must have been formed between them. Anyhow, Filippo made great studies in the art, and soon after his first youthful essays in the same church, many said, as Vasari expresses it, that the soul of Masaccio had flitted into the body of Brother Filippo.

However, nothing has been preserved of these first frescoes of Filippo, painted before his twentieth year. They have been partly effaced by time, and partly destroyed by the fire that broke out in that church in the year 1771. Of a "St. Martialis," painted by the young artist on a pillar by the organ, Vasari states that it bore comparison with Masaccio's works, and the praise that was consequently showered upon Filippo on all sides was said to have emboldened him to doff the cowl. More recent researches, however, by Gaetano Milanesi, go to show that Filippo did not formally quit the order, but remained a monk to the end of his days, and was accordingly, even after his death, always described as Fra Filippo—that is to say, Brother Philip.

It is, at the same time, undoubtedly true that he forsook the convent while still a young man, in order to seek his fortune in the world as a painter in monkish garb. He still appears as a painter in the convent register for the years 1430 and 1432, but not later. Hence he seems to have set out on his pilgrimage through the world, if not in his seventeenth year, as Vasari states, at all events not later than his twentieth.

A number of legends and anecdotes, neatly worked up in romantic fashion, have at all times been associated with the names of famous artists. Such legendary matter, as a rule, makes no pretensions to strict accuracy, yet a certain truth lies at the bottom of them, and they are often of importance in throwing light upon some actual occurrence, or some characteristic trait of the artist.

This is the case with the adventure with the pirates, which Lippi's first biographer connects with the account he gives us of his leaving the cloister. According to this account, Filippo had one day ventured on a pleasure trip on the water with some friends at Ancona, when he was seized by a Moorish corsair, and sold into slavery with his companions. But, after enduring eighteen months' bondage, having one day portrayed his master with striking effect on a wall, the latter, charmed with the skill of his slave, restored him to freedom, had some more paintings executed by him, and then sent him back safely to Naples.

Without actually crediting this story, we can still imagine how Filippo, as a matter of fact, for some years led a wandering and unsettled life, during which he was lost sight of by his former associates, and thus gave occasion to some such anecdote. An artist of somewhat lively imagination and Bohemian tastes will, even nowadays, at times entertain his admiring friends with personal adventures of a like character.

In the year 1434 Filippo turns up in Padua. We are informed that he here painted in the Santo and in the Chapel of the Podestà. But these works also have unfortunately disappeared, and the first certain work by

his hand, bearing a reliable date, brings us to the year 1438. (See Ernst Förster, "History of Italian Art," iii., s. 273.)

We possess, no doubt, a series of older works, unanimously and justly ascribed to Filippo, but we have nothing beyond our æsthetic perception of style to guide us in referring them to this early period.

The subject that Filippo was mainly occupied with during these earlier years seems to have been the Virgin Mother, in a kneeling posture, worshipping the new-born Infant. At least there are three entire paintings by his hand, all treating this subject in a kindred spirit.

Of these, that marked "*Frater Filippus*" in the Berlin Museum (reproduced in Förster's "*Denkmalen*," ii., No. 31), and that in the Florentine Academy, numbered 26 amongst the "*Quadri piccoli*," most resemble each other. In both the Child lies amidst the grass and flowers in a secluded landscape; on the right the happy mother kneels in adoration, with an expression of the most hallowed earnestness and charming simplicity, while to the left John appears as a marvellously beautiful, serious, and intelligent child, holding the cross and banner. In both also the dove, symbol of the Holy Ghost, hovers above the Infant; but whereas in the Florentine painting God the Father is indicated by a hand alone appearing between the figures of two angels, in that of Berlin he is shown half-length, with outstretched arms and grey head, full of majesty, encircled by rays of glory. In the Berlin painting also the landscape is worked out very lovingly, and the light radiating from the Child seems to shed a magic glow on the chiaroscuro of the wall.

The third painting treating the same subject is also in the Florentine Academy ("*Quadri piccoli*," No. 12). Here the wooded landscape in the background is broken by the stall with the ox and ass, and besides Mary, Joseph also kneels before the Infant, the latter with that marked earnestness of expression of which the unaffected Italian painters of the older period were unable to rid themselves. The dove is here missing, and nothing but a glory of crowned angels hovers in the air, bearing a scroll on which are the words they sang: "*Glory to God on high*," &c. The accessory figures of this piece are also different.

In consequence of the spirit of these works, general assent has not been given to Vasari's statement that even Filippo's earlier compositions produced the impression of Masaccio's mantle having fallen upon him. In these, critics seemed rather inclined to detect reminiscences of the pious brother of Fiesole. And, in truth, no trace is here to be discovered of Filippo's later and more worldly tendencies, as all three are penetrated with a genuine religious spirit, and extreme simplicity and depth of feeling. True also that, with all this, they do not bear comparison with the grand, majestic, and imposing compo-



"The Coronation of Mary." (Florentine Academy of Arts.)

sitions of Masaccio, while the loving treatment of the details rather shows how peculiarly they were the work of Filippo. But it is also true that with these same paintings Filippo, in the most decided manner, leads the way in the direction opened up by Masaccio, illustrating the real principles of the art as consisting in the truthful reproduction of outward phenomena on a flat surface, and that he accordingly, by the treatment of the perspective, of the modelling, and of the colouring, here takes his stand on the ground of the new era. In this sense alone can Vasari have meant those words to be understood, and in this respect Fra Filippo really appears, from the first, more a successor of Masaccio than of any other artist.

Other early works of this master are preserved in the Prato, in the London National Gallery, and elsewhere. The large and beautiful wood-painting of the "Annunciation," in the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence, may, perhaps, be considered in the light of a work of the transition period.

But the year 1438, as already stated, supplies us with the first reliable fact concerning his life and productions. It is furnished by the painter Domenico Veneziano, who makes mention of Brother Filippo in a still extant letter, bearing the date of April 1st, 1438, and by him addressed from Perugia to Pietro de' Medici in Florence (Gaye, "Carteggio," No. 49, vol. i., p. 136). Domenico commends himself to the Florentine Mæcenas, although there be so many other excellent painters, as, for instance, Fra Filippo, who, however, have their hands fully occupied. "And more especially," he continues, "Fra Filippo is engaged on a painting intended for Santo Spirito, of such dimensions that, though he work day and night, he will not be able to complete it in five years."

This painting, which was still in the same Church of the Santo Spirito in Florence till the year 1812, is in a tolerably good state of preservation, and is now in the Louvre. It represents the Madonna standing on the steps of a throne of monumental proportions, and presenting the Infant Jesus to two saints in a kneeling posture. Other saints, angels, and archangels, of good composition, are disposed in groups above, enclosed in three arched compartments, where the blue sky becomes visible beyond the wall of the background. Two angels are seated on the lowest step of the throne playing on the lute and violin with a graceful, earnest, and fervid expression. The Carmelite monk kneeling to the left of the observer, beneath the wing of an angel, is believed to be the portrait of the artist.

This painting is one of the gems of the Louvre Gallery, and one of the finest works of Fra Filippo.

At that time Cosimo de' Medici was already at the height of his power in Florence. By this and a number of other paintings, especially a "Coronation of the Virgin," now in the Vatican, Philip had already, in a marked

degree, attracted the attention of his native town and of the neighbouring places. From one of his letters we know that he had relations with the Medici so early as the year 1439. It is Pietro to whom he this year opens his heart. Pietro had bespoken a painting of him, and the artist asks for bread and wine on account of the yet unfinished work, as he is one of the poorest monks in Florence, and has to provide for six poor nieces, still minors. (Gaye, "*Carteggio*," No. 52, s. 141). The pay that Philip received at that time for his commissions does not seem to have been sufficient to secure him from pecuniary embarrassment.

Meantime these commissions grew on his hands. In the year 1441 he began for the convent of St. Ambrose, at Florence, a second "*Coronation of Mary*," of large proportions, which afterwards became very famous, and is now in the Florentine Academy, marked No. 41 in the room containing large subjects.

Here all Filippo's peculiarities show out in the most conspicuous manner. No more sanctimoniousness, very little clerical sentiment; but, on the contrary, a simple, childlike devotion, with a strong bias for earthly beauty.

The scene no longer moves in the boundless regions of the heavens, but in a space architecturally confined, somewhat in the Renaissance style. The picture, broader than high, is enclosed above by three curved lines, in the centre and highest of which God the Father is enthroned in papal robes placing the crown on the Virgin kneeling on the step before him, and arrayed as a bride. All the rest of the space is filled by hosts of saints and angels. The corner to the front, on the right of the observer, is occupied by John the Baptist, that on the left by the bishop St. Ambrose. An exceptionally fine group of saints is disposed right in front, and beneath the throne of the Most High, in the centre foreground, the space occupied by them being screened off by rails of an architectural description. Amongst these figures especially remarkable is a beautiful and most lifelike female kneeling to the right and gazing on the spectator with an expression of indescribable grace, childish guilelessness, and, at the same time, a deep and thoughtful look, which seems almost to question you. Before her kneel two children, evidently belonging to her. Behind her, at the feet of John the Baptist, kneels a Carmelite friar, with folded hands, gazing on her with an expression of passionate fervour. That this Carmelite brother is no other than the artist, Fra Filippo himself, he has evidently wished to leave us in no doubt, for an angel, somewhat lower down in front of him, bears a scroll waving towards him, and containing the Latin words, "*Is perfecit opus*," that is, "*he did this work*." And it may be taken for granted that the woman with the children, on whom he gazes almost worshippingly, must have stood on close terms of intimacy with him.

The two side semicircular compartments are entirely filled with angels, who, with their long robes, stand as firmly on their feet as the other figures below them. Chaplets of roses and other flowers encircle their golden hair, whilst in their hands they bear long-stemmed lilies, and their charming youthful features express, some of them feelings of devotion, others of unconsciousness of self, and others, again, of gladsome serenity.

But it is rather the disposition than the bearing and expression of these individual figures that imparts to this work its decidedly worldly stamp.

That the composition, apart from a certain overflow, especially perceptible in the substantially enclosed space, is somewhat lacking in skill, can certainly scarcely be asserted. But the arrangement is so planned that all the figures, or at least very nearly all of them, seem to partly turn from the coronation ceremony, so that the spectator's glance also is diverted from the sacred subject of this piece, and revels with a purely worldly delight in the contemplation of so much human grace and beauty, so much sumptuous splendour and thrilling effect of colouring.

This delightful effect of colouring, although somewhat contrasting with that of the Venetian school, is here intensified by the bright and transparent tone shed over the whole scene. The flesh tints are of a rosy bloom, the hair golden, the drapery light and shimmering with its shifting tints, while the blue and white hues prevailing on the ground of the painting complete the delicate and brilliant impression of the colouring, further heightened as this is by the somewhat cumbrous disposition of the figures.

The treatment of the outline in the details, as in the hands and heads, as well as in the drapery itself, displays great care and consummate skill. Every line is characteristic, but, at the same time, rightly conceived and carried out with perfect command of the materials. The painting is, in every respect, a standard work for Filippo's fully developed style, and one of the most characteristic and interesting of the whole Florentine School of the fifteenth century.

On this work, also, our master seems to have been engaged for five years. At least, there is documentary evidence (Baldinucci, "*Opere*," v. 354), to show that he was not paid for it till the year 1447, when he received two hundred Florentine lire, a very considerable sum for the times (see woodcut on p. 320).

It was not till some ten years later that Filippo began the first of his two great frescoes. To the intervening decade must be referred a number of tempera paintings, partly lost and partly still preserved. During this same period his life is for us otherwise a complete blank. The works then executed cannot here be all enumerated. Of those that have perished we

gather some particulars from Vasari. Those still extant are mostly in Florence and in the neighbouring Prato, where Filippo had some family connections, and where he had formed certain relations at an early date.



"Madonna and Child." (Pitti Gallery, Florence.)

These are not by any means of uniform excellence. Thus, a composition, for instance, showing Mary turning to the right and receiving the Infant Jesus from the hands of a charming little angel, is of excellent quality. In

the Uffizi copy (see the "*Galleria di Firenze*," vol. iii., p. 1) she holds her hands, still folded, praying to her Son before taking him up; but in that of the *Ospizio degli Innocenti*, at Florence, she is already in the act of taking him in her arms. Excellent, also, is the round painting in the Pitti Gallery, with the Madonna seated, and St. Elizabeth in a sick-chamber in the background, carried out with all the realistic details of the household, and strongly contrasted with the street scene to the right. Still, in paintings of this description, the realism of such details is opposed to the unity of the piece as a whole.

Less successful is a work in the Florentine Academy displaying the Madonna on a throne between Saints Cosmos, Damian, Francis, and Anthony of Padua, in a space architecturally enclosed. The bearing of the family and of the here somewhat overgrown child is stiff and almost distorted. In many of Filippo's Infants, as Mündler rightly observes, there is a certain sturdiness, partly to be attributed to an angular, often "bull-shaped" type of head, which we meet with in other figures also, and even in some of those in the great coronation scene of the Academy.

The biographical accounts that have reached us concerning our artist for all the time previous to the middle of the year 1450 are very scanty. We know from Vasari that Cosimo de' Medici favoured him whenever he could, and to his influence, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark, it was, perhaps, owing that Filippo was appointed chaplain to the Convent of San Giovannino in the year 1452. And, had he been a good economist, he must have now been in the receipt of an ample income; but we still, as heretofore, continue to read of money difficulties. We learn that he was obliged, in the year 1454, to pawn some gold-leaf, and that, so late as 1457, he had to suffer a distraint, although he had that very year been appointed "*Rettore e Commendatario*" of the Church of St. Quiricus at Legnaja. A Florentine State paper of the same date informs us that he possessed a house in Florence which he partly let out, but he seems to have had great difficulty in recovering the rent.

And yet the Medici family not only gave him commissions themselves, but also procured him others abroad. Giovanni de' Medici seems to have greatly interested himself in him. It was he at least who, in 1456, in a still extant letter to one Serragli, at Naples, recommended Filippo to the king to execute some paintings for him; and in another letter to the same person, in the year 1458, expresses his satisfaction that the king had been so well pleased with some work which Filippo actually painted there, but which is now lost. It was also Giovanni to whom Filippo himself addressed a letter in 1457, also extant, in which he bemoans his distressed circumstances, and begs for an advance on a work he was then engaged on for his patron.

Filippo had already taken up his residence in Prato in the year 1456. Amongst the many works executed by him for this place was a painting for Inghirami, dean of the cathedral there, representing the death of St. Bernard, still in good condition, and characteristic of his style.

But when the cathedral administration determined, in 1456, to carry out the long-cherished project of having the choir painted, the work was naturally intrusted to Filippo, who accordingly removed the same year to Prato.

But, with his usual restlessness, he frequently interrupted the work, and we meet with him next year in Florence, and in 1461 in Perugia. But he may have been still more distracted by a love affair which seems to have occurred about this time. This was his well-known liaison with the daughter of the Florentine wool-broker, Francesco Buti, above alluded to. The episode is thus related by Vasari: "Whilst engaged on the painting intrusted to him by the nuns of Sta. Margherita for the high altar, he one day beheld the daughter of the Florentine citizen, Francesco Buti, who had been brought there either for her education (*serbanza*) or to take the veil. Fra Filippo cast his eye on Lucrezia, for so was named this beautiful and charming girl, and contrived to induce the nuns to allow him to paint her portrait, to serve as the figure of the Madonna in their altarpiece. Thus it happened that he fell more deeply in love, and thereafter found the opportunity of leading her astray and carrying her off on the very day that she went to see the girdle of the Madonna, a much venerated relic in that place. The nuns were greatly scandalized by this occurrence, and their ghostly father, Francesco, never recovered from the disgrace. He used every possible effort to get her back; but, whether through fear or some other motive, she would never return, but remained with Filippo, and she bore him a son, who was also named Filippo, and afterwards, like his father, became a distinguished and famous painter." (Ed. Lemonnier, iv., p. 121.)

The substantial truth of this story, as already mentioned, has been recently established by authentic documents (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, German ed., iii., s. 65), only we know now that it was not Francesco's daughter Lucrezia, but Spinetta, born in 1433, that became thus related to our master.

Filippo's son here referred to is no other than the painter known as Filippino Lippi, whose nearer acquaintance we shall make further on. Opinions are at variance as to the date of this occurrence. Ernst Förster, in his "History of Italian Art" (1872, iii., s. 223), still holds fast by the year 1438, when Filippo was twenty-six years of age. But he has not explained away, or even attempted to explain away, the document published by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in 1870, fixing 1433 as the year of Spinetta's birth, and according to which she could have been in her fifth year only when Filippo was in his twenty-sixth.

It is also certain that the event must have taken place much later on, and as Giovanni de' Medici wrote in May, 1458, "We have also had a good laugh over Fra Filippo's slip (*errore*)," which passage may, at least, refer to Spinetta's abduction, it becomes all the more possible that it happened in this year, or somewhat earlier, that is to say, when she was about twenty-four and Filippo forty-six years old. Hence the beautiful woman with the children in the Coronation piece of 1441 cannot represent Spinetta, as some have supposed. At that time she was but eight years old, whilst Lucrezia was even two years younger than her sister.

Anyhow, the event, as stated, seems to have quite as much interfered with his work in the choir of the cathedral at Prato, as his wanderings and the other commissions with which he was meanwhile occupied. In 1464, the magistrate of Prato seems to have appealed to the mediation of Carlo, one of Filippo's Medicean patrons, to induce him to complete the frescoes, and this appeal must have been successful, so that the work was soon after finished.

On the ceiling of the choir are enthroned the four evangelists, surrounded by angels. On the side wall, to the left as you enter, is set forth the life of St. Stephen, as the patron saint of Prato, and on the right the life of St. John the Baptist, as the patron saint of Florence, to which Prato was subject. On the semicircular spaces between the pillars, and on several detached strips partly extending round to the back wall of the choir, are depicted the principal events in the lives of both saints, from their birth to their death. In the series from the life of John the Baptist, the supper, at which the beautiful Salome dances before Herod, excites special attention. The composition of the, unfortunately, wantonly damaged painting on the arches of the same side is finer, their pyramidal disposition already reminding us of the masters of the sixteenth century.

In the life of Stephen, the scenes of his birth and childhood are remarkable for their simple naturalness. The burial of St. Stephen still shows that grand so-called "isoscepalous" manner of composition in which Masaccio arranges the heads of the chief figures on the same level with each other; and, in general, the different paintings of the series are of various merit. The technical execution seems perfect, as far as one is able to judge from the injured condition of many, and from the defective light that falls on them, especially in the winter season.

The women, particularly of the Baptist series, display a high type of female beauty, and the men a simple, manly dignity, and an individual personality which shows Filippo as a master in the portraying of character. In the richness and splendour of the drapery, with its lifelike foldings, and of the accessories with their painstaking execution, he further shows himself in

the light of a true pioneer. The vivid, bright, and harmonious blending of the colours must also be considered as opening up a new era. But the action, apart from the uniform excellence of the lines, is by no means everywhere told in a thorough dramatic spirit, the characters often appearing to be thinking more of the observer than of their part in the performance.

Nevertheless, the whole piece must ever be reckoned amongst the foremost



‘Madonna and Child, with Angel.’ (Uffizi Gallery, Florence.)

wall-paintings of the fifteenth century. With the exception of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in the Medici palace, no contemporary Florentine work stands on the same level with it. Portions have been engraved, such as “John in the Wilderness,” by Rossini, “Storia della Pittura Italiana,” Pisa,

1839, Tab. XXXVI.; and the "Death of Stephen," by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii., p. 311.

But Filippo was destined to paint yet another great fresco in his declining years. Immediately or soon after completing the Prato series, he was summoned to Spoleto to paint the recess in the choir of the cathedral of that place (engraved by Rossini, Tab. LXXIII.). In the semidome he once more reproduced the "Coronation of the Virgin." Beneath it, in the centre of the more roomy surface of the semicircular back wall, he represented the "Death of the Madonna," to the left of which the "Annunciation," and to the right the "Birth of Christ."

In the Annunciation scene Filippo introduces the angel behind the kneeling figure of Mary, who turns to look upon him in wonder. In the "Birth of Christ" he repeats the kneeling attitude of the Virgin met with in his earlier works. The "Death of Mary" is a magnificent painting, its disposition resembling that of the "Burial of St. Stephen" at Prato.

But the "Coronation," on the ceiling, is the gem of this series. A grand painting, in that severe and clear style of composition peculiar to Filippo, and, withal, penetrated by a religious spirit which we miss, at least, in the works of his middle age. God the Father, solemn and noble, with flowing silver hair, is enthroned, encircled by a great halo, in the act of crowning the Virgin, who kneels before him with a lowly, lovely, earnest, and somewhat personal cast of features. Both are sumptuously arrayed, the Father with the papal tiara, the Virgin in a gorgeous robe studded with pearls, both of which have unfortunately been maliciously damaged.

A great host of angels in flowing robes, and with artless, open features, stand on either side of the cloud-borne throne, some playing on various instruments, others strewing flowers. Beneath the angels kneel two groups, men to the left, women to the right, representing the Prophets and the Sibyls, as is supposed. The absence of "motived" action is here also redeemed by the characteristically personal and animated beauty of the individual figures, by the splendour of the colouring, and by the simplicity, and, with all its symmetry, the freedom of the composition.

Several discrepancies in the treatment of both frescoes are to be explained, perhaps, by the co-operation of his friend and pupil, Fra Diamante, who had been with him in the noviciate in the Carmelite convent at Florence, and who, after leaving Prato, became his trusty companion and assistant. We know little of Fra Diamante's independent compositions. However, he at all events completed the Spoleto choir, for death had overtaken Fra Filippo while still occupied with it in the year 1469. Vasari here again, with his usual taste for the romantic, speaks of poison said to have been administered to him by the relations of his mistress.

He lies buried in the church embellished by the last great work of his hands. The townsfolk of Spoleto raised a monument of white and red marble to his memory. Later on, the citizens of Florence applied, through Lorenzo Medici, for his body, which they intended to place in their cathedral, but those of Spoleto refused to part with it. Lorenzo caused a marble memorial, of the value of a hundred ducats, to be set up to him in the cathedral of Spoleto, which was executed by his son Filippino, and adorned with a rather inflated Latin inscription by the famous scholar Piliziano. From its tenor we gather that it was his realism that more especially struck his contemporaries. Nor will it be denied that this realism is one of the main features of his art. It is not, however, the harsh, exaggerated realism of a Donatello or a Castagno, but a realism reposing on the true observation of a pleasant, cheerful, lovely, and yet earnest and thoughtful nature.

He always chooses sacred subjects, being still unacquainted with the "antique" materials of which his immediate followers took possession. But within this limited sphere he still shows a preference for such elements as enable him to be realistic, and at the same time cheerful, graceful, and lovable. Foremost amongst these stands the Virgin Mother, towards whom he is ever drawn by his passionate worship of female loveliness.

Technically, his works on panel mark the highest point of tempera painting. He still despised oil-painting, which was yet soon to reign supreme throughout the studios of the next generation. But his wall-frescoes, substantially belonging to the same technical order, display a perfection that has been seldom equalled.

His portrait, as painted by himself, shows fine and rather sharp features, with sensuous, thick lips, and a glowing expression in the eye. He loved cheerful society, and had an inclination for adventure, as heedless of the precepts of the cloister as the generality of his contemporary fellow-monks. He is certainly not on that account to be too severely judged, while we may remember that his artistic triumphs could scarcely have been achieved had his genius been tempered by a less worldly spirit.

II.—FILIPPINO LIPPI.

(Born about 1459, in Prato; died 1504, in Florence.)

FILIPPINO was the illegitimate son of the Carmelite monk and painter, Filippo Lippi; "but," says Vasari, "his whole demeanour was such as to wipe out the stain inherited of his father; this he did not by the excellence

of his art only, in which he stood second to none amongst his contemporaries, but also by his retired and moral life, and his obliging and lovable disposition." And, in truth, Filippino enjoyed throughout his whole life high repute both as an artist and a man; and if more recent critics have judged variously concerning him, this is, especially in his case, to be attributed to the great diversity in worth of his productions.

In brilliant qualities he stands in the first rank amongst the artists of the fifteenth century, and a number of his works fully reflect these qualities. But he lacked the uniform steadiness of the creative faculty, and has consequently produced weak and mannered works side by side with some of his very best. Standing at the threshold of the artistic development of the Cinquecento, he was too young to remain satisfied, like his predecessors, with the standard of the fifteenth century, but did not possess sufficient energy to become, like his senior in years, Leonardo da Vinci, a pioneer in the new direction.

Hence his later works especially, side by side with great beauties, show a certain restlessness, a spirit of inquiry, and a breaking away from the past.

They seek for improvement in the heaping up of ornament, and in bright glitter, rather than in a freer and deeper working out of form and composition. The works of his later years are the most sterling because the less distracted by the spirit of the new era.

Filippino Lippi was born at Prato about the year 1459. His name is the lengthened diminutive form of Filippo inherited from his father. Vasari calls him also Filippo, but he himself has marked his later works with "Philippino" to distinguish them from those of his father, and recent Art writers have accepted this signature. What became of his mother, Spinetta Buti, is entirely unknown. At his father's death Filippino was about ten years old, and Fra Filippo's nearest friend, Fra Diamante, adopted him in order to provide for his education in terms of the will of the deceased. Fra Diamante received from the municipality of Spoleto a further sum of three hundred ducats for Fra Filippo's works in the cathedral. But as he had himself taken part in, and, in fact, finished those works, he seems to have claimed for himself the greater portion of the money, and to have left but a very small pittance as the inheritance of the young Lippi.

It is probable that Filippino was intended from the first to be a painter, and began to draw with his father in Prato and Spoleto. Vasari states that later on his guardian took him to Florence, and there taught him the art, after which he also received instruction from Sandro Botticelli.

The works of Filippino's first years leave not the slightest reason for doubting the truth of this statement.

The angels in the best of these paintings, the "Vision of St. Bernard,"

now in the Badia at Florence, so unmistakably show the above-mentioned conventional type of Sandro's youthful figures, that it seems unreasonable to estimate at such a low degree the influence of this master on our artist as is done, for instance, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (German ed., iii., s. 179, 180). This does not preclude the probability that his father's works also may have

had a great influence on him, and that he may have, on the whole, adhered more closely to the style of his father than to that of his teacher.

The subsequent career of this master flowed on in a smooth and unruffled stream. He married somewhat late in life, in the year 1497, and his wife, Margaret, bore him a son, who was named Francis. For the rest, honourable engagements, one of which took him for some years to Rome, constituted the only incidents of his uneventful life.

According to the chief works executed by him, his artistic career may be distributed into three sections, each of which was distinguished by one great fresco and a series of other paintings. The first of these sections may be reckoned from his artistic majority to his journey to Rome, which took place towards the end of the year 1480. The second, beginning with his Roman fresco, may be extended to the end of 1490, and the last thence to his death, which overtook him in 1504.

The great work of the first of these periods was the completion of the wall-paintings of the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmelite Church at Florence, left



"St. Peter released from Prison."

unfinished by Masaccio. How Filippino came to receive his honourable commission we are not informed, but it is obvious that he must have been quite competent to undertake it. All the portions executed by him are in the lower series. On the left side wall he first of all finished the painting begun by Masaccio, representing to the left the resurrection of the king's son, to the right Peter on the throne. He further painted the whole of the

lower picture on the right side wall, which illustrates the trial and crucifixion of Peter.

Lastly, both of the lower works on the entrance pillars are by his hand—under the “Expulsion from Paradise,” on the left, “Paul visiting Peter in Prison;” and under the “Fall,” on the right, the angel releasing the apostle.

With regard to the first, opinions are not quite of accord as to Masaccio’s and Filippino’s respective shares in it. But it is certain that the right group, showing Peter on the throne with monks kneeling in prayer before him, are by Masaccio, while the left group in the centre, larger and richer in figures, and in the middle of which the king’s son, just resuscitated, kneels before Peter, belong substantially to Filippino. Here the young artist follows his great model as closely as possible. The horizontal or isoccephalous disposition of the heads, nearly all being arranged at the same elevation together, the grand, fine, and simple fall of the draperies, the hallowed earnestness of the features—these qualities are all still quite in Masaccio’s manner.

It may be considered not unlikely that Filippino was acquainted with, and availed himself of, the sketch of the main outlines by his predecessor. On the other hand, the great want of sympathy in some parts and the occasional introduction of not even probable accessories, is an inheritance from Fra Filippo. Lastly, the onward movement of the fifteenth century is characteristically displayed, as well in the technical treatment as in the expressive portrait likenesses of individual figures, the names of a large number of whom are given by Vasari.

The great painting facing this belongs, as stated, altogether to Filippino. On the right we see Peter, and seemingly Paul also, in the midst of a number of spectators with Florentine likenesses, defending himself before his Roman judge, seated in the proud dress of the Cæsars, and with a sinister cast of features. (See Ernst Förster, “*Gesch. der Ital. Malerei*,” iii., s. 334 *f*). This group is more sharply severed from that on the left than is the case with any other painting in the Brancacci Chapel.

In the “Crucifixion of St. Peter,” the chief scene, in which the apostle, head downwards, is attached to the cross by half-naked executioners, who are hoisting his feet with a rope, is all represented with dramatic and impressive effect. The spectators on the left betray, by their bearing and gestures, how much they are affected by the dreadful scene. On the other hand, the three Florentine men on the right, introduced solely for the sake of their portraits, are quite indifferent to the martyrdom of the apostle. They are otherwise, however, admirable and most expressive figures and heads.

The horizontal arrangement of the heads at the same elevation here gives place to a freer, though not yet quite “pyramidal” disposition. The drapery has lost that severe simplicity with which Masaccio handles it, and betrays



"The Crucifixion of St. Peter." (Brancacci Chapel, Florence.)

symptoms of a richer folding and more swelling breaks in the fall. But, withal, Filippino in this independent work shows himself a master standing in the very front rank of his times. Neither Fra Filippo nor Sandro Botticelli would have been able to have thus entered into rivalry with Masaccio.

The two paintings on the pillars are also conceived and carried out in a thoroughly free and noble spirit. A masterpiece of grand simplicity is that which shows the grey head and grief-stricken features of Peter behind the grated window, in front of which the noble figure of Paul stands consoling him. Still more beautiful, more truthful, simpler and more affecting, is the treatment of the corresponding piece, where we see the guard asleep and the wondrously beautiful angel leading the prince of the apostles by the hand from prison. We readily perceive that, though in simple grandeur of disposition and expression, and even in beauty of colouring, they are inferior to those of Masaccio, still Filippino's works clearly belong, in a technical sense, to a more advanced period. "For," says Rumohr (*"Ital. Forschungen,"* ii., s. 247), "what Masaccio effected with difficulty in the shading and rounding off, what he even failed quite to compass through needless and excessive use of materials, that had already become a very simple matter for Filippino. The landscape and background, quite disregarded or merely indicated by Masaccio's touch, were handled by Filippino here, as elsewhere, with ease and taste."

In fine canvas paintings also, this first period of our master is rich. Four small pictures in the Torrigiani Collection, setting forth the history of Esther, pass for productions of this period. They abound in motive and ornament, and are carried out with extreme care.

In 1480, when but one-and-twenty years of age, he is said to have also painted that "Vision of St. Bernard," now in the Badia at Florence, pronounced by many to be his very best canvas piece. It illustrates the legend of the apparition of the Virgin to the holy monk whilst composing his famous homilies in the open air. The scene takes place in a fine and carefully executed landscape, and Vasari says that on account of the rocks, growth of vegetation, and books introduced into it, the work always excited great admiration. The monks at work in front of the church to the right look like a living part of the landscape. The principal event occurs in the foreground to the left, where the pale and entranced figure of St. Bernard kneels at his desk, with a rare expression of lifelike personality. The Madonna, with her hand on his book, is excellently portrayed, but certainly seems to be taken rather too much from nature. Of the four angels accompanying her, the two a little in advance might have been painted by Botticelli; while those behind, appearing to be looking with curiosity round the Madonna, are more peculiar to Filippino, and display an uncommonly expressive and graceful naturalness.

The donor or bespaker of the work, visible in the foreground to the right, is not quite so successful.

Other early paintings, worked out with great feeling, and revealing an acute perception for graceful forms, may be seen, amongst other places, in S. Michele at Luca, and Sto. Spirito at Florence. A document bearing the date of December 31, 1482, and published by Gaye (*"Carteggio,"* i., p. 579), proves that our master was already at that time in great repute. The work executed by him for the town-hall at Florence, but now in the Uffizi Gallery, No. 1,268, and for which he received 485 lire 8 soldi, is dated 1485. It shows the Madonna enthroned between four figures of saints, and two angels above with festoons of flowers. The Florentine arms, displayed still higher up, show the official destination of the work, which is one of his most perfect compositions, surpassing, in its free grandeur and beauty of form, everything accomplished by Sandro Botticelli or Fra Filippo.

Thus, in the very first years of his independent career, Filippino took his place amongst the masters of the first rank.

The second period of his artistic activity begins with his invitation to Rome. Vasari says that it was through the mediation of Lorenzo il Magnifico that his intimate friend, Cardinal Olivieri Caraffa, was induced to avail himself of the young Lippi in carrying out the wall-paintings of a chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. The exact year in which he undertook the journey is not known, but we do know that he was already in Rome in 1489. In a letter of this date, he pleads his still pending engagements at Rome as an excuse for not being yet able to undertake the painting of a chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, that had been intrusted to him by Filippo Strozzi there. We also know that Lorenzo induced him to take Spoleto on his way to Rome, in order to see to the carrying out of the monument to be erected to his father Fra Filippo in that place, and which he had himself designed. Filippino discharged both commissions with his usual ability.

The Caraffa Chapel, at the end of the right transept of the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, is dedicated to the celebrated Dominican theologian, St. Thomas Aquinas. It still contains four frescoes by Filippino—above the altar, on the enclosing wall, the "Assumption of Mary;" beneath it, as an altarpiece, the "Annunciation," with St. Thomas recommending the donor to the Virgin, which, having been considerably retouched, can be scarcely taken into account in estimating the artistic worth of this master. Then on the wall to the right of the entrance, two large pieces one above the other. In the *lunetto*, St. Thomas is represented entranced before the Crucifixion, which cries out to him: "Thou hast well written of me, Thomas!" (*"Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma!"*) It is very realistically and dramatically conceived. The

expression of surprise and wonder is admirably depicted in the posture not only of the saint himself, but of the accessory figures also. It must certainly be confessed that some of these, as, for instance, the youth in the background, who lets his bread fall to a barking dog, interfere somewhat with the local unity of the composition. Still, here also it must be admitted that neither Fra Filippo nor Botticelli understood the art of describing so naturally with the pencil.

The subject of the principal piece on the lower part of the wall is the "Triumph of St. Thomas over the Heretics." The great schoolman is seated in a rich architectural scene, while the heresiarch Arius writhes beneath his feet. To the right and left other famous heretics in splendid dress, but with dismay stamped on their features, await a like fate. This subject of the triumph of the great Dominican champion was one that had been already treated by the artists of the fourteenth century for the Florentine church of that order (the Spanish chapel in Sta. Maria Novella), and it has been justly remarked that it was one more in accordance with the spirit and form of that period. The realistic tendencies of the times contrast forcibly with the inflexible, mediæval, dogmatic allegory embodied in such a subject. When completed, the work naturally attracted much attention, and enhanced the artist's fame. Some of the heads, full of personal energy, are even now exceedingly effective. He received 2,000 ducats for the whole, "apart from the outlay for ultramarine and the pay of his assistants," as Vasari writes. Hence his pupil Raffaellino del Garbo seems to have been paid separately for his share in it, consisting of four sibyls on the ceiling of the chapel, now utterly ruined by being painted over.

Filippino availed himself of his stay in Rome to study classical art. In his autobiography Benvenuto Cellini relates that Francesco Lippi, son of our artist, was in possession of several books full of drawings from the antique by his hand. They seem to have mainly consisted of that description of arabesques and tracery work which were called "grotesque," from the underground grottoes for which they were employed, and which the Renaissance eagerly seized upon. Filippino was one of the first to introduce them, at least into his later works, as Vasari also relates: "He was, moreover, the first to employ 'grotesques,' similar to those of the ancients, introducing them into friezes in terra-verde, better and more gracefully drawn than had hitherto been the case."

The time of his return to Florence is as uncertain as that of his first leaving that city. Vasari speaks of a second visit to Rome, and of a second chapel in the same church, adorned by him with the monument of Cardinal Caraffa in "stucco and plaster of Paris." But of such a chapel or monument there are now no traces, and Vasari's statement must accordingly be taken for what it is worth.

Of very unequal merit are the works executed by our artist during this

second period—that is to say, at a time when he could have had but little leisure in Rome for attending to much besides his great frescoes. These works must, therefore, belong rather to the years immediately ensuing on his return from that city. It is evident from them that he had now begun to paint and compose rapidly, and often carelessly.



"The Vision of St. Bernard." (Florence.)

To Roman influences may perhaps be ascribed the small picture, if by him, in the Pitti Palace, representing the death of Lucretia, in three groups, connected together solely by the fine architecture of the background. But if it could be shown to be his work, it would be the only extant example of a classical subject by his hand.

Amongst the more important works referred to the last decade of the century is, above all, to be mentioned the altarpiece for the convent of S. Donato degli Scopetani, now in the Uffizi Gallery (No. 1,257), and bearing the curious half-Latin, half-Italian inscription :—"Filippus me pinsuit de Lipis Florentinus, addi 29 di Marzo, 1496." "Filippo Lippi, of Florence, painted me" (that is, no doubt, *finished* me) "on March 29th, 1496." It is a grand and rich composition, treating the familiar theme of the Adoration of the Magi. Most of the figures are likenesses of well-known contemporaries, especially members of the Medici family, amongst whom Francesco, for instance, stood for the wise man on the right. The tendency of the fifteenth century to set forth sacred subjects in the midst of brilliant and splendid surroundings, is in no other of Filippino's works more marked than in this. The colouring is rather heavy and varied, the draperies lack simplicity and ease; but here, as elsewhere, the background forms a prominent feature. Amongst the notes taken by us in presence of the original, occurs the remark: "The wall of the stable seems broken away on purpose to give a vista of the grand landscape, which is nevertheless very fanciful, and lacking in repose." Still, to describe the work, with Förster (iii. 345), as a great "raree-show," would be perhaps a little too severe.

The painting bearing date 1497, now in Copenhagen, the subject of which is the meeting of Anna and Joachim before the gate, is also praised as an excellent and "very attractive" work (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, German ed. iii., s. 196). And the great perfection reached by Filippino in 1498 is shown by his "Tabernacle," at Prato. The work has suffered much, but the exquisite grace of the Madonna seated between angels and saints still shines forth with unimpaired splendour. Here also are seen traces of his Roman studies in the rich, fanciful, and evidently antique "grotesques" which encircle the picture as in a framework.

The curious painting in the Munich Pinakothek (Room IX., No. 563), originally painted by him for a poor confraternity at Prato in 1495, is, on the other hand, an early example of the crudeness, mannerism, and want of unity to which this master could at times sink. Along with numerous other figures, it represents the Redeemer appearing to his Mother after the Resurrection.

It may here be remarked that our artist in one instance endeavoured to give practical application to the taste for architectural display manifested in so many of his backgrounds. But the design for the cathedral of Florence, prepared by him in the year 1491, was never carried out, and the church still remains unfinished, though King Victor Emmanuel laid the foundation-stone of the new works contemplated in 1860.

It is difficult to draw a line between the second and third periods of our

master. Keeping to his three great frescoes as landmarks in distinguishing them, the third of these frescoes coinciding with his last period is the painting of the Strozzi Chapel in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence. The founder of the chapel had already, in 1487, intrusted its pictorial decoration to Filippino, but he can have scarcely commenced it before the beginning of the last decade of the fifteenth, probably finishing it towards the beginning of the sixteenth, century.

The chapel lies at the back wall of the nave, near the choir, and on the left as you enter. Besides a rich, and in parts extremely fanciful "grotesque" border-work, he has embellished both side walls each with a chief subject and a secondary one in their lunettes. The left is devoted to St. John, the right to St. Philip, while the corresponding lunettes show the martyrdom of these saints—John in the boiling cauldron of oil, Philip on the cross. The centrepiece illustrates events from their lives—John resuscitating Drusiana, Philip advancing, with cross in hand, to the overthrow of heathendom.

These great and interesting paintings are generally represented as belonging to Filippino's period of decline. In order to judge of them impartially, however, we should remember that whilst he was engaged on these frescoes, Domenico Ghirlandajo had just completed his famous paintings in the neighbouring choir. Filippino was evidently ambitious to outstrip his rival in freedom and boldness, and he perhaps succeeded here and there in doing so. But he seemed unconscious that through the harmony of the individual parts alone can a thoroughly free and beautiful work as a whole be produced.

What Filippino would perhaps have gladly discovered, and what he strove after in an utterly wrong direction—the grand and free style of the new era—this Leonardo da Vinci had about this very time achieved, in his "Last Supper," at Milan. Hence it is that, although Filippino's senior in years, yet Leonardo is not included amongst the characteristic artists of the fifteenth century, but takes his place at the head of the Cinquecento.

The works of Filippino belonging to the sixteenth century, such as the "Betrothal of St. Catherine," in the Church of S. Domenico at Bologna (1500), the "St. Sebastian," in the Church of S. Teodoro at Genoa (1503), the "Crucifixion," begun in the same year, later on completed by Perugino, and now in the Florentine Academy (*Quadri grandi*, 57), all betray that looseness of the old style, which, as it does not yet lead to the true spirit of the new era, strikes us as studied and mannered. Yet they are by no means deficient in grand features and many beauties.

This is not the place to take account of the other works, rightly or wrongly attributed to our artist, and which are found dispersed in various museums. It is to be regretted that as he was a master of portraiture, Filippino did not

devote himself to this branch independently. There is, however, in the Uffizi a head ascribed to Masaccio, but which is probably a likeness of Filippino by himself; and in the Berlin Collection (No. 78) there is a portrait of a young man dressed in brown with a black head-dress, which, though much injured, is yet perhaps rightly ascribed to our master.

Of the repute which Filippino enjoyed in Florence, towards the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, we have a proof in the frequent choice made of him to take part in Art committees. His name is here constantly met with side by side with those of the best-known artists of the time.

His artistic industry was brought to a premature close by an early death in his forty-fifth year. Vasari gives the year 1505, but more recent research has fixed April 13th, 1504, as the date of that event. He was carried off by the quinsy, after a short illness, and he received a princely burial.

Of the three artists treated of in this section, Fra Filippo was the most original and least affected, Filippino the most fanciful and dramatic, Botticelli the most varied, and in many respects, perhaps, also the most interesting. They jointly represent one of the most momentous phases in the progressive development of Florentine Art. Nor can they be well conceived as absent from the whole range of Art without leaving a perceptible gap in its history.

III.—SANDRO BOTTICELLI.

(Born, 1446, in Florence; died there, 1510.)

WHEN mentioning the death of Filippo Lippi, Vasari takes occasion to remark that Sandro Botticelli also was already an excellent master when that event took place. That such praise could be awarded to a young man then but three or four-and-twenty years of age, was certainly due mainly to his first teacher, Fra Filippo himself. However, Sandro did not continue long with Lippi. He had soon mastered the technicalities of the somewhat older Florentine painters, such as the Pollajuoli and Verrocchio, who were at the same time sculptors and workers in the precious metals. He had worked the field of his materials up to the standard of the great artists of Padua, Squarcione and Mantegna. He had superadded to all this a peculiar style of his own, though certainly one that was not always free from the charge of mannerism, and he had thus struck a new chord and become, in his own way, one of the leaders of the Florentine School.

His works, however, are of very unequal merit. Hence also the great divergence of opinion as to his worth entertained especially by modern critics. This estimate of Botticelli, based upon the average excellence of his compositions, will mainly depend upon the greater or less sympathy which we may be disposed to feel for the constantly returning and easily recognised type embodied in his figures, and especially in the heads in a large number of his paintings. We confess to a certain sympathy for this type; though, notwithstanding his apparent realism, his constant repetition of youths, maidens, and children, which leave us in doubt as to the sex of the original, displays quite as much a mistaken mannerism as is manifest in the also constantly repeated typical heads of our modern "stylist" Genelli.

Such a type must naturally be learnt from the picture itself, rather than from any possible explanation. At the same time, some idea may perhaps be formed of the Botticelli head from a verbal description. The outlines of the face are oval, but not at all regular. Cheek-bones, chin, and lips are traced in a peculiarly soft manner, depriving the features of all sharpness. The nose, narrow above, becomes broader and flatter towards the tip, and the high and arched eyebrows are especially characteristic. Were we to meet with this head once or twice, we should certainly pronounce it peculiar. It is also probable that it is a head which is to be referred to some original model, but which has lost its personality by constant repetition. The whole type is not free from a certain sensuous touch, and is hence more suitable to the "Venus" of the Uffizi Gallery (No. 39), than to the "Madonna writing the *Magnificat*," and surrounded by young figures of saints and angels, marked No. 25 in the same collection.

Of the specimens in Germany, that in the Berlin Collection numbered 102 best illustrates this type. It is a stereotyped manner, which scarcely occurs in works where persons of mature age play a prominent part, nor probably in his earlier pictures. At any rate, the numerous paintings showing this type must be referred to some one particular period in the life of the master, though it may not be very easy accurately to determine this period.

Botticelli's life is not so rich in the romantic element as that of Fra Filippo. It seems to have glided on in a tolerably placid stream, and may, therefore, be summed up in a few words.

The artist's real name was Alessandro Filipepi. Sandro is merely the Florentine diminutive form of Alessandro, whilst he seems to have been subsequently named Botticelli after his godfather and his instructor in the goldsmith's art.

Sandro was born in 1446. His father, Mariano Filipepi, was a citizen of

Florence, and seems to have possessed the means of giving his son a careful education, in accordance with the spirit of the Renaissance. For although we read that Sandro with all his opportunities is said to have evinced little taste for learning, and that his father accordingly, in a fit of irritation, apprenticed him to the above-mentioned goldsmith, still several circumstances of his subsequent career show that his literary attainments were by no means to be despised, and that his mental vision was more enlarged than that of many of his compeers.

Owing to the close relations at that time existing between goldsmiths and painters, Sandro made the acquaintance of several of the latter in the workshop of his master Botticelli. This intercourse awakened his love for Art, and his father, on ascertaining his new bent, removed him to Fra Filippo's studio. So Vasari tells us; nor is there any reason to doubt that Filippo really was his instructor, although it may be also presumed that he was quite as early influenced by the sharp and decidedly realistic tendencies of Verrocchio and Antonio Pollajuolo, both of them also goldsmiths, and hence probably on terms of intimacy with the elder Botticelli.

At any rate, his first independent work reflected, at least outwardly, the manner of some paintings of both the Pollajuoli. These consisted of allegorical figures of the Virtues, which those masters executed for the Florence Mercatanzia, or Board of Trade, and Sandro was intrusted with one of these figures—*Fortitudo*, Strength, or Valour. Since the year 1861, it is in the Uffizi Gallery, together with the others executed by the Pollajuoli (No. 1,249).

The crude severity of this figure, life-size, and seated in a niche, with breastplate, an iron club in her hand, and wearing an ornamental helmet, certainly reminds us less of Lippi than of those painters directly influenced by Donatello's statuary.

His Madonnas, on the other hand, of which he painted a great number, from the very first adhere closely to the style of the Carmelite friar. It is difficult to assign any date to Botticelli's works. It has been already observed that so early as Filippo's death he had become a famous master, and we read of a continued series of commissions which he received from that time forth, partly for churches and partly from private individuals.

The Medici, amongst others, seem to have given him much employment. It was a time when the nobles were wont to embellish their palaces with works of Art, and the Medici were ever foremost in encouraging this fashion. Botticelli was one of the very first to receive orders to furnish them with some of those paintings, which were utterly untrammelled with any considerations as to the choice of the subject or the manner of its treatment. That he thus developed a great activity spread over many years, is well known,

though our knowledge of positive dates in connection with these works, or the events of his life, is extremely limited.

It was he who was chosen in 1478 by the victorious Medici, after the Pazzi conspiracy, to paint portraits of the traitors on the walls of the town-hall, according to the usual custom of the Florentine State. He received forty gold florins for this work, which, however, has not been preserved.

To the year 1480 is referred the fresco of St. Augustine, which, according to Vasari, he was commissioned by the Vespucci family to paint for the Church of All Hallows, in Florence. The corresponding piece was done by Domenico Ghirlandajo. It was detached from the wall, and removed to another place in the same church in 1564, but is, notwithstanding, in a good state of preservation.

More recent judges have questioned the high praise that was lavished on this work by his contemporaries, and again by Vasari. But without pretending to discover the deep spiritual expression in the features of the saint which Vasari extolls, it must still be allowed that it is painted in a grand and free style, and, with all its precision of form, with a broadness of touch rare amongst the artists of that period.

In the year 1481 occurred a critical event in the life of Botticelli. He was then summoned to Rome to take part in the pictorial adornment of the Sistine Chapel. Pope Sixtus IV. had caused this chapel, attached to the Vatican, to be constructed by the Florentine Baccio Pontelli in a style that from the first seemed intended especially for such pictorial display. On entering the building, we even now lose sight of its architectural features, and think only of the paintings that adorn its walls. The visitor is generally so fascinated by Michael Angelo's colossal frescoes behind the altar and on the ceiling, that he is apt to overlook those on the side walls, which nevertheless remain grand monuments of the Art of the fifteenth century, as well as of the genius of Sandro Botticelli and his contemporaries.

According to Vasari, the Pope had appointed him chief superintendent of all the pictorial decorations of the Chapel. The other painters who shared the work with him were Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, Cosimo Roselli, and Domenico Ghirlandajo. Though Botticelli was not the oldest amongst them, yet there seems no good reason to question Vasari's statement. It would merely imply that even then our master enjoyed a higher repute than his fellow-artists, although we may not now place him perhaps on the same level, at least, with Domenico Ghirlandajo and Luca Signorelli.

If he really was the director of the works, he was probably intrusted with the arrangement of the whole. On either side of the long main walls, facing each other, are six great paintings, broader than high; those to the left of the principal entrance representing scenes from the history of Moses; those

on the right, those typical illustrations of the life of Christ which were characteristic of the times.

In the spaces between the windows above these frescoes is a series of eight-and-twenty popes. Of these, if not all, at least a large portion, were painted by Botticelli, who also did the second and fifth of the series from the life of Moses, and the second from the life of Christ. The parallelism between the two by Botticelli facing each other, is seen in the circumstance that one represents Moses in the wilderness, and the other, Christ in the wilderness. In the first, Moses is no less than seven times introduced into the same landscape, as when he slays the Egyptian, when he flees, when he drives away the shepherds that wished to hinder the daughters of Jethro from drawing water, as he waters their flocks, as he puts his shoes from off his feet to approach the holy ground, as he kneels before God in the burning bush, and as he continues his journey to the promised land at the head of his people. A good coloured copy of a portion of this work is to be seen in the Ramboux Museum of the Dusseldorf Academy, No. 148.

We scarcely find in any other painting of the fifteenth century such a simple method of representing, within the same more or less realistically conceived space, a series of various scenes of one and the same chief subject, thus arranged in chronological order. The great masters of the sixteenth century, whom we are in the habit of looking upon as purely idealistic in contrast with those here under consideration, had in this respect for the most part a much more realistic perception.

With all its exuberance and impossibilities as a whole, this painting still produces a striking effect by its lifelike figures, and the vivid, though at times exaggerated, exposition of individual events, and of the spiritual impulses connected with them.

The painting facing it depicts the temptation of Christ and his rejection of the Devil in the wilderness. Here also the composition, as a whole, is weak; but the individual groups appear all the more noble and effective. They are calmer and more dignified than those on the first picture.

The third work of this series, painted by Botticelli, treats of the destruction of Korah and all his company, and the punishment of Dathan, Abiram, and the sons of Aaron, by Moses. In its general treatment this painting is simpler than the first. A magnificent landscape in the background, embellished with architectural ruins, amongst which a faithful copy of the Triumphal Arch of Constantine the Great, occupying the centre, here distributes the three groups in the foreground, in each of which Moses is seen excited to great wrath, with flowing white beard and hair. But the individual groups are not fine; they are, if not indistinctly composed, at least exaggerated in the movements and gestures of the figures.

The work has been variously criticized. All things considered, it seems unfair to deny that Botticelli, with these great frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, reached the summit of his art. They clearly, however, point out the limits assigned to him, as to nearly all the artists of the fifteenth century. There is still lacking that sense of harmony which is essential to the unity of a grand composition. Hence many, at least, of this artist's smaller, simpler, and more composed pieces display a higher degree of inward, harmonious perfection than these great frescoes.

Botticelli may have been at work in Rome till somewhere about the year 1484. If he received the commission in 1482 to paint, jointly with Domenico Ghirlandajo, a hall of the Palazzo Pubblico, in Florence (Gaye, "*Carteggio*," i., Appendice II., p. 578), it is doubtful whether he accepted it.

To the year 1487 belong four small pictures illustrating the eight tales of the fifth day of Boccaccio's "*Decameron*." They are at present in a private English collection.

In 1491, he was intrusted with the mosaic works of the Chapel of St. Zenobius, in the Cathedral of Florence. They seem never to have been finished, and are now quite effaced.

Soon after this time, our artist seems to have become involved in the fierce ferment caused by Savonarola's appearance in Florence. The Dominican preacher's exhortations to repentance went home to the very heart of his hearers. The hypocrisy of Rome was held up to scorn, the dangers with which the freedom of the Florentine State was threatened by the omnipotence of the Medici were fearlessly exposed, and the heathen spirit of art denounced.

Florence was split into two factions. Savonarola's adherents called themselves *Piagnoni*, or "weepers," and Vasari tells us that Sandro Botticelli was numbered amongst the most zealous "weepers" of Florence. The waves of "revivalism" reached their highest point in the year 1496, and there is extant a letter of this very date, addressed by Michael Angelo to Botticelli, but really meant for Lorenzo de' Medici. Michael Angelo may have chosen an artist formerly befriended by him, in order to insure its reaching its destination more certainly than might have otherwise been possible amidst the political troubles of the times. The young Michael Angelo also had warmly espoused the side of Savonarola. The address and the superscription "*Christus*" on the letter—"Christ, King of Florence!" being the party-cry of the *Piagnoni*—show that Botticelli then stood on close terms with the mighty genius just appearing on the scene. Botticelli was now fifty, and Michael Angelo one-and-twenty years of age.

But, according to Vasari, Botticelli was so carried away by party feeling, that he, quite in Savonarola's sense, "renounced painting, and, having no other means of livelihood, fell thereby into great distress." However, this

need not be taken literally, since we know from his position in 1498, the year of Savonarola's death, that he had then, at all events, some land in his possession, though no other available means (Gaye, "*Carteggio*," i., No. 172, p. 343).

But that he had again, in 1503, risen to importance is evident from the fact that he was one of the Art commissioners who in this year had to decide on the site for Michael Angelo's colossal marble statue of David. The proceedings of this commission are still extant, and Botticelli's utterances certainly display no symptoms of senility. He first through courtesy assents, as others had done, to the previous speaker, Cosimo Roselli, who had worked together with him in the Sistine Chapel, and then declares his own view to be that the David ought to be set up in the Loggia by the State palace. His obvious meaning was that it should be placed under a covered roof, and although Giuliano di Sangallo, one of the most famous artists of the time, held the same view, yet it was not then adopted. But now, after three hundred and seventy years, it has been discovered that the colossal statue ought to be sheltered from the weather, and it has been accordingly at last removed, if not to the spot advocated by them, at all events to a covered place within the Academy.

After this year, 1503, we learn nothing further of Botticelli. Vasari says that he withdrew more and more from Art, and though he had earned considerable sums of money in his best years, yet had gradually spent it all, and was at last reduced to such penury that he must have died of hunger but for the interest taken by former friends and patrons in the old man, now broken down in health and hobbling about on crutches. Yet he was still but sixty-four years of age, having died, according to more recent research, on May 11th, 1510. He was buried in the Church of Ognissanti (All Hallows), where he had painted his St. Augustine.

Sandro was a man of strong features, rather hard than delicate, and yet not unpleasant, with thick lips, full cheeks, and intelligent eye. His character is described by Vasari as free and lavish, as long as he had anything to spend. He was ever ready for a harmless jest with friend or pupil, as shown by the anecdotes preserved by that biographer. He was, moreover, a zealous encourager of young talent, and seems to have earned for himself universal endearment, which did not play him false in the last sad years of his life.

That with all these qualities Botticelli was further a man of considerable literary attainments, and of a lively, active spirit, is evident from many circumstances. His passionate partisanship for Savonarola speaks sufficiently for his inward sentiments. And it may here be opportunely mentioned that a painting of the "Death and Assumption of the Virgin," now in Scotland, and painted by him in connection with a heretical poem by Matteo Palmieri, the bespoker of the picture, was likewise denounced as heretical by the ecclesiastical

authorities, and withdrawn from public view. It seems to be one of his finest paintings.

Vasari also relates that, being of a philosophic turn of mind (*per essere persona sofistica*), he applied himself to the study of Dante, even wrote a commentary on a portion of the Divine Comedy, and designed a copperplate engraving in illustration of the "Hell." He must have even made a whole series of such illustrations of Dante. At least, the drawings of all, and the engravings of some of the copperplates of the Florentine edition of Dante, dated 1481, are attributed to him. He was thus one of the oldest of copperplate engravers, without, however, having distinguished himself in this art, though his draughts, on account of their vivid precision and neatness, were much sought after by other engravers.

But his illustrations were not confined to Dante. It has been already mentioned that he also designed a small series of pictures illustrating some of Boccaccio's tales. Lastly, a long Greek inscription on a singular painting now in England, representing angels embracing human beings, and the demons sneaking off, would seem to imply a certain familiarity with that language, though he probably did not compose the whole inscription. For the rest, the large number of paintings the subjects of which are drawn from classical antiquity, show his acquaintance with the old writers. And the great variety of his materials, a variety unapproached by any previous artist, bears witness to the manysidedness of his mental culture.

The large number of works by Sandro's hand still extant, and scattered up and down most galleries, now call for a few remarks. In the absence of all chronological data, the diversity of their subject-matter naturally suggests itself as the only rational arrangement of these works. Masaccio and Lippi had confined themselves exclusively to Christian legends, and the spirited adoption of classical subjects seems to have proceeded in the first instance from the school of Padua. But Botticelli was the first Florentine to cultivate the same field. He painted Biblical and Christian subjects, but he also painted scenes taken from pagan mythology and from modern poets, free allegories, and portraits.

With respect to his religious paintings, both for number and beauty these certainly occupy the first place. It is needless again to refer to the "Temptation of Christ" and the "Virgin's Death and Assumption." Amongst the larger compositions, before all others should be mentioned the "Coronation of Mary," in the Florentine Academy, No. 47, in the room reserved for large works. By its oblong arched shape, it contrasts with the broader pieces of Fra Filippo dealing with the same subject. Here again the scene is laid in the open, unconfined celestial regions. God the Father, in papal robes, reminds us of the corresponding figure of Fra Filippo's work; but the

Madonna, as she kneels with crossed hands, in the deepest and most earnest lowliness before the Highest, is a genuine Botticelli figure. Very characteristic also are his angels strewing roses in the heavens round about the hallowed scene, and dancing in rows, with rich and flowing draperies, though somewhat mannered in their foldings. In an open, simple landscape beneath are four noble-looking saints with expressive heads, and robes grandly handled.

A very grand and beautiful work is also the "Coronation of the Virgin," with eighteen saints, in the Church of St. Jacopo di Ripoli, at Florence (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iii., s. 170 of German ed.).

Very important, and in style akin to the last mentioned, is the "Adoration of the Magi," which Botticelli was commissioned by the Medici to paint for the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, but which is now in the Uffizi Gallery, No. 1,286. The stable of the Holy Family is here raised up amongst rocks and old walls, and covered with nothing but a rude wooden roof resting on roughly hewn trunks of trees. Mary is seated with the Infant on her lap; behind her stands Joseph, buried in thought, while the oldest of the kings kneels in the centre before the Child, the other two, with their followers, being disposed in two groups, filling the foreground to the right and left. This painting acquires a special interest as a characteristic example of the habit of representing contemporary likenesses under the mask of holy personages. Here every figure seems to be an extremely lifelike likeness of some one of Botticelli's contemporaries. The oldest of the kings represents Cosimo de' Medici, while, according to Vasari, the other two are the portraits of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici. But all the other numerous figures have also quite the appearance of being likenesses. With all this a hallowed, manly earnestness pervades the whole scene. The usual conventional female and youthful head met with in so many of his works is here absent.

On the other hand, this type is visible in many figures of the great painting in which the Madonna appears enthroned in a very rich and imposing architectural scene, between six saints standing in the foreground, and two cherubim by her side, provided with instruments of martyrdom, the whole revealed to us by two other angels drawing aside the heavy and massive curtains before the heavenly throne. This beautiful work, distinguished by a severe, perhaps too severe, symmetry of composition, and unfortunately disfigured especially in the upper parts by modern "touching up," is numbered 52 in the room containing large subjects in the Florentine Academy.

Other large compositions dealing with the lives of the saints are found in foreign galleries, and especially in the Fuller-Maitland Collection, London. In Munich there is a "Burial of Christ." But much more numerous are the smaller, or at least simpler, compositions, which yet often contain lifesize, or nearly lifesize, figures.

There is especially a whole series of Madonnas beautifully grouped in round-frame works, which are amongst his best and most characteristic works, and which most frequently contain specimens of the conventional heads already referred to. We generally see charming youthful figures of angels grouped in these paintings around the Madonna and Child. In Italy, amongst works



"Madonna and Child, with Angels." (Uffizi Gallery, Florence)

of this sort, the prize must be awarded to No. 25 of the Uffizi Gallery, which the adjoining woodcut reproduces.

Two angels support a crown, with veil attached, above the Madonna, who is writing, or rather, in the act of dipping her pen into the ink-bottle held by another angel, while two others look on with childlike curiosity.

The picture in the Uffizi, No. 1,289, resembles this, and others of the same class are preserved in the Pitti Gallery (No. 348), in the Corsini (No. 13), in the Alessandri at Florence, and Borghese at Rome. A masterpiece of the same kind is numbered 102 in the Berlin Collection. Here the Madonna is enthroned in a recess between seven youthful angels with flowing dress and wings, rose-wreaths on their heads, and wax-tapers in their hands. There are four to the right, and three to the left, the gap on this side being filled by the head of the Child, supported by the Mother, as he stands on the balustrade of the throne, so that here great beauty is imparted to the usually somewhat formal symmetry of such compositions. Charming are two naked little winged boys, artlessly looking down from above the moulding of the recess, and closely copied from the Cupids of the later period of classical art. It is one of the earliest examples of angels in the figure of such little Amorini.

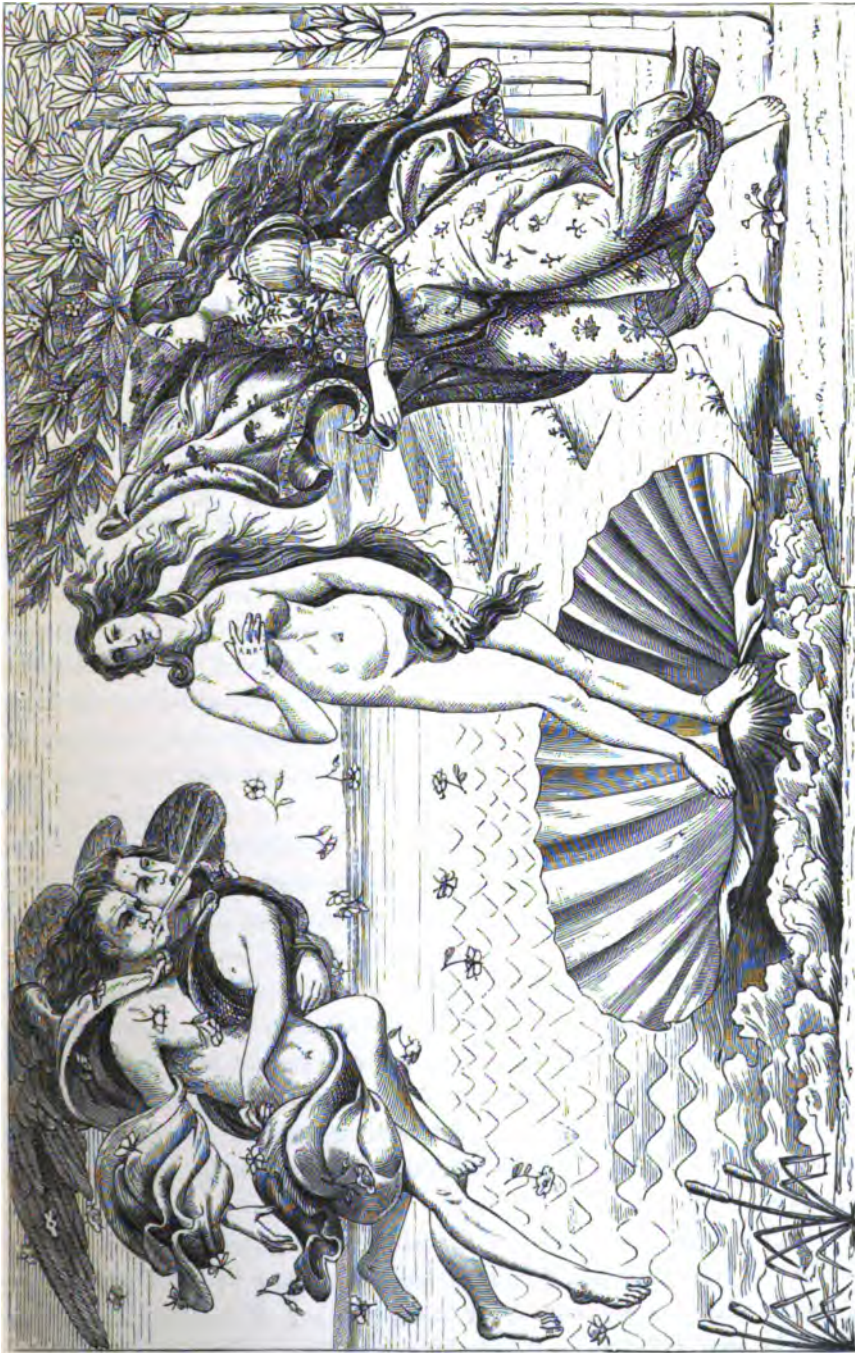
The mention of Botticelli's other sacred pieces would lead us too far. They are to be met with in London, Paris, St. Petersburg, and several other Continental towns, such as Berlin, Frankfort, Dresden, Munich, and Altenburg.

Of his Biblical subjects, besides the two great Roman frescoes, the best known, and perhaps the only genuine, are two small paintings numbered 1,156 and 1,158 in the Uffizi Gallery. One depicts the beheaded trunk of Holofernes, as discovered in the tent by his attendants; the other, Judith, in rich attire, the naked sword in her right hand, and a palm-branch in her left, returning to Bethulia through a blooming landscape. Behind her is the maid, bearing the head of Holofernes wrapped in a cloth. As the head is absent from the first painting, both may very well belong to the same period. They are plastically worked out with great care and interesting individual expression. Especially significant are the features of Judith in the second.

Amongst his mythological works, "Aphrodite rising on a Shell from the Bosom of the Deep," or "The Birth of Venus," takes the first place. It is marked No. 39 in the Uffizi Gallery, and was chromolithographed in 1870 by the Arundel Society.

Whether Botticelli was acquainted with the Homeric lines in the Hymn to Aphrodite describing the scene, or whether he knew of any ancient or modern illustration of them, it is impossible to say. But the situation as described in that poem is here reproduced with wonderful grace. The "Horæ," however, there spoken of are here reduced to a solitary female figure, sumptuously arrayed, standing beneath a cluster of laurel-trees on the shore, with a gorgeous robe, in readiness to receive the goddess. And out of the zephyr have been developed two wind gods, their limbs somewhat indistinctly entwined together, winged, like the classical wind deities, blowing with full cheeks, and scattering roses profusely.

The goddess, in the act of stepping from the shell to the land, is not



"The Birth of Venus." (Uffizi Gallery, Florence.)

of a classical type, but a wondrously beautiful, realistic, modern figure, strongly

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stamped with the Botticelli physiognomy, with an innocent, though voluptuous, expression, and long hair, with which she modestly veils her nakedness. The waves of the sea, according to modern ideas, are very imperfectly reproduced. But the whole creates an extremely poetical effect, quite in harmony with the Homeric song.

Far less beautiful is the naked "Venus" of the Berlin Museum (No. 1,124), in the posture of the Medici Venus. In the time of Botticelli, this latter had not yet been dug up; still he must have been acquainted with feebler examples of this oft-repeated type.

In the Louvre is a small picture of Venus surrounded by Cupids, and reposing on the waving grass; and a similar one in Samuel Baker's Collection in London. Other mythological subjects by our master, also in London, and described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, are less attractive.

Of works after the antique, before all others must be mentioned the famous allegory of "Slander," in the Uffizi Gallery, No. 1,182, and in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii., p. 422. It is a direct realisation of a painting described by Lucian as the work of Apelles, an allegory rich in figures, which Botticelli has disposed in a well-proportioned and architectural hall looking out on the sea; but, with all the delicacy of his treatment, he has been unable to deprive it of that frosty character which all Art-archæologists have unconsciously ascribed to the work of the Greek painter. The realism of individual figures forms a sharp contrast to their purely ideal significance, while the perkiness of particular movements renders the looseness of the whole composition still more jarring, although the splendid background may here contribute to produce a seeming unity.

Amongst his independent allegorical works must be reckoned one formerly known as "Venus and the Graces," or "The Approach of Spring," or simply "The Allegory of Spring," in the Florentine Academy (*Galleria dei Quadri Antichi*, No. 24). The scene is laid in a flowery meadow, amidst a luxuriant forest of fruit-trees. In the centre stands a richly-clad female figure, over whom appears the god of love. On the left are disporting themselves three figures resembling Graces, while a beautiful youth knocks fruit from the trees. On the right is a wind god in the act of carrying off another female figure. Who can say what ancient myth or modern allegorical fancy was intended to be here represented? In its careful handling it resembles the above-mentioned allegory of Slander.

Other allegories by Sandro are the already described figure of "Fortitudo," also an unintelligible, delicately-treated picture in the Turin Gallery, and a figure with the cornucopia, in the possession of Reiset, Paris. Other similar works seem to belong rather to his school than to Botticelli himself.

What he has taken from the modern Italian poets has already been

mentioned. There, therefore, remain the portraits alone to be described. In connection with these, it should be borne in mind that Sandro was also one of the first to paint real likenesses, which before his time appeared as a rule only as spectators, or as taking part in religious representations. Besides the portraits of the popes in the Sixtine Chapel, Vasari mentions two portraits by him, one of them known as the "Bella Simonetta," mistress of Giuliano de' Medici; the other, Lucrezia de' Tornabuoni, Lorenzo's wife. Of still extant portraits, three claim to be that of the fair Simonetta. A jejune and by no means beautiful likeness of a thin person simply clad, now in the Pitti Palace, is generally held to be the true one.

The Berlin Gallery claims to possess the likeness of Lucrezia Tornabuoni (No. 81). It certainly bears a resemblance in some respects to the "Simonetta" of the Palazzo Pitti, but it also shares its weaknesses. Other portraits, amongst which some of great beauty, cannot with any certainty be referred to our master.

This cursory survey of the more important of Botticelli's still-preserved works will put in a clear light the advanced position occupied by this master, especially in the Florentine school. With the exception of Benozzo Gozzoli, no Florentine artist had before him painted such rich and magnificent backgrounds, such lifelike and "motived" action. Still his grand and consistent backgrounds were unable to conceal the want of connection in his compositions, rich as they were in figures, nor was perfect beauty reached in their animated movements, which constantly betrayed a certain harshness, sprawling appearance, and want of repose. His gentle, dreamy, earnest, and yet lifelike and motherly Madonnas, surrounded by charming angels, still remain the most beautiful of his compositions.

Altogether Botticelli is one of the most important artists of the fifteenth century; but one feels more than ever in his presence how true it is that it was, after all, men like Leonardo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo that alone developed the very highest qualities of which Italian Art was capable.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO.

(Born 1449, in Florence; died there, 1494.)

By KARL WOERMANN.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAJO forms the highest pinnacle of the Florentine painting of the fifteenth century, the foundations of which rest on Masaccio. He holds this position not in virtue of the time in which he flourished, some of his precursors, such as Filippino, having in reality been his juniors in point of years, while several of them, including his teacher Alesso Baldovinetti, actually outlived him. Nor is it even his inborn genius for Art that raises him above his fellows, many of them having been in some respects more richly gifted by nature. What especially distinguishes him above all others is an iron energy, combined with rare natural gifts, an earnest will, and a clear insight, enabling him to fathom and absorb in himself all that had gone before him; thus raising himself from small and late beginnings to a freedom and grandeur of composition rendering him the immediate forerunner of his great pupil Michael Angelo, and of the other Cinquecentisti.

Domenico's father was a broker named Tommaso di Currado di Dosso Bigordi. Of his early years we learn nothing further than that he was intended to be a goldsmith, and acquired this noble craft from a master especially distinguished for the preparation of golden wreaths (*ghirlande*), then fashionable as ladies' head-dresses: hence probably Domenico's by-name of Ghirlandajo, or Del Ghirlandajo, the wreath-maker. It does not seem probable, as Vasari states, that his father, who calls himself a broker, was also the goldsmith from whom Domenico learned the handiwork.

The first certain record of the artist's life is referred to the year 1480. In the declaration of his ways and means for this year, the elder Bigordi makes mention of his son, giving his age as then thirty-one, and describing him further as a painter without any fixed domicile.

According to this document, Domenico was born in 1449, and was already a painter in 1480. From the same source we learn that he was also married to a young wife named Costanza, then nineteen years of age.

His earliest works bearing a certain date are also referred to the same year, 1480. They all more or less betray the character of youthful productions. It may, therefore, be confidently asserted that Ghirlandajo, herein unlike all his great predecessors, did not develop his artistic genius till late in life. It seems to follow of itself that this development must have been preceded by his apprenticeship in the art with Alesso Baldovinetti, a realist noted for his conscientious study of nature, but who seems to have produced little of much account.

But those early works dating from 1480 were, and partly still are, in the Church of Ognissanti, at Florence, and the more important of them in the Vespucci Chapel. It is said that one of these frescoes contained a likeness of the navigator Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to the New World; but when the chapel passed, in the year 1616, to another family, the frescoes were whitewashed over. On the other hand, the fresco of "St. Jerome," corresponding to Sandro Botticelli's "St. Augustin," is still there, though not in its original site. The books and other objects of still life surrounding the saint are the most interesting and most carefully executed portions of this work. The "St. Jerome" itself is still somewhat raw and formal. It is supposed to bear clear traces of old Flemish or German influence, the northern masters being at that time highly esteemed in Italy. That Domenico had some relations with them is evident from the circumstance that it was Martin Schongauer's "St. Anthony" which served as the model for the very first work executed by the young Michael Angelo in our master's studio.

In the refectory of Ognissanti is still preserved Domenico's fresco of the "Last Supper," also bearing the date of 1480. Nowhere else does one so clearly perceive, especially if it be contrasted with the "Last Supper" executed some twenty years later by Leonardo da Vinci, how little Ghirlandajo had been able to free himself from the trammels of his time at the outset of his artistic career. Though the work shows a certain license which other Quattrocentisti also had allowed themselves, still it is, as a whole, a stiff, mediæval composition. Here, too, the accessories, such as the cultivated landscape showing beyond the bays of the severe architectural building, are best carried out. The execution is otherwise raw, and often very awkwardly handled, as, for instance, in the chalky lights and shadings. Nevertheless, the work must have produced a great effect on his contemporaries, for he was soon after called upon to repeat it in the convent of San Marco. This duplicate also is still extant, but is, if possible, less successful even than the original.

But it was mainly the Ognissanti frescoes, not painted till his thirty-first year, that, according to Vasari, first brought our master into repute. That he was fully alive to their faults, and applied his whole energies to overcome them, is evident from his very next productions. But his final success was so

thoroughly established by these great frescoes, and his highly instinctive artistic development is so intimately associated with these colossal compositions, that we must provisionally pass over his panel paintings in order to put in a clear light his triumphant onward march to perfection.

In the interval between 1480 and 1485 he produced a large number of frescoes, though the exact order in which they followed or accompanied each other cannot now be accurately ascertained. However, their number alone implies considerable creative power. One of the first was his "History of St. Paulinus" in the Church of Sta. Croce, but of this no trace now remains. He was then chosen, together with the most illustrious artists of the time, to paint some frescoes in the Sala dell' Orologio, in the Florence town-hall. Of these the only one still preserved is the "Triumph of St. Zenobius," a bishop of Florence in the fifth century. The saint, larger than lifesize, is seated between two others beneath the centre arch, two stone-coloured lions with the arms of the city keeping watch at his feet. In the arch above him is a picture of the Madonna in relief, also stone-coloured, between two angels, and in the side arches are introduced famous citizens of ancient Rome, a coupling of saints and profane characters which, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle observe, Domenico was the first to introduce into Florence. The whole produces a very simple, grand, and earnest effect.

It appears from researches made by Gaye in the archives of Florence, that Domenico, between the years 1481 and 1485, received payment for frescoes executed by him in the town-hall ("Carteggio," i., pp. 578—581). As it is well known that during the same period he also painted important frescoes in San Gimignano and in Rome, it seems probable that he must have been often on the road between these places and Florence.

In San Gimignano, a little Art-loving town, romantically situated between Lucca and Siena, is preserved, in a chapel dedicated to St. Fina in its principal church, the most important of Ghirlandajo's productions in this place. The subjects of the large frescoes on the two walls facing each other in this chapel are a vision seen by St. Fina when dying, and a miracle at the laying out of her body. The saint is on her death-bed, attended by two repulsive old women in a wretched-looking room. In the corner to the left appears Pope Gregory the Great, encircled by an almond-shaped halo composed of red-winged cherubim, and in the act of promising her everlasting bliss.

The composition is weak, the form of the hands long, stiff, and outspread; and the expression of the heads is decidedly the best feature in it.

Much more important is the opposite piece, showing the body of the saint on a bier covered with a gold-brocaded blue pall in front of an imposing apsis. The nurse on whom the miracle is performed kneels behind the bier, whilst a chorister kisses the delicate feet of the saint. On either side are grouped

finely painted rows of priests and spectators—admirably individualised characters, forming, with the architectural surroundings, such a simple and grand composition as no other artist since the time of Masaccio had painted.

Ghirlandajo's pupil and brother-in-law, Seb. Mainardi, was a native of San Gimignano. We know that he was jointly with Domenico engaged on this painting, and we should feel inclined to attribute to his hand a greater share in the first and weaker than in the second and more perfect of these two frescoes.

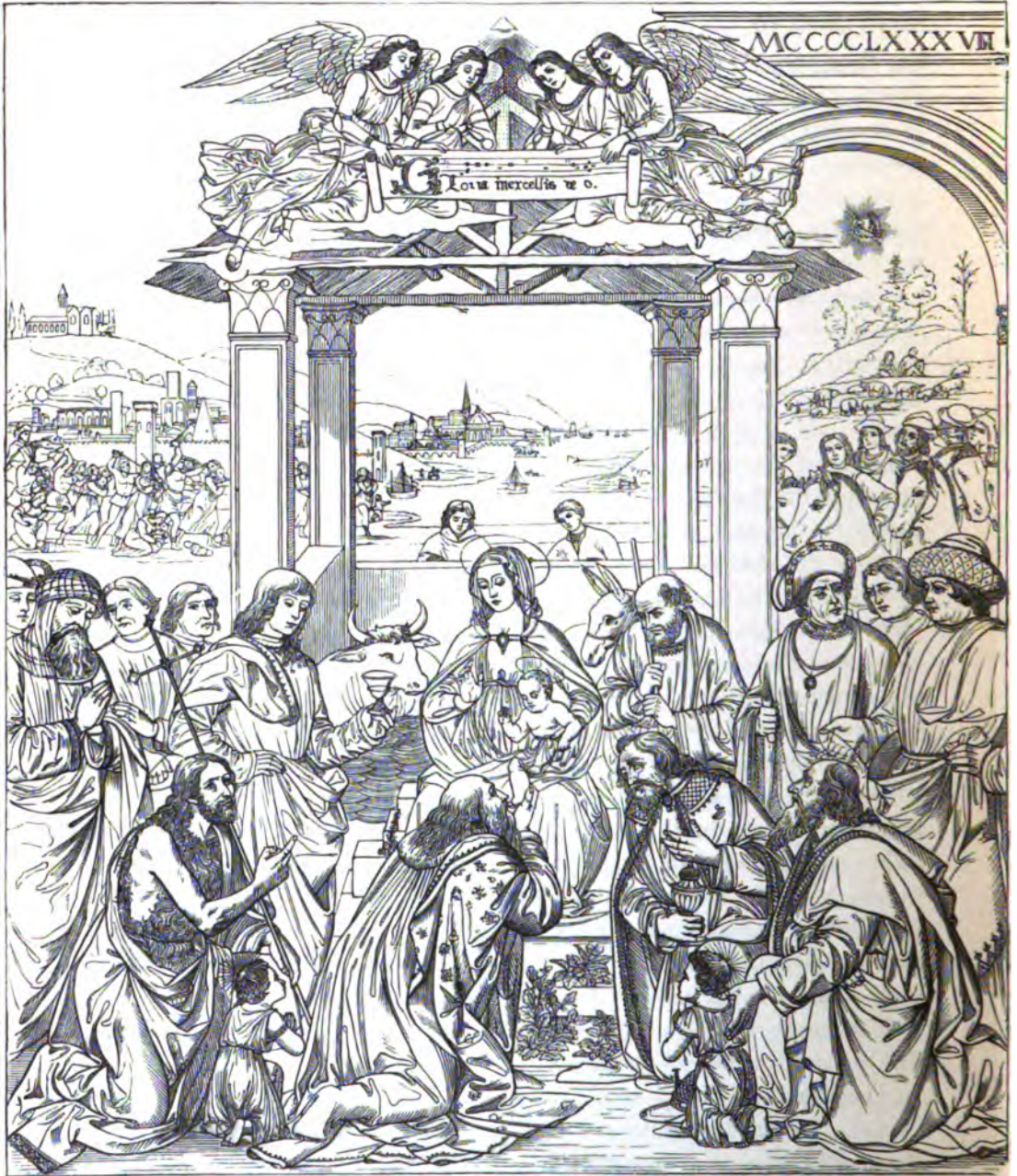
Mainardi's hand is also clearly to be recognised in another fresco at San Gimignano attributed to our master—the “Annunciation” in the oratory of San Giovanni, which bears the date of 1482.

About this period, and seemingly at the same time with Sandro Botticelli, Domenico was invited to Rome in order to immortalise himself by his share in the Sistine Chapel. Botticelli, as already stated, had been intrusted with the direction of this great artistic undertaking. Domenico painted two subjects only in the chapel, of which one has been preserved. The subject is the “Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew,” and it forms the corresponding piece opposite Cosimo Roselli's “Overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea,” occupying the third place to the left from the altar.

Here Ghirlandajo attains an excellence which he himself never eclipsed. In these apostolic figures there certainly still lingers a distinct echo of Masaccio. Here, as in that master's Tribute piece, several scenes of the same subject are depicted in the same grandly conceived landscape. We see in the background the future Apostles in the fishing-boat grounding on the shore, while in the centre foreground we again see them kneeling before Christ. But it is Domenico himself who speaks out grandly and characteristically in this group, where Christ with his fair flowing hair stands before the grey-headed kneeling fishermen; again in the lifelike figures of the assembled multitude on the right and left, and lastly in the plastic modelling of the individual figures, and their magnificent composition in the gorgeous landscape. The laws regulating the lines of a monumental painting have here the effect of idealising real figures copied from the life. In its presence Giotto and the fifteenth century seem to fade away, and we have in their place, as Burckhardt says, “as it were a foreshadowing of Raphael's ‘Christ and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes,’ and his ‘Pasce oves meas!’”

Domenico's industry while in Rome was not restricted to the Sistine Chapel. During his residence here there died the wife of his intimate friend, the wealthy Florentine merchant Tornabuoni, who had settled in the Eternal City. In their family burial-place in the Church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva our master painted, amidst rich decorations, events from the lives of John the Baptist and of the Madonna. But these works have perished.

Domenico, moreover, like all Florentine artists who at that period visited Rome, sketched largely from the antique, more especially architectural remains,



"Adoration of the Magi." (Chiesa degli Innocenti, Florence.)

and he seems to have unfolded a rare skill and the eye of a true draughtsman

in these pursuits. On this point Vasari writes : " He is said to have possessed such a true hand in drawing the antiquities of Rome, such as triumphal arches, baths, columns, pyramids (obelisks), amphitheatres, and aqueducts, that he drew them free-hand, without rule, compass, or measure; and when they were afterwards tested they were found to be as thoroughly accurate as if they had been measured. He also made a free-hand draught of the Coliseum, into which he introduced an erect figure which served as a standard of measurement for the whole building, and when the artists after his death put it to the test, they found it all quite correct."

But the greatest work of this period devoted to religious subjects was produced by him in his native city. This was the series of frescoes in the chapel of the Sassetti family in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Florence. As the founder's name was Francis the artist was commissioned to embellish the walls of the chapel with the history of St. Francis of Assisi. The events of his life are disposed in six divisions on three sides of the chapel, of which they formed a principal ornament. He also painted the four Sibyls in the four spaces of the cross-vault, and right and left of the altar the exceedingly expressive kneeling figures of the founder and his wife.

Of the historical frescoes the least interesting are the two smaller ones representing the saint flying naked from his father to the bishop, and the ordeal of fire before the sultan. But the four chief paintings—"The Confirmation of the Rules of the Order of the Minorites by Pope Honorius III.;" the saint with the stigmata; his appearance in the clouds to resuscitate a child that had fallen from a window; and, lastly, his burial, belong to the highest masterpieces produced by the fifteenth century.

In the piece showing the stigmata the prominence given to the landscape is very striking. Even Benozzo Gozzoli has painted no landscape as a background which so decidedly claims the chief attention as this does. It is a landscape with historical surroundings, showing Pisa in the background, and yet worked out in its details with a thorough realism. The figures of St. Francis and his attendants are blended vividly and expressively with it. The crucifix appearing in the heavens is remarkably small, but surrounded by large winged heads of cherubim. The eye of the observer is withdrawn from the main object by the figures unconnected with the event which are introduced into the background, by the wild scenery of the foreground, and by the various details of the rich landscape.

In a similar way a street vista in the piece, containing the resuscitation of the child, awakens considerable interest, but the treatment as a whole, in consequence of the much greater number of living figures introduced, here more decidedly arrests the chief attention. In the background we see the figures of the child falling from the window and of a number of people running

up in great alarm, all admirably reduced in scale perspectively. In the foreground the child, on his bier, placed in an open, animated street scene, raises himself up in a sitting posture towards the figure of the saint, which appears somewhat indistinctly and softly transfigured in the clouds. The throng of spectators, on either side of the bier and in the open street, does not at all produce the same exaggerated effect as in other works of Domenico. Here they seem quite in their place, and the artist has contrived to turn the occasion to excellent account, in order to present us with a series of vigorous and striking portraits.

Into the two other paintings are introduced some very magnificent architectural designs, grandly conceived as a whole, and classic in the treatment of their minor elements. Here also the large number of characters introduced into the frescoes both of the confirmation and the burial, are harmoniously blended with the architectural surroundings, showing an extremely delicate perception of free symmetry and exquisite grouping. The general disposition of the whole of the burial piece is moreover strikingly original, and that of the burial scene itself singularly beautiful. Neither Botticelli nor the Lippi could have produced anything approaching to all this, which indeed seems to leave Masaccio himself far behind. Domenico here surpasses his own "Calling of the Apostles," in the Sixtine Chapel, both in the disposition, and still more in the colouring, which in the latter is still dry and dull, but in the former, with its deep, earnest tones appealing like music to the heart, completes the general harmonious effect. In our opinion, these two works are altogether the finest produced by Domenico, and but few of his later paintings in Sta. Maria Novella can compare with them. If it has been said that his Roman fresco was a foreshadowing of Raphael's "Miraculous Draught," these may also be said to have foreshadowed the school of Athens. They perhaps in their way effect even more than this. In technical finish also they may boast of having reached the very highest perfection of which fresco painting is susceptible. The series was finished in the year 1485.

Thus we see how from lowly beginnings Ghirlandajo in the first lustrum of his artistic activity worked his way up to his grand monumental style. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the ensuing five years procured him still greater commissions. The chief work executed by him during this period was the painting of the choir of the Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, which, in fact, is usually considered the most important of all his productions; and in truth, for grandeur no other work of this master, for intrinsic worth none but the very best of the last-described series, can at all contest this praise.

How Domenico received this commission, together with certain intrigues connected therewith, is related somewhat fully by Vasari. He tells us, first of all, that it was his already-mentioned Roman friend, Francesco Tornabuoni, who recommended the artist to his kinsman, Giovanni Tornabuoni, at Florence.

On his return to Florence, laden with honours and wealth, Domenico handed to Giovanni Francesco's letter, describing how well he had been served by the artist, and how well pleased the Pope had been with his works.

"On learning this," continues Vasari, "he conceived the thought of intrusting Domenico with some great work, both to perpetuate his own memory and to confer honour and profit on the artist. Now it so happened that the principal chapel in the Dominican convent of Sta. Maria Novella, formerly decorated by Andrea Orcagna, had been greatly damaged by the rain, in consequence of the indifferent manner in which it had been roofed in. Many of the citizens had accordingly offered to repair it, or have it repainted. But the patrons or guardians, who were members of the Ricci family, had never come to any understanding in the matter, being unable themselves to incur the expense, nor yet being willing to intrust the restoration to others, lest they should lose their right of patronage and of retaining in the chapel the escutcheons inherited of their forefathers. But Giovanni, being now very anxious for Domenico to produce some memorial of the sort for him, cast about in various directions to accomplish his wish, and definitively promised the Ricci to have everything carried out at his own expense, further to indemnify them, and have their armorial bearings introduced in the most conspicuous and honourable place in the chapel. They thus came to terms, and drew up a formal agreement to that effect. Domenico was now commissioned to paint the same subjects as had previously existed there, and the price was fixed at 1,200 gold ducats, no more nor less. However, should he feel satisfied with the work, Giovanni promised to throw in an extra two hundred. So Domenico set to work, and never rested till he had completed it in four years. This took place, entirely to Giovanni's satisfaction, in 1490 (the date of 1485 in the text of Vasari being either a mistake, a slip of the pen, or a misprint, for which see Lemonnier, v., p. 72, Notes). His patron confessed himself well served, and freely admitted that the two hundred ducats had been fully earned, adding, however, that he would be well pleased should Domenico rest satisfied with the sum first named. The master, who prized glory and honour much more than wealth, made him forthwith a present of the balance, and assured him he was much more anxious to give satisfaction than to receive his full payment. Thereupon Giovanni caused two great stone shields to be prepared—one for the Tornaquinci, the other for the Tornabuoni—and had them set up on the outer pillars of the chapel. In the interior he also introduced other coats-of-arms of that connection, of which there are sundry branches and arms, as, besides those two, the Giachinotti, the Popoleschi, the Marabottini, and the Cardinali. Afterwards, when Domenico was painting the altarpiece, Giovanni caused a very beautiful tabernacle for the Holy Sacrament to be placed within its gilt framework,

under an arch enclosing it, and on the front of this was set up a shield, one-fourth of an ell in length, bearing the arms of the Ricci, patrons of the chapel. The most amusing incident occurred at its opening. For the Ricci, after in vain searching, with much fuss and excitement, for their family arms, appealed with the legal contract to the authorities for redress. The Tornabuoni were now, however, able to show that the Ricci arms had really been set up in the most conspicuous and honourable place in the chapel; and although the Ricci clamoured that the thing was quite invisible, they were told that they were in the wrong, and that they must be satisfied at their arms having been introduced into such an honourable place as that next to the Holy Sacrament itself. And thus the magistrate ruled that it there bide, where it is still to be seen to this day."

Vasari concludes this curious account with the wise remark that poverty must ever fall a prey to wealth, which, if skilfully directed, leads easily and blamelessly to the wished-for goal.

Ghirlandajo's works cover the whole of the walls of the choir. On the ceiling are the Four Evangelists, and on the wall where are the windows we see, amongst other things, events from the lives of SS. Domenick and Peter the Martyr. But the principal series occupy both side walls—on the left the history of the Virgin Mary, from her birth to her Assumption; on the right, the history of John the Baptist, from his birth to the Baptism of Christ and the dance of the beautiful Salome before Herod. The beheading is not depicted, such scenes of martyrdom seeming to have been especially repulsive to Domenico's better taste.

The qualities of these works are in substance the same as those displayed in the Sassetti frescoes already described—splendidly worked out backgrounds, either architectural or scenic, the principal subjects simply represented, an overflow of secondary characters, with highly characteristic contemporary likenesses. Indeed, this artist usually occupies himself much less with the historical event itself than with the splendid architectural monuments drawn directly from the present, and the portraits also taken from actually living persons. This is strikingly the case with the painting representing the angel appearing to Zacharias. The scene, in which two persons only take a part, passes in the background and in the recess of the magnificent building filling up the main portion of the picture. On the right and left, in the centre and foreground, are long rows of well-executed figures with characteristic likenesses, disposed some on the higher, others on the lower, elevations of the rich edifice, without the least relation to the event itself, but in the most admirable scenic connection with the imposing architecture.

When such minor figures seem somewhat less arbitrary, the monumental buildings, themselves of the Renaissance period, appear too often altogether

out of place. Thus, for instance, the Birth of Mary is depicted in a gorgeous Renaissance apartment, such as was probably never actually realised in architecture. In the midst of this so-called artistic realism, we have, therefore, an idealism of a peculiar kind, which at least succeeds in transporting the observer to other spheres and more solemn associations. Nor are these remarks intended to imply any blame, but merely to mark the peculiarities of Ghirlandajo's style. On the other hand, many of the attitudes and motives in these works would seem to deserve censure. To us they often seem somewhat disconnected and mannered. This is more particularly the case with the female figures hurrying up, or at all in motion, as, for instance, the woman with the fruit-basket on her head in the Birth of John, the damsel pouring out water in the Birth of Mary, and the young Mary on the Temple steps, whose movements are desultory, while their draperies, causelessly blown about as if by the wind, remind one of the "Barocco" period.

The effort to outdo himself has here already led Domenico astray into devious paths, which were later on trodden by whole generations. The individual heads are also often too plastically modelled, producing the effect of so many reliefs introduced afterwards, hence not taking their places in harmony with the general pictorial effect. At the same time these individual defects or peculiarities in no way detract from the grandeur of the general impression. Some of these paintings are moreover of deep significance, regarded as finished compositions rich in figures. Such are that in which Zacharias writes down that his son is to be called John, the Betrothal of Mary to Joseph, the Baptism of Christ, and the Meeting of the Women. Speaking generally, it may be said that in these frescoes Domenico has been less successful with the figures in motion than with those, whether isolated or in groups, which stand at rest in imposing gravity and repose. These are throughout depicted with a majesty and beauty, with a boldness and love such as a master of the first rank alone could achieve. That Domenico was such a master, and that he became one through his own iron energy, no one will venture to deny.

The frescoes in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella were completed in the year 1490. Vasari speaks of some other works executed by our artist about this time, which, not having been preserved, need not further detain us here. Still, the fact is so far interesting in estimating the prodigious labour which enabled him in the course of ten years to adorn a large number of towns with a whole series of paintings. Ghirlandajo was, in truth, indefatigable. He breathed something of the Titanic spirit of his pupil, Michael Angelo, to whom certain figures in the last-described paintings have been ascribed. As the pupil seriously proposed to hew a whole mountain-side of marble into a gigantic piece of sculpture, so the master, at the acme of his creative powers, expressed his regret at not being able to get possession of the whole circuit of some town

walls for the purpose of decorating them with frescoes. At the same time he was not above the most trifling commission. He took a personal interest in everything, declined no orders, and executed them himself when his pupils thought themselves too good for the work.

No wonder that, under these circumstances, he could not remain satisfied with fresco painting. In spite of the high degree of perfection to which he, and he alone, brought the technique of this art, yet it never seemed to him sufficiently durable. His teacher, Alesso Baldovinetti, was a highly esteemed worker in mosaics. From him Domenico learnt the art, and to him is attributed the remark that painting is fleeting, but that mosaic is the true painting for eternity. The truth of this saying becomes evident when we enter the early Christian basilicas of Rome and Ravenna. However, not many works of this kind are extant from the hand of Ghirlandajo. Those on the façade of the Cathedral of Siena, ascribed to him by Vasari, have recently been recognised as the work of his brother David. The mosaic works in the Chapel of St. Zenobius in the Cathedral of Florence, intrusted to Domenico, at least jointly with his brother David and others, were not continued after the death of Lorenzo il Magnifico, and what was begun has not been preserved. On the other hand, an excellent mosaic over one of the entrances to the baptistry by the cathedral is rightly attributed to our master.

But there are still preserved a very considerable number of his panel paintings, ranging over the whole period between the years 1480 and 1490. And although they cannot compare in importance with his great frescoes, still these works are deserving of most earnest study. Yet the newly introduced oil painting, already practised by a series of Florentine artists during the fifteenth century, had as little attraction for Ghirlandajo as for Lippi and Botticelli. Like these men, he also showed a most decided preference for tempera in his panel pieces.

In nearly all European collections there are works attributed to Domenico Ghirlandajo. Some of them are undoubtedly genuine, while others are quite as certainly spurious. Others, again, seem to be by the hands of his pupils, or the joint work of himself and his pupils. A full account and estimate of all these works will be found in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's excellent "*History of Italian Painting*" (English ed., s. 491). The Berlin Gallery alone reckons seven paintings ascribed either to him or to his pupils. One of these will be referred to farther on; but here it is impossible to do more than take into consideration the more important genuine works of this master, especially such as are the most characteristic for the history of his artistic development.

The development of form and execution on his panel paintings naturally goes hand-in-hand with that on his frescoes. To the year 1480 or thereabouts, that is to say to the time when his artistic industry first shows itself in all its

vigour, are referred two Madonnas between saints in the Church of Sta. Anna at Pisa; and a delicately conceived Madonna in St. Martin's Church at Lucca cannot have been much later.

We are gradually led from these and some other paintings to his more finished compositions in this branch of his art. The beautiful altarpiece of "The Trinity with the Virgin and St. Catherine," in the Church of Sto. Spirito at Florence, was supposed by Mündler to be an early work by Ghirlandajo. But Ernst Förster would seem to place it at the head of all his tempera works (iii., s. 372). To this period belong also the exceptionally fine Madonna seated with the Infant holding a globe, between angels and archangels, and the bishops Zenobius and Justus kneeling in front, originally intended for the Church of St. Justus in Florence, but now in the Uffizi Gallery (No. 1,297); also a corresponding piece in the Academy (Gall. dei Quadri Antichi, No. 17), showing Pope Clement and St. Dominic kneeling before the Madonna, who is seated between SS. Thomas Aquinas and Dionysius Areopagita; lastly, the glorious painting approaching full perfection in the Abbey of Volterra, representing the Saviour, encircled by a halo of angels, in the act of blessing four saints and confessors, partly standing and partly kneeling, in the distant landscape below.

The year 1485 opens with a series of works either accurately dated, or whose date can be accurately fixed. They are amongst the choicest of his panel works, and may here be briefly mentioned in their chronological order.

To 1485: the altarpiece which originally completed the pictorial decorations of the Sassetti Chapel, but at present in the Florentine Academy (Gall. d. Qu. Gr., No. 50)—subject, the Birth of Christ, with the shepherds worshipping, and the Wise Men approaching.

To 1487: the round painting of the "Adoration of the Magi," No 1,295 of the Uffizi Collection.

To 1488: another large "Adoration of the Magi," at back of the choir in the Church of the Foundling Hospital (Chiesa degli Innocenti), for which see our engraving at p. 360.

To 1490: the original altarpiece of the choir of Sta. Maria Novella, painted *al fresco* by Domenico. It was sold in 1804, one-half going to Berlin and the other to Munich. It formed a triptych, the fore parts of which are in the old Pinakothek (556, 557, 558), at Munich. Here the centre portion shows the Virgin over a landscape, in a halo of light, between seraphs' heads and worshipping angels, and receiving the homage of four saints. The right wing contains St. Catherine of Siena in a niche, and the left St. Lawrence with his gridiron and the palm of victory, also in a niche. In Berlin (Gall., Nos. 74, 75, 76) are the corresponding back portions, the centre of which gives

the Resurrection of Christ, in a mountain landscape, and the volets SS. Vincent Ferreri and Anthony, also in niches. The Munich portions are of better workmanship, and undoubtedly by Domenico himself. In the Berlin paintings we easily detect the feebler touch of his pupils and his brothers.

To 1491: the large work in the Louvre (No. 204), the subject of which is Mary's visit to St. Elizabeth, in life-size figures. The scene, quite in the taste of his later frescoes, is disposed in a splendid marble Renaissance apartment, showing through an archway in the centre a bright view of a town in the distance. In front of this perspective vista Elizabeth is kneeling, in the act of affectionately upholding the Virgin. To the right and left stand the grand figures of Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome. The figure to the left taking no part in the action and looking out from the picture, is of a singularly grand appearance, while that to the right, bending forward, with fluttering robes, towards the scene of greeting, is not free from that mannerism already remarked upon in similar figures of Domenico's later frescoes. However, the master, according to Vasari, did not complete the work himself, but left it to be finished by his brothers David and Benedetto after his death. It is here engraved at p. 369.

If we take a retrospective glance at this series of dated works by this great master, we must be forcibly struck by the triple repetition of the "Adoration of the Magi." And when we consider that of the round painting in the Uffizi there is a copy, with slight variations, and probably by himself in the Pitti Palace (No. 358), and an also slightly varied copy of the work in the Academy, which may possibly be by him, in Sta. Lucia al Prato at Florence, we shall be in possession of five representations by our master of the same subject, which may therefore be presumed to have been his favourite topic. It, in truth, afforded him a rare opportunity of lavishing his powers of composition and of lifelike characterisation on individual figures. Still, the three first mentioned "Epiphanies" of 1485, 1487, and 1488 can alone be considered as distinctly fresh works, and the contrast between them is especially interesting. No doubt some improvement was effected by Domenico at each repetition. The first (1485) certainly treats the subject differently from both the others, showing the kneeling mother on one side, the three shepherds on the other, worshipping the Child, who lies on the ground, before an antique sarcophagus that serves as a crib for the ox and ass, while the three kings, with their long cavalcade, are seen approaching from a distance in the rich landscape. In the two later works, on the other hand, the Madonna holds the Child on her lap, while the kings pay him homage, kneeling in the midst of their brilliant suite. In the landscape of the background are depicted corresponding events on a reduced scale, amongst which, in the latest work, is even included the slaying of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

In all three the landscape forms a prominent feature, being least conspicuous in the round picture of the Uffizi, where the background is mainly occupied with the splendid and graceful ideal ruins of a Renaissance building, and most pronounced in the painting in the Church of the Foundlings dated 1488. Here is seen, through a roof resting on four pillars, and serving



"The Visitation." (Louvre Gallery.)

to indicate the stable, a magnificent valley prospect, including a river, mountains, castles, and towns, such as we see along the banks of the Rhine. Turreted walls rise out of the bed of the stream, which is enlivened with ships. The composition of the figures in this last picture is justly considered

the finest and most imposing. The back, middle, and foregrounds, with their rich groups in the round painting of the Uffizi Collection, blend less harmoniously than here into one perfect whole. Although the last work is the richest in figures, yet through their intelligent grouping it produces the clearest and finest effect. And with all the love with which the details of the outer world are contemplated and reproduced, there is yet diffused over all these works a grand dignity and repose, which we too often miss in similar works by the predecessors of Ghirlandajo.

Thus we behold this master, with unwearied energy, still striving after greater perfection. The productive powers of no other Florentine painter of the fifteenth century reposed in a like degree on such a many-sided and all-embracing understanding. Hence no other was in an equal degree competent to stand at the head of a school. Hence also the not inconsiderable numbers of pupils and associates that we find connected in the closest manner with the name of Ghirlandajo.

Amongst these, the first that we meet with are some of his own immediate relations—his two brothers, David and Benedetto, and his brother-in-law, Sebastiano Mainardi. Of his brothers Benedetto, who was nine years his junior, seems to have been the least independent; David, who was eleven years younger than his famous brother, having distinguished himself at least as a worker in mosaics.

But the most talented was Mainardi, who had married Domenico's half-sister. Of him there still exist, amongst other things, some fine frescoes in his native place, San Gemignano. Domenico's son Ridolfo was still too young at his father's death to be considered as one of his pupils. Later on he passed from the school of David and Benedetto Ghirlandajo to that of Fra Bartolommeo, and became an able worker amongst the artists of the new era. Of the other pupils of Domenico, Jacopo del Indaco has left no lasting name; Fr. Granacci became a noted and esteemed artist, but Michael Angelo Buonarrotti proved to be a giant pre-eminent above all his predecessors, contemporaries, and followers, and destined to impose new laws on the Art-world for all time.

It was in his fourteenth year, and therefore in 1489, that Michael Angelo entered Domenico's studio as a pupil, not long before the completion of the frescoes in Sta. Maria Novella. From the still-existing agreement, we learn that Domenico and David at that time conducted the business in common, and that the young Michael Angelo not only had no fees to pay, but was from the first in the receipt of a moderate remuneration. His biographers occupy themselves at considerable length with the relations of Domenico with his subsequently world-renowned pupil. It is likely enough that the young genius already gave proof in the frescoes of Sta. Maria Novella of his hitherto unheard-

of plastic power, and that it may have occurred to this most characteristic of artists to "correct" after his own fashion the figures of Domenico with heavy touches. Condivi relates that Domenico, who was naturally of a jealous disposition, thereupon refused to lend Michael Angelo any more of his sketches. This writer goes even so far as to assert, in harsh terms, that the pupil had not to thank his master for help of any sort. Vasari, however, in the second edition of his great work, formally protests against these insinuations of Condivi. But even he relates that at the sight of a drawing by the young Michael Angelo, Domenico cried out: "He understands more about it than I do!" But he also states that it was Domenico who recommended his young pupil to Lorenzo de' Medici, when efforts were being made to attract able young artists to the new school of sculpture about to be founded at San Marco. Nor is Vasari, at all events, of opinion that Domenico directed Michael Angelo to the study of sculpture in order to get rid of a rival in painting, for he relates the circumstance for the very purpose of showing that Ghirlandajo was not jealous of him.

Of Domenico's private relations we otherwise know little enough. Still we may read between the lines of documents connected with his artistic fame that he was happy in his domestic circumstances. He seems to have been on specially friendly terms with his brother David, with whom he conducted a sort of partnership in the profession. Vasari tells us that Domenico, who disliked household concerns, said to David: "You go marketing, and leave the work to me." On the other hand, David on one occasion warmly resented a slight shown to his brother. They happened to be jointly engaged on some work at the Abbey of Passignano, when, not receiving sufficient attention from the brethren, David cried out, full of wrath, "The excellence (*virtù*) of Domenico is worth all your pigs of abbots, or their like, that have ever lived in this convent."

Domenico was twice married. The Costanza we have mentioned as his young wife, nineteen years of age in 1480, died five years thereafter. He subsequently married a widow, by name Antonia, of San Gemignano. His son Ridolfo, by his first wife, was born in 1483.

Domenico has introduced the portrait of himself in his paintings of the "Adoration of the Magi." Vasari states that it was found in that of the Sassetti Chapel, now in the Academy. This is denied by more recent writers, who maintain that it was in that of the Foundling Hospital, the fourth to the left of the frame amongst the group of men standing somewhat in the background. But to judge from the photographs, we would feel inclined to say that the foremost kneeling shepherd in the Academy picture seems to have the same features, which seem also to occur in the round picture of the Uffizi. It is a beardless head, with resolute, rather regular and oval traits, all of which

corresponds fairly enough with the idea one forms to himself of this vigorous, restless, and enterprising artist.

The Paris work of 1491 is the last that can be ascribed to him. We certainly know that in the same year he took part in the competition for the façade of the Cathedral; but no finished work of his after this time is known to exist. That he worked at Siena during the last years of his life, as stated by Vasari, has been recently called in question. But that he enjoyed indifferent health seems to follow from the fact that his friends, the Tornabuoni, on one occasion made him a present of a hundred ducats.

The account of his death formerly wavered between the years 1493 and 1498, but we now know that he died of the plague, on January 11th, 1494, in consequence of which he was privately buried at midnight, in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, which shelters his most celebrated creations.

What he actually produced must appear very considerable when we remember that he scarcely reached his forty-fifth year. But our astonishment is greatly enhanced, when we further reflect that all the great works of which we know anything were completed during eleven years of his career. Those who are acquainted with them will agree with Vasari, who concludes his account of this artist with the words: "For these treasures and these artistic memorials, he claims our thanks and esteem, and he deserves to be honoured with more than wonted praise after his death."



ANDREA MANTEGNA.

(Born 1431; died 1506 in Mantua.)

BY ALFRED WOLTMANN.

THREE masters of the Italian Renaissance before all others fill a position in virtue of which they at the same time become founders of the following, or High Renaissance epoch. These are ANDREA MANTEGNA, LUCA Signorelli, and lastly the great LEONARDO DA VINCI, who really reaches the finished style of which the other two fall short. Common to all three is a decided scientific tendency, based especially on a searching study of the human anatomy. Mantegna's efforts are anterior in point of time to those of Lucca and Leonardo, and in order fairly to estimate his merits we must further remember that he owed much less to his predecessors than they did.

The North Italian school of the fifteenth century boasts of no such grand

focus of Art as does that of Central Italy in Florence. But local schools of real importance develop themselves independently in several places. Thus Venice forms a world of its own, where, however, painting continues long to be influenced by Byzantine taste, remaining absolutely unaffected by the great Florentine movement, which since the time of Giotto had made itself felt throughout so many parts of Italy. Padua alone of all the towns on the Venetian mainland held a more independent position, thereby becoming a standard for the development of the Venetian School itself.

During the fourteenth century much had here been produced, though almost exclusively by foreign artists. In 1303 Giotto had already finished his series of frescoes in the little church of Santa Maria dell'Arena, his most important extant works, while one of his later successors painted the baptistry by the cathedral. Connected with the same school are the frescoes of the Veronese painter Altichieri, in the chapel of San Felice, in the Campo Santo at Padua, and in the chapel of San Giorgio close by, the greatest creations of the North Italian School during the fourteenth century.

And now the visits of distinguished artists from a distance were for a time interrupted, and after a protracted struggle Padua was in 1405 finally subjected to the Venetian rule. Nor was Art here revived till the latter part of the first half of the fifteenth century. But if it had previously failed to strike root on the spot, it now did so, and there arose a local school, whose founder was Francesco Squarcione (born about 1394, died 1474). But though Crowe and Cavalcaselle's more recent researches have tended to diminish the importance of this artist, he still claims the merit of having founded in his native town an institution for giving instruction and training in Art.

Squarcione was the son of a well-to-do notary, but was himself brought up to the trade of a tailor and embroiderer, though showing from the first a decided inclination for Art. In his youth he made long journeys, apparently even as far as Greece, after which he set up a painter's studio in his native town, attracted many pupils, gradually reaching the number of 157, and assumed towards them a position that earned for him the title of Father of the Painters. The old writers are all of accord that his importance was due not so much to his own creative faculty as to his sound judgment and instructions. This is fully confirmed by the works sent forth under his name, and which are of extraordinary diversity, according to the various hands employed by him as assistants. For he both taught and undertook commissions, his own moderate endowments being supplemented by his clear understanding, and by the good models for study offered by his collections—paintings, drawings, casts after the antique, partly picked up on his travels, and partly afterwards completed. He also possessed the faculty of discovering and utilising genius, as shown especially in the discernment with which he attracted Andrea Mantegna to his school.



"Meeting of the Margrave Lodovico of Mantua with his son, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga." (Fresco in the Camera dei Sposi, Castello di Corte, Mantua.)

Andrea came of a poor country family, of which we know nothing further than that his father's name was Blasius. He was born in 1431, and passed at an early age into the studio of Squarcione, who adopted him as his son, and as such he was entered in 1441, when but ten years' old, in the confraternity of painters. His talents were soon developed, and the old records speak of a work painted in 1448 for the high altar of Santa Sofia, on which the young artist had expressly stated that he had painted it in his seventeenth year. But this work had already disappeared in the seventeenth century, and as other productions of his early years are not in a condition to enable us to form an opinion of their merits, we cannot make his acquaintance as an artist till he joined those assistants of Squarcione who painted the Chapel of St. James the Elder and of St. Christopher in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua.

These frescoes are the greatest achievements of the Padua School, and the only work produced in North Italy that can be compared with the grand wall-paintings executed in Florence in the interval between Masaccio and Ghirlandajo. The chapel belonged to the Ovetari family, whose last descendant, Antonio Ovetaro, bequeathed it in 1447 to Jacopo Leone, on the condition of 700 gold ducats being applied immediately after his death to its embellishment with representations from the history of the two above-mentioned saints. We are thus enabled to determine the beginning, though not the completion of the series; for such a comprehensive work must have obviously been spread over many years, though several hands were employed upon it.

The chapel, on the east side of the south arm of the transept, consists of a roofed-in space in the cross-vault, presenting right and left two fully enclosed walls with a pentagonal apse. The ceiling of the space covered in was evidently painted first, after which the walls, which show three series of pictures, running from above downwards, and the apse probably simultaneously. The four evangelists on the front of the vault, erroneously attributed by Vasari to Mantegna, are somewhat rude productions of the older tendency in Squarcione's workshop. The forms and draperies are dry and unsightly, and the heads expressionless, though a certain skill is displayed in the perspective, and the ornamental details show evident study, if somewhat lacking in taste.

The large wall on the right contained the history of St. Christopher—the upper row two representations in which he appears not as a giant, but as a stately young man in secular garb. In a landscape he meets the King on horseback with his suite, and in the King's apartment both are engaged in discussion, a dwarf waiting at the door. This is by recent critics attributed to Zoppo. The compositions do not lack skill, the artist aiming especially at vigorous modelling; but the figures look like copies of stiff, plastic works rather than reproductions from life, an effect which is enhanced by the cold, metallic colouring.

In the second row we have Christopher honoured by the soldiers, according to the inscription the work of Ansuino. It is a perceptible improvement on the foregoing, really skilful at least in the perspective, and happy in its treatment of the architectural scenery. But the weakest picture is that close by, of Christopher bearing the Infant Saviour over the river, and painted by Bono. The plastic conception here betrays itself in its excessive clumsiness and the disagreeable disproportions between the several parts of the body.

But by the side of these poor and tentative efforts there is suddenly displayed an exceptional artistic talent in Niccolo Pizzolo. In the five enclosed spaces on the vault of the apse he painted God the Father in the "mandorla," that is, almond-shaped nimbus, and SS. Peter, Paul, James the Greater and Christopher. The four fathers of the Church, in small round spaces below are again by another hand, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, apparently the inventions of the inlayer in wood, LORENZO DI LANDINARO. But then comes Pizzolo again in the two upper pictures of the left wall in the front part of the chapel, which are not expressly referred to him by Vasari, but their resemblance with the above-mentioned works by his hand is not to be mistaken. They represent the calling of the Apostles John and James in a wild rocky landscape, and James exorcising the possessed. The uniform plastic character of the school in the forms and draperies is here also conspicuous, but it is accompanied by greater intelligence, better plastic models, and for the most part greater accuracy of detail, while still, however, lacking in perfect harmony of all the parts. An open eye for nature enables the artist to infuse greater animation into the general treatment, the types become nobler, and all stiffness of expression disappears. And if the draughtsmanship still preponderates, a sense for the blending of the tints, for a pleasing general effect of a cool, light tone now for the first time makes its appearance in this school. Pizzolo thus forms the transition stage between the older manner and Mantegna's style.

The common feature of Squarcione's school, seemingly traceable to his own teaching, is the tendency to work directly on plastic models, the infusion of the real and life-like first into sculpture, and thence into painting, combined with rich ornamental accessories, which often, however, become far-fetched and overladen. Squarcione hoped in this way to succeed in mastering form; but he was deficient in knowledge and a feeling for nature, while his plastic models were badly chosen and injudiciously used, all his essays thus resulting in a forbidding awkwardness and a lifeless rigidity. His method was of itself incapable of any further expansion or improvement, except by such pupils alone as were able by means of better models to escape from his manner.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle have shown what these better models were—the works of some Florentine artists, at that period for some time engaged in Padua. Of these the most influential was the great sculptor DONATELLO, who

here executed the equestrian statue of Gattamelata and the bronze reliefs in the Campo Santo. But there were also the painters PAOLO UCCELLO and FRA FILIPPO LIPPI, whose works produced in Padua have not, however, survived to our day. In Donatello the Paduan artists found a careful study of antique plastic art, but also a bold, vivid grasp of nature—more harmonious forms and rythmical lines, combined with action and feeling. They found nothing repellant in his plastic harshness, which they understood how to fill with inward life and expression, while his study of perspective stimulated their own cultivation of the architectural and ornamental elements.

Probably none of the painters working here were wholly free from Donatello's influence, but Pizzolo is the first to yield unreservedly to it, possessing ample artistic feeling to grasp his inspiration. The anonymous traveller of the beginning of the sixteenth century, whose notes are published by Morelli, states that Pizzolo worked jointly with Fra Filippo Lippi in the Capella del Podestà at Padua; and in the accounts of the Campo Santo entries occur in the years 1446, 1447, and 1448 of a "Nicolò depentor" amongst Donatello's assistants. This may perhaps refer to Pizzolo, in which case we should have traces of his personal contact with the Florentine artist. Pizzolo's active career, however, was of short duration, besides the works in the Church of the Eremitani Vasari mentioning only one other by his hand. But if he did little it was all good, and had he cultivated painting as assiduously as he did arms, he would have attained greater perfection and longer days. But with his pugnacious disposition he naturally made many enemies, and so it happened that one day on returning from work he was set upon and murdered. So far Vasari.

And now the completion of the works devolved on Mantegna, who was clearly at first influenced by Pizzolo, and through him led to study the Florentine style. We meet him in the second row of the frescoes illustrating the history of St. James. In the Baptism of Hermogenes by the Apostle the simple reality of the chief incident is very striking, the somewhat meagre, lanky figures are rendered with great simplicity and tolerable accuracy, though still halting in their gestures, while the heads are by no means lacking in a certain earnestness of expression. In the secondary figures, the two youths looking on with curiosity, and others standing round, but especially a man seen from behind, real life is for the first time awakened. Here a naïve contemplation of reality and portrait-like character are blended with statuesque formality, and the stony harshness of his older fellow-workers disappears, the draperies alone with their short, sharp folds still betraying the old manner. The sight of these frescoes elicits from Göthe the exclamation: "What a sharp decided actuality in these paintings!" (*Italienische Reise*). For they are not merely pictures, but the very thing itself, and if still somewhat severe, studied and laboured, they are yet the forerunners of all later development.

Surprising also is the improvement in the perspective: the centre of vision is placed high up, and the city architecture forming the background is simply but excellently drawn, revealing the conscious adoption of the Renaissance. In this respect, Mantegna surpasses his associate Ansuino, while the example of Altichieri's frescoes in San Giorgio with their rich backgrounds is by him complemented by a Florentine knowledge of classic forms.

Henceforth his powers grow with each successive picture. The next, "James before the judgment seat of Herod Agrippa," is already freer and more vigorous in the action and attitudes. His love of the antique is conspicuous in the pervading classic garb, and the Roman equipment of the soldiers, whereas his contemporaries elsewhere universally adhered to the dress of the day. A Roman triumphal arch also rises high in the background.

In the two lowest pictures Mantegna suddenly shifts the point of vision. Here, considering it reasonable to make the ideal point of the work coincide with the real one of the observer, for the former he relinquishes the free choice to which the artist is entitled. Donatello's power of adapting every piece of sculpture to his stand-point may have been the occasion of this experiment; here, however, Mantegna confounded the laws of painting and sculpture. We do not see the level of the ground, because the spectator's eye lies somewhat lower. The feet of the figures well in front stand on edge, while the lower limbs of those farther off disappear more and more the further back they are placed. This problem he deliberately proposed to himself on scientific grounds, for its sake subjecting the freedom of the artistic conception to a strain all the more striking that in the upper series, where we might have expected a lower centre of vision, it is placed at a higher elevation, the sudden shifting appearing thus utterly unmotivated. However, in the picture representing James stopping short on his way to death in order to give his blessing to a Convert, he solved the difficulty with so much skill and knowledge that this work will continue to retain a permanent interest as a remarkable experiment in a tentative epoch.

Excellently treated is the perspective of the Roman arched gateway, whence emerges the procession, every individual figure presenting an unexpected study of foreshortening, but, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark, the human figure is here treated as a mere geometrical unity, subjected to the same laws as architecture. They are purely individual studies of so many models, admirably executed from a given point of view, but their statuesque and isolated appearance interferes with the flow of the action.

He treated the "Execution of St. James" in a similar spirit. But in the lower row on the opposite wall he appears more sober and a greater master of his technical acquirements. Here the "Execution of St. Christopher" and the removal of his body are brought together in one picture that has unfortunately suffered

more than the rest. He again proposes to himself deliberate **perspective**



From the Frescoes on the Vault in the Camera dei Sposi, Castello di Corte, Mantua.

problems, but the study of nature is more vigorous, and the action is unfolded, so to say, with more directness of purpose.

Lastly, to Mantegna also must be ascribed the "Ascension of the Virgin" on the wall enclosing the apse. It had passed for a work by Pizzolo, though not named as such by Vasari, and the most received opinion now is in favour of Mantegna. In the upper group of the "Madonna and Angels" there prevails a noble solemnity, while in the lower, which has unfortunately suffered severely, the attitudes of the Apostles are free and expressive, and the folds of the draperies simpler, while the whole is marked by a clearness and cheerfulness such as had not yet been seen in the school of Padua.

During the progress of these works there were produced some dated easel pieces, the earliest in 1453, for the Church of Santa Giustina now in the Brera at Milan. It consists of twelve compartments in two rows enclosed in a lancet frame, below St. Luke the Evangelist writing and four saints standing, above the Pietà with Mary and John and four other saints. In individual figures feeling and realism are strongly marked, while the statuesque element is moderated. A more delicate balancing of the tones and less heaviness in the shading display a further stride towards better colouristic effects. The "St. Euphemia" in the Naples Museum, marked 1454, though badly preserved, still vies in its severe classic dignity with the best of the above-described wall paintings.

But if Donatello educated our artist's sense of form, thus leading him to infuse dignity into the old plastic tendency of the school of Padua, Mantegna himself at the same time reveals a learned bent that cannot be traced to the same source. He stood in close association with the learned circles of the university town, and his intimacy with several men of letters, as, for instance, the epigrammatist *Felice Feliciano*, is shown by the flattering complimentary poems and books dedicated to him. Considering his position he possessed an unusual degree of culture, and felt a great interest in antiquarian matters, applied himself to studies of this description, and acquired a taste for forming collections. The architecture of his pictures is frequently some restoration in the spirit of the antique, including at times correct copies of old inscriptions often recently discovered, and he likewise sought to reproduce classic forms in costumes, vases, and other objects.

In the same learned sense he treated the study of perspective. His knowledge of the classic writers and of mythology becomes constantly more conspicuous, so that no other painter of the fifteenth century gives more decided expression to the love of antiquity by which the Italian peoples were inspired at that time. Were we to think of Mantegna alone we might perhaps be disposed to fancy that this learned bent was not altogether beneficial to him, possibly even hindering him from yielding unreservedly to his full creative genius. But we must still remember that his works were furthermore the starting-point for the essays and aspirations of many other artists.

But the learned master at the same time knew how to perfect his practical, in fact his specific artistic training, in this respect his relation to *Jacopo Bellini* being decisive. This Venetian master, whose sons *Gentile* and *Gioranni* subsequently brought painting in their native place to perfection, formed from the first no very violent contrast to the Paduan tendency, as affected by the Florentine artist. He had himself visited Florence in his youth, and had moreover felt the influence of the classic tendencies, though at the same time acquiring a powerful command over life, colour, and the faculty of genuine pictorial exposition.

Whilst *Jacopo* was engaged for a lengthened period in Padua, Mantegna associated with him and his sons, and married his daughter Niccolosia. The exact date of this event has not been ascertained, though it must certainly have been some time before 1458, when a letter of the Margrave of Mantua shows him already as the father of a family. It speaks of six, amongst whom, however, may be included the whole household, servants and all,

Vasari relates that this alliance with an artist looked upon as a rival by Squarcione, so enraged the latter that he henceforth became the declared enemy of his adopted son. His former recognition of Mantegna's achievements was changed to open censure, and the works in the Church of the Eremitani were now suddenly discovered to be hard as stone, lacking all the charm of life. This, Vasari adds, nettled Andrea, but seeing that the reproach was not altogether groundless, he tried in the last work in the chapel, viz., the "Death of Christopher," to get rid of those defects, though without giving up his study of the antique, being always convinced that the statues of the ancients were more excellent than living forms.

But with all our deference for Vasari, when describing his own personal experiences, or quoting genuine records, we know what little regard he otherwise had for strict historic accuracy, and how readily he gave free scope to his imagination for the sake of picturesque effect, and the sequence of events. And this is surely one of the numerous cases in which he indulges in his taste for arbitrary and mythical narratives. We cannot say whether any rupture really took place between the teacher and his pupil, but in any case Squarcione could not have charged Mantegna with the statuesque look of his figures, as Vasari says, for this was the common characteristic of his own school, whereas Mantegna's special merit was his powerful, life-like treatment.

Our artist's works had meantime brought his name into well-deserved repute. Lodovico Gonzaga, Margrave of Mantua, a captain of some renown and an able ruler of his little state, made an attempt to attract Andrea to his court, over which he was anxious to shed a lustre by his patronage of men of letters and encouragement of Art. A letter dated January 5th, 1457, shows that the negotiations had already been some time in progress, but though not disinclined

to yield, Mantegna long hesitated to leave his old home and settle in Mantua. Besides, he was for some time still detained there by other commissions, and especially an order from the protonotary of Verona. He seems at last to have settled in Mantua towards the end of the year 1459. The Margrave had placed a barge at his service, and assigned him a monthly allowance of fifteen ducats, a dwelling, corn and wood, besides the prospect of larger undertakings, which in this instance did not prove deceptive.

The work for Gregorio Carraro, apostolic protonotary and abbot elect of San Zeno, in Verona, had seemingly been already completed. It was the great altarpiece in the Church of San Zeno—Mary with the Infant Saviour and several Angels, on the side panels, SS. Peter and Paul, John the Baptist and Laurence. The style he had developed in Mantua here attains its highest point; there is still something isolated in the figures, though each in itself presents a certain severe grandeur. The work was carried off by the French in 1797, and on its return from Paris the smaller panels of the predella remained behind. Two of them, "Christ on Mount Olivet" and the "Assumption," are now in the Tours Museum; the third and finest "Christ on the Cross," in the Louvre. It is a composition with numerous figures breathing a lofty pathos and rich dramatic action.

The time of Mantegna's withdrawal to Mantua is nearly coincident with the permanent settlement of his brothers-in-law, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, in Venice. Henceforth the school of Padua loses its independent significance; but this was not until it had produced a lasting influence on the development of Art throughout North Italy. But for Mantegna, personally, the severance from his old associations was beneficial, as he was thus the more easily enabled to tone down much of the ruggedness of his earlier manner.

Andrea was now engaged on the decoration of several palaces for the Margrave, his commission extending to altarpieces for the chapels and designs for the hangings. Vasari, who says little about easel-paintings during this period, mentions for the Chapel of the Castello in Mantua an altarpiece with figures of moderate size but rare beauty. This may possibly be the small triptych in the Uffizi, which at all events came from the effects of the House of Gonzaga. It contains in the centre the "Adoration of the Kings," on the volets the "Presentation in the Temple" and the "Resurrection." Charm and taste in the disposition are here blended with the most delicate execution; the tones are more nicely balanced, but the shadows here and there still too heavy. The treatment resembles a miniature in its minuteness, and the lights are partly hatched in gold. With all the statuesque severity of the slim figures, the realistic feeling asserts itself more and more, and fresh pleasant motives from actual life are interwoven with the subject, as, for instance, in the "Presentation," the boy in the group of spectators placing his finger to his lips.

Of the other paintings of this period the "St. Sebastian" in the Vienna



From the "Triumphal Procession of Caesar." (Original in Hampton Court.)

Belvedere would seem to be the most important. Here Mantegna proposes to himself the problem of depicting the whole figure thoroughly penetrated by

bodily pain. Fragments of ancient statues and architecture in coloured marbles form the scenery, a pilaster on one side containing the Greek inscription TO EPFON TOY ANAPEOY (the work of Andrea). Of a similar character is the triumphant heroic figure of St. George in a stone frame decked with festoons in the Academy of Venice.

Mantegna's disposition to seek and overcome difficulties inspired the singular composition of the "Mourning Scene over the body of Christ" in the Brera at Milan. The corpse foreshortened in a masterly though somewhat disagreeable manner is a bold study after nature. On the left are the profiles of two repellant old women in tears, and this work is clearly the identical "Dead Christ, foreshortened," which was found at his death in his studio. It was not a work executed to order, or "for sale" but painted merely as a study.

This period is also well represented in the Berlin Museum by a "Presentation in the Temple" in half-length figures, of a very simple, earnest, but expressive character, by a head, the portrait of an aged ecclesiastic of startling truth to nature and vigour of expression, though in the colour somewhat dull and heavy; lastly by a "Madonna and Child," the frame of which is surrounded by little figures of angels with the instruments of the Passion. But that the fine "Mourning over the Dead Christ" in the same Museum, and long ascribed to Mantegna, cannot have been painted by him, is now tolerably well understood by those competent to judge. It is very probably a work by Luigi Vivarini.

Besides painting, Mantegna also applied himself to another technique, that of copperplate engraving, which he was probably the first in the whole of North Italy to cultivate. The intercourse of this region with the north, the true home of this Art, was quite sufficient to allow of his procuring Low Country and German copperplates, which served him as prototypes. And whereas most other Italian engravers contented themselves with multiplying the works of others, Mantegna was a true "peintre-graveur," embodying his own inventions in this technique.

That he had already practised it in Padua appears from the unfinished plate of "The Flagellation" (Bartsch, 1.) agreeing in style with the Eremitani frescoes. "The Christ in Limbo," with its remarkably inflated draperies, must also belong to the same period. At first his style is somewhat unfinished, consisting of simple, oblique strokes, which he was also accustomed to employ in his drawings, and which he again met with in older woodcuts from across the Alps. This rather dry manner, which Bartsch calls the "pointed style," later on undergoes certain modifications, according as Mantegna becomes acquainted with better specimens, doubtless including plates of Schongauer. On the whole, however, the significance of his engravings lies not so much in their technique as in the draughtsmanship and invention, which reveal to us a new phase of our artist's genius. The Madonna seated on a low stool with the

Infant in her lap (Bartsch, 8), is remarkable for its deep inward feeling. More crude, but of thrilling effect in the motion of the hands and the inclination of the head, is the "Christ seated on the Tombstone" (Bartsch, 7), while the three grand figures—Christ risen from the dead between SS. Andrew and Longinus (Bartsch, 6) approach the works in San Zeno in their monumental dignity. The figure of St. Sebastian (Bartsch, 10), in superbly animated bearing surpasses the Vienna picture in the dignity of the motive.

The "Descent from the Cross" (Bartsch, 4) is the first grand embodiment of a thought which henceforth constantly returns in the history of Art, but which in the midst of countless variations never quite forsakes certain features of Mantegna's original invention. It inspired Dürer's design in the so-called "Green Passion" of 1504 (Albertina), as well as Signorelli's paintings in La Fratta. It reappears in an engraving by Marc Antonio (Bartsch, 32) presumably after Raphael, and in another (Bartsch, 4), until Daniele da Volterra infused new life into it in his famous work in Santa Trinità, Rome, which produced such an ineffaceable impression on Rubens.

The "Descent of the Cross" is rivalled by another great engraving, the "Burial of Christ" (Bartsch, 3), which well illustrates Mantegna's pathetic vein, and his power of representing the most vivid passion with extreme boldness, though also with terrible crudity. The two men face to face bearing the body between them, and the backward motion of the foremost figure are finely treated; and the motive was adopted by Raphael in his "Burial," the so-called Borghese work of that name, painted in 1507 for Perugia, as well as by Holbein for the last scene of his panel painting of the Passion for Bâle. The figure of John crying out in agony, with his hands raised and clasped together, the very impersonation of the most heartrending grief, could not fail to deeply impress Dürer also, who introduced the same figure into a little "Crucifixion" of the year 1508.

Under Mantegna's influence there was developed a whole school of copper-plate engravers, prominent amongst whom were Zoan Andrea and Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, after which names may be mentioned Nicoletto da Modena, Benedetto Montagna, Mocetto, the two Campagnolas, and lastly Jacopo de' Barbari himself. This school brought the technique to gradual perfection, while still adhering to the spirit of Mantegna's genius. These engravers mostly reproduce his compositions and motives, work after his designs and copy his plates. Many of his inventions survive to our time only in the works of such followers, as, for instance, the beautiful "Holy Family" engraved by Giovan Antonio da Brescia (Bartsch, 5). The Madonna with an expression of indescribable yearning, holds on her lap the Infant standing with his left arm around her neck and his right grasping at a flower held up to him by the Baptist standing below. On either side are Elizabeth by her son and Joseph leaning on his staff.

Even the decorative plates of these engravers are evidently to be traced back to Mantegna, their plagiaries of his intellectual property having often caused him much irritation. But being unable to protect himself legally against such thefts, he is said on one occasion to have taken the law into his own hands, causing one of his assistants to inflict a sound drubbing on Zoan Andrea.

Mantegna's chief work during the sway of Lodovico in Mantua was the decoration of an apartment in the Castello di Corte, completed in 1474. At present the place is attached to the Record office, and the paintings have suffered much, two walls being entirely and another nearly obliterated, the fourth and the ceiling alone being still preserved. The name of the room, "Camera dei Sposi" (the Nuptial Chamber) derives from the subjects of the paintings, which represent the Margrave and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, with their whole household in diverse situations.

The partly effaced wall shows a family group in an open hall, the Margrave and his consort seated in the centre, with other figures mounting the steps, amongst them some heads still capable of being recognised. The adjoining wall shows in the spaces between the windows, first of all, a second family group—the meeting of Lodovico with his young son, Cardinal Francesco. Two little boys are greeting their brother, who is accompanied by an elderly ecclesiastic, with other members of the household closing in the group. They are dressed in the somewhat stiff garb of the time, short ornamented cloaks with flaps thrown back, little mantles with sharply broken folds, and tight hose, or else long sacerdotal robes, the figures mostly in profile, or else somewhat awkward in their motions, but still sharply and truthfully portrayed, with characteristic and expressive heads. An ideal view of Rome forms the background. Beyond the entrance to the room the composition is continued with the suite of the Margrave in attendance, servants with horses and dogs, where the animals also are excellent studies from nature; in the fanciful landscape are buildings similar to those which later on appear in the *Hypnerotomachia* of Polifilo.

But in his ideal compositions the master appears much freer than in these realistic groups of actual figures from the life. Over the door dividing these two compartments seven winged *amorini* support a votive tablet with the inscription :—

ILL LODOVICO II M M
PRINCIPI OPTIMO AC
FIDE INVICTISSIMO
ET ILL BARBARÆ EIVS
CONIVGI MVLIERV M GLOR
INCOMPARABILI
SVVS ANDREAS MANTINIA
PATAVVS OPVS HOC TENVE
AD EORVM DECVS ABSOLVIT
ANNO MCCCCLXXIII

Here the artist describes himself as "their Andrea Mantegna," implying a somewhat close personal relationship with the Prince and his family. The *amorini* themselves display such knowledge of form and genuine classic grace, combined with such a charming expression that they look like the forerunners of Raphael's *putti*.

Lastly, the ceiling contains medallions of Roman emperors, and scenes from the myths of Hercules, Orpheus, and Arion, in grisaille, producing the effect of reliefs, with a round section in the centre, looking like an opening through which we fancy we get a view of the blue sky and the light clouds without. Above is constructed a balustrade on which a peacock is perched, and over which are female figures, and below them a Moorish woman looking down into the apartment, whilst lively little naked cupids are posing on the narrow edge of the rails, thrusting their heads through the openings, or else leaning over.

In the Chapel of the Eremitani Mantegna had already essayed to adapt the real centre of vision of the observer to the picture itself occupying a fixed position in space. Of this principle he now makes a further application still more pregnant with consequences. The paintings of vaults and ceilings had been conventionally so conceived as if they were painted on a flat surface and then adjusted to the vault. Mantegna proceeds differently. Refusing to look on the ceiling as limiting the space, he treats the paintings as if they were real objects seen from below and moving in the distance over our heads.

Thus arises a new principle in the decorations of ceilings, the so-called "di sotto in sù," that is, "from below upwards;" and, strange to say, the same principle was simultaneously applied by another painter, MELOZZO DA FORLÌ, who in 1472 began to paint the Tribuna of the Church of the Apostles in Rome, of which only a few fragments are still preserved in St. Peter's and the Quirinal palace. But no personal relations between the two artists are ascertained to have existed. The step made by them was still a starting point for the gradual development of that style of vault-painting aiming at illusion, and towards which the theoretical study of perspective, at that time so assiduously pursued, naturally led. It was later on brought to its highest perfection by Correggio, while in the Barocco period it ended by becoming the sole end and object of painting.

We have meantime some further details of our artist's personal relations, especially through his correspondence with his patron. In a letter written towards the end of 1463 from the Castello Goito, he complains of the irregularity of his payments, whereupon the prince orders prompt remittances to be made him. In 1466 he visited Florence, whence Giovanni Aldobrandini, the Margrave's agent there, writes to the prince in very laudatory terms concerning Mantegna, whom he speaks of as possessing much talent, judgment, and intelligence, as well in many other things as in painting. Other accounts also

represent him as a man of genial parts and of sociable manners. When the highly cultivated Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga prepares to visit Bologna in 1472, he asks his father, besides the singer Malagista to allow Andrea also to accompany him, adding that he would be delighted to show the artist his cameos, bronzes, and antiques, and to study them with him.

But Mantegna was withal of an irritable and suspicious disposition. He easily fell a-quarrelling with his neighbours, would fly into a passion if he thought himself badly used, and on such occasions, once even when a tailor had cut up a piece of cloth belonging to him, was wont to complain to the Margrave, who always listened to him with great forbearance and kindness. In 1466 Lodovico lent him 100 ducats for the purpose of enlarging his dwelling, and in 1473 seems to have supplied the expenses of a house that our artist engaged the architect, Giovanni da Padova, to build for him near the Church of San Sebastiano. But Mantegna became constantly more exacting in his claims on the prince's favour, feeling that Lodovico could boast of possessing in him what no other contemporary Italian ruler enjoyed. And at a time when Leonardo da Vinci had not yet entered the service of Lodovico Sforza in Milan, such a proud boast was certainly not without justification.

Lodovico II. died on June 12th, 1478, but Mantegna continued to be equally favoured both during the short rule of his son Federigo, and that of Francesco II., who succeeded the latter in 1484. Various princes applied to the Court of Mantua in order to procure works by the hand of our artist. When Lorenzo il Magnifico was in Mantua in 1483, he visited Mantegna's house, and manifested great interest in his decorative paintings and collection of antiques. In 1485 Andrea finished the "Madonna with some other Figures," for Eleonore of Este, Duchess of Ferrara, and mother-in-law of the Margrave Francesco. This is probably the magnificent work with nearly life-size half-length figures, now in the possession of Lady Eastlake in London. The naked Infant, painted with great thoroughness, stands on a balustrade before his mother with his arm encircling her neck; on the right is Joseph, and on the left Elizabeth earnestly contemplating them, with her son John, who is looking round to the spectator and pointing towards the Saviour. The master has rarely breathed such a pure, thoughtful, majesty into the features of his Madonnas, while the delicate and spiritual harmony of the whole has been equalled by Leonardo and Raphael alone in similar compositions.

Meantime he had so risen in repute that Innocent VIII. summoned him to Rome, where in 1488-1490 he painted the little chapel of the recently-erected Villa Belvedere at the Vatican. This was his masterpiece in the domain of ecclesiastical painting; hence all the more is it to be regretted that an enlargement of the Vatican Museum under Pius VI. involved its total destruction. Above the door was the "Madonna worshipped by the Pope;" on the side walls

the "Nativity" and "Adoration of the Kings;" over the altar "The Baptism of Christ;" in semi-circular lunettes, scenes from the Old Testament in grisaille; in the intervening spaces the figures of the Virtues, and on the vault the Evangelists. Vasari says that here he painted with the finish of a miniature. In the inscription he described himself as "*Eques armatae militiae*," having probably been knighted by his patron of Mantua.

Of the works produced during his residence in Rome at this time one only has survived, the little "Madonna," according to Vasari painted for Lorenzo il Magnifico, now in the Uffizi. It represents Mary seated in a wild rocky landscape with the sleeping Infant in her lap—one of his most touching pieces.

Extant letters afford us more particulars of his life at this time than at any other period. The correspondence with the Margrave Francesco gives proof of a close intimacy between the prince and the artist, based on mutual respect and confidence. Nothing can be more honourable than the letter of recommendation to Innocent VIII., given him by Francesco, and in which he is called "a most distinguished master." And the artist in his turn at the papal court showed himself proud of the house that he served. He reports to his prince all occurrences of any interest, giving a full account of Zizim, brother of the Sultan, Bajazet II., taken prisoner by the Knights of Rhodes, and held in honourable captivity in Rome. He even sends a portrait of this celebrity, who often visited the palace where Andrea was painting.

With the Pope he is not quite satisfied, his Holiness being very unpunctual in his payments, while lavishing money on feasts and entertainments. He often yearns for home, makes bitter reflections on the difference between the ways of Rome and Mantua, and begs the Prince to console him with a few lines. He commends his family to his sovereign's care, requests his assent to his son, Lodovico's, accepting a preferment offered him by the Pope, and on one occasion gives expression to his warm feelings of devotion with the words: "I am, so to say, a ward of the illustrious House of Gonzaga, and have ever learned to hold it in honour, whence also it is that I am now here." The Margrave on his part always meets him with the same genuine kindness, inquires most affectionately after his health on the occasion of an illness, and earnestly wishes to have him back again to be present at his wedding with Isabella of Este, considering the artist's fertile imagination to be indispensable at such festivities. But Andrea was prevented by his indisposition from complying with this request.

When he did return there awaited him a great work, that had been long planned and already partly begun. This was the "Triumph of Cæsar," consisting of nine large works in distemper on paper, applied to canvas, and executed to decorate a state apartment in Castel San Sebastiano, to replace

some worked tapestry ; but it passed later on with the whole Mantuan Collection, into the possession of Charles I. of England, and is now in Hampton Court, though unfortunately in a very sad plight owing to injudicious over-painting. The work subsequently became widely known through Andrea Andreani's chiaroscuro woodcuts, and some of its episodes were engraved in copper by the artist himself.

In the first picture the procession is opened with martial strains, then come soldiers with their ensigns and effigies of the gods, with a large bust of Roma solemnly borne in front, followed by representations of battles and conquests supported on poles. On the second piece we see colossal statues of divinities, headed by Jupiter and Juno in a chariot. In the background warlike implements, battering-rams and catapults, with piles of captured arms on the rising ground. In the third painting still more costly plunder—sinewy young men straining every nerve under the burden of the gold and other valuables they are bearing along. These groups are continued on the fourth of the series, after which come steers intended for the sacrifice, strikingly small in proportion to the size of the human figures, just as we see them on antique reliefs. Solemn figures of priests and spirited youths walk by the side of the beasts. Then follows a second band of musicians, whose grand flourish seems in a way to prepare us for increased splendour in the rest of the procession. In the fifth piece are introduced four mighty elephants, with tapestry trappings, flower-baskets on their heads, and flaming candelabra on their backs, the flames of which are nourished by beautiful and highly animated youths.

In the sixth piece are shown the richest rewards of victory, sumptuous vases of precious stones on trays, with the equipments of conquered princes and kings, borne along by single soldiers on high poles. The load is so great that a sturdy old warrior is fain to lay it down for a moment, in order not to succumb beneath its weight. There follows in the seventh picture a sad, tragic group of captives: matrons in their dejection still maintaining a dignified carriage, young girls and beautiful maidens, mothers with their children, and here especially a thrilling episode—a woman with her youngest child in her arms and another a little older by her side, who is clinging to her hand and suddenly refuses to go any farther, until the grandmother bends down coaxingly over him. These are followed by the husband, silent, sinister-looking, but still composed. Nor is it very easy for them to preserve their dignity in their misfortune, for the mimes and jester are already treading on their heels, and are continued on the eighth piece, indulging in unrestrained merriment and buffoonery, shouting, bounding and jeering at the captives, some of whom look round with a glance of ineffable contempt.

And now more warriors approach in serried ranks, after which in the last picture, closed in by the throng, and by jubilant children, the great triumphal

chariot with mighty Cæsar throned aloft in majestic calm. Before him goes a youth bearing the standard on which are inscribed the words : *Veni, Vidi, Vici*.



"Madonna with John and Magdalene." (London National Gallery.)

The artist had not originally intended to close the procession immediately with this group, but seems to have been compelled to do so by the exigencies

of space. A tenth division, however, has been preserved in a copperplate (Bartsch, 11), where we see the procession gradually dying away, with figures from all classes of the people following the chariot, and the first rows of the troops who are now about to march past *en masse*.

The love of Italian culture for classic times, and its efforts to again in some sense revive them, is grandly and sumptuously illustrated in these compositions. No other painter had hitherto thrown himself so completely and so confidently into this world of the past. Doubtless many Florentine artists, also, as for instance, Sandro Botticelli, had handled classic subjects in a way to please the cultivated classes. Still it had mostly been in a dilettante spirit. The fanciful and restless temperament of Sandro himself was little suited to catch the real breath and style of antiquity, and his inventions, even where individual motives are derived from classic works of Art, still bear quite a modern stamp.

Mantegna on the contrary had become thoroughly imbued with the old ideas; lived, so to say, in the world of the past, with which long continued study had rendered him familiar, as far as it was known to his day. He was, moreover, profoundly penetrated with the style and character of ancient Art, by which he was daily surrounded, and which had revealed to him the glorious forms of classic life. But his taste for antique models was with him inseparably associated with a love of nature. If from the one he acquires dignity of carriage, purity of form, noble proportions, and an ideal stamp, the other imparts vigour, animation and directness to his compositions. Göthe, who has devoted a suggestive essay to the "Triumph of Cæsar," very finely remarks that "the study of the antique gives the form, that of nature dexterity and the breath of life." He remarks further that these two elements are not yet thoroughly reconciled in Mantegna's works. "It was, however, the noblest conflict an artist could ever be engaged in," having to be fought out at a time "when the very highest Art, still in a state of development, had not yet rendered a clear account to itself of its own tendencies and powers."

Here also the plastic style still predominates in the figures as well as in the closely falling draperies, though so far moderated as was required by pictorial representation. The composition itself is to a certain extent carried out in the style of a relief, the close adherence to which, combined with moderate depth of view so far justifies the "*di sotto in sù*" principle here again introduced in the treatment of the perspective, concealing as it does the ground itself and showing the feet of the most advanced figures as if on edge. But there is here no question of the arbitrary experiments of the Padua frescoes. Within the limits of the conditions finally settled, the spectacle is unfolded to view with a noble, unstrained freedom, the artist retaining this relief style in all its purity at a time when sculptors themselves had in their reliefs been so easily carried away by extravagant pictorial disposition.

In keeping with the whole was the colour, now unfortunately to a large extent obliterated. All was simple, but lightsome, in a bright, festive aspect, lustrous materials employed in the draperies, charming arrangement of the tones, thoroughness of execution in the more sumptuous details, but withal a treatment aiming at a grand general effect.

Henceforth Mantegna devotes himself more and more to antique subjects. A sort of echo of this great work is the "Triumph of Scipio," now in the London National Gallery, painted in grisaille, a work the completion of which had long been delayed, and which was still found in his studio at his death.

To his later period also belong the two superb paintings in the Louvre, executed for the art-loving Margravine Isabella, to adorn an apartment of the palace in Mantua, and for which Lorenzo Costa and Pietro Perugino also supplied allegorical and mythological subjects. One of the Louvre works, representing the Virtues expelling the Vices, shows a more than usual affinity with Sandro Botticelli's manner, but is extremely spirited in characterizing the often extravagant types of the Vices, while free and dignified in the triumphant figures of the Virtues.

The other work stands on quite a different level. It is a realisation of Parnassus—Apollo with the lyre, to the strains of which the Muses join the dance; on one side Mercury with Pegasus, beneath whose hoofs springs Hypokrene; Venus and Mars also, with Cupid and Vulcan drawing near. The most lofty poetry of conception is here blended with a grace of form and motion, especially in the dancing choirs of the Muses, such as had not yet been disclosed by modern Art. The charm of the colouring also has been enhanced to a remarkable degree; it is at once delicate and luminous, while the effect is intensified by a fine chiaroscuro. In both works the landscape element also plays a prominent part, in full keeping with the subject.

Four of these dancing Muses he also engraved, and amongst his copper-plates are several other illustrations of classic themes, all from his later period. Such are, "Hercules overcoming the Hydra," and "Vanquishing the Centaur" (Bartsch, 15, 16); two plates representing Battles of the Tritons, full of dramatic force; also two Bacchanals, where the display of a crude realism in a classic subject is very remarkable. These plates also give proof of Mantegna's lasting influence on Art. Thus not only did Dürer in 1494 make pen and ink copies of one of the Triton pieces, and of a Bacchanal, now in the Albertina, but figures like the drunken Satyr on the wine barrel, the Silenus rescued by his trusty followers from the flood, and the hopelessly besotted wench whom a satyr has hoisted on his back, show that this was the source whence Rubens later on drew his inspirations for his Bacchanalian pieces.

But to this last period also belong some of Mantegna's finest religious works. Such is the drawing of Judith dated 1491, now in the Uffizi, and

especially the painting now in the Louvre, entitled the "Madonna della Vittoria," which on July 6th, 1496 was set up in a shrine erected in fulfilment of a vow by the Margrave of Mantua, as a memorial of the Battle of Fornovo. Yet this battle, fought just a twelvemonth before, and in which Francesco II. had opposed greatly superior forces to the army of the French king Charles VIII. had not precisely ended in a victory for the Margrave.

Here the Madonna enthroned is represented as the Mother of Mercy, her outspread mantle sheltering on the one hand the kneeling Margrave, a portrait figure full of noble simplicity and realistic effect, and on the other St. Elizabeth with her child, the young Baptist. Mary holds her right hand over the head of the prince, as if protecting him, while the Infant Saviour standing on her lap raises his hand in the act of blessing him. On either side are the holy champions SS. Michael the Archangel and George, besides the patron saints of Mantua, Andrew and Longinus. Amongst these of rare beauty is the head of Michael with its rich golden locks. The whole is executed in all its parts with a most minute delicacy. Thus the throne is adorned with reliefs and incrustated with precious stones, while the group is enclosed in a canopy with wreaths of fruits and flowers and showing a prospect of the blue sky. But notwithstanding these sumptuous details, the steady draughtsmanship combined with its delicate harmony of colouring removes all impression of excessive ornamentation.

Closely resembling this work is the "Madonna" in the London National Gallery. Mary, with the child standing on her knee, is thoughtful and contemplative, though still somewhat embarrassed in her expression. The sentiment is better expressed in the two figures on either side of her, Magdalene and John the Baptist, both tall, earnest, and breathing an elevated spirit of renunciation of the world. The drawing of the bodies as well as of the draperies is here everywhere worthy of admiration, and the extremities, especially the feet, are excellently treated. The figures, in the subdued dignity of their motions, and the bright clearness of the colours, stand out in a genuine poetic spirit from the background of dark green orange trees laden with golden fruit, and the sky with its silvery clouds.

Lastly to the year 1497 belongs the Madonna throned on the clouds above four sublime figures of saints, now in the Casa Trivulzi in Milan.

All these later works show the artist in the fulness of his powers, displaying a further perfection of style, a delicate toning and a softer blending of the earliest often somewhat metallic colouring, finer modelling and a greater tendency towards grace of form, without any sacrifice of manly vigour and character. This is in direct opposition to the view of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who mostly undervalue these works of Mantegna's last period, tracing the hand of assistant pupils in them, although clearly disproved by the complete



"Battle of the Tritons." (After the Copperplate.)

harmony, the thoroughly sympathetic treatment in all the parts, and the invariable firmness in the draughtsmanship and execution. Mantegna was an extremely conscientious worker, than whom no one was less addicted to the "manufacturing process."

A project, to which our master also lent a hand in his last period, was the erection of a monument to Virgil in Mantua, and with which the Margravine Isabella and the learned classes far and near were much occupied. The Neapolitan savants when applied to took a warm interest in the undertaking, and a letter by Jacopo d'Hatri, Count of Pianella, dated March 17th, 1499, makes full reference to it, alluding repeatedly to the name of Mantegna in a way to imply that, as a matter of course, he would be the artist to take the matter in hand. The project was never carried out, but Mantegna's design for it is preserved in the collection of M. His de la Salle in Paris. Here the poet, in classic garb, a book in his hands and a laurel wreath on his head, stands on a pedestal at which are seated winged *amorini* holding the tablet containing the inscription. It has been engraved in the "Gazette des Beaux Arts," vol. xx., pp. 486.

Though now advanced in years Mantegna continued to be incessantly occupied with painting, drawing and engraving. He lived in easy circumstances, and his name was held in honour everywhere throughout Italy and beyond the limits of his native land. Yet in his declining years he became suddenly bowed down by unforeseen troubles. In the first place his son Francesco, also a painter, fell into disgrace with the Margrave, and in spite of the father's intercession was obliged to pass some time in exile. Then came pecuniary difficulties, which the old man was now unable to grapple with. After disposing of his residence near San Sebastiano, and renting another for a short period, he later on acquired a second house, at the same time applying large sums towards the purchase and completion of a family chapel in the Church of St. Andrea, the contract for which was concluded in August 1504, with the ecclesiastical administrators. The chapel of St. John the Baptist, the first to the left of the entrance, still only roughly finished, was granted to him for 100 ducats to be endowed, fitted up as a family burial place, and adorned with a monument. The cession included the space behind the chapel, which he wanted to prevent the light from being shut off from the chapel itself, and also as a suitable spot for a little house and garden to serve as a pleasant and quiet retreat for his old age. The monument with the grand bust of the artist in bronze by Sperandio still adorns this chapel, but the paintings can only be looked upon as the works of pupils; they were not executed till after Mantegna's death, and have, moreover, been strongly painted over.

But all these simultaneous outlays involved our artist in serious embar-

rassment. He was reduced to such straits as to be obliged in the beginning of the year 1506 to offer for sale to the Margravine Isabella a bust of Faustina, one of his choicest antiques. The agent in the transaction on receiving the work from him, wrote to the Princess that Andrea had parted with it so reluctantly that he would never survive the sacrifice. He had judged aright. Mantegna had been ailing for some months previously, but had quietly continued his work during an epidemic which had driven everyone from Mantua who could at all escape. But he was now utterly prostrate, and in a few weeks breathed his last on September 13th, 1506. His son Francesco, who informed the Margrave of the event, added that his father, shortly before his death, had enquired in warm terms for the Prince. But Francesco was just then absent, having gone to meet Pope Julius II. in Perugia. Albert Dürer, who was at that time in Venice, had intended to visit Mantua in order to make the personal acquaintance of a master whose influence he had once so powerfully felt. But Mantegna's death meantime intervened to thwart his object.

Our master's spirit survived for a while in Mantua, where Francesco Mantegna continued to work with less natural gifts in the manner of his father. Some other artists had also been trained up by him, but Andrea had at no time developed such a wide-spread and thoroughly organised school in Mantua as Squarcione had in Padua. All the more important and enduring is the influence exercised in far wider circles by our master, partly through his teaching, but much more through the example of his works. The schools of Verona and Vicenza, illustrated, the former by the names of Ciolo, Bonsignori, Girolamo dei Libri, the latter by those of the two Montagnas, owed their first inspiration to him. The greatest Venetians of their time, the two Bellini, Mantegna's brothers-in-law, were directed by him, while his style is approached even by their rival in art, Luigi Vivarini. The Bellini doubtless pursue different paths later on, departing ever more from the antique and acquiring greater independence. Still they were to the last benefited by the formal training and the purity of draughtsmanship for which they were first indebted to Mantegna.

His influence may likewise be traced in Ferrara, further south. A link, not yet clearly ascertained, exists also between him and a certain group of Umbrian painters—Pietro della Francesca, Melozzo da Forlì, and Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi. The way in which in his rhyming chronicle the last-named artist devotes a lengthy effusion to the praises of Mantegna, while analyzing his artistic style with perfect accuracy and intelligence, shows a personal acquaintance with our master's productions. Nor is this to be wondered at considering the constant movement going on in the Art-world throughout Italy at that time. Through their travels and the invitations

they received to execute commissions in various places, artists became familiar with the progress made by their fellow artists in remote and otherwise secluded districts. Besides this, Mantegna's ideas were still wider disseminated through his engravings; and even a still younger generation felt the influence of his manner. Raphael himself may have been attracted towards him through his father's reminiscences, and we have seen how his first essay in dramatic action was inspired by him. Mantegna's sense of form also, his power of handling classical themes in a thoroughly classic spirit, and his vigour blended with grace were Raphael's constant study. The same is largely true of Correggio also. This master's bold experiments in perspective and foreshortening, his modelling and manner of composition can be explained only by presupposing an assiduous study of Mantegna's works. Our master's achievements in Mantua must have been well known to Correggio, where he later on contracted a matrimonial alliance.

But still more remarkable is Mantegna's influence on the Germanic Art of the North, and notably on Dürer and Holbein. In fact no other Italian master had so much affected the development of German Art than one in whom the Teutonic mind discovered a kindred spirit, as shown in his conscientious adherence to reality and to actual life. But in him they likewise found what they themselves most needed and were in search of—the theoretic principles of Art, a firm and confident command of form, an intelligent knowledge of the human proportions, a feeling for the rhythm of lines. Ever since his visit to Italy (1494), Dürer had been acquainted with works of our master; he copied him, and for awhile worked in his spirit; and even after he had shaken off all dependence upon the great Italian, he still remembered him, as shown by the already mention "Crucifixion" of 1508.

Holbein also had freely reproduced the portion of the "Triumph of Cæsar," engraved by Mantegna himself in his Lucerne painting (1517), as well as in the design for a scabbard. But he was probably acquainted with more than our master's engravings. Figures in his manner, and in the classic costume introduced by him, appear in Holbein's Bâle Passion and elsewhere. The peculiar treatment of the perspective, causing the ground of the picture to vanish, was also frequently adopted by Holbein, as in the "Ecce Homo" of his drawings of the Passion, and in the "Triumphs of Riches and Poverty," which are a direct consequence of Mantegna's creations, though, doubtless, handled in a bolder spirit. And the very circumstance that Mantegna was the principal standard of authority for the German masters in their relations to Italian renaissance, proved beneficial to them. While constituting for them a storehouse of information, he still left them free scope to develop their own peculiar characteristics. The Low Country artists, on the contrary, who were able to rest satisfied for a longer period with their own local schools, were not brought within the influence

of the Italians till Michael Angelo and Raphael already held supreme sway. By these mighty spirits they were overwhelmed and irresistibly carried away; they forgot what was due to themselves, and thus helplessly drifted into mere mannerism.

The humanities are the active element in the Italian culture of the cinquecento; they are also the starting-point of the new artistic development that breaks at last with mediævalism. And here the effort to bring Art into the closest association with this revived classic culture, is nowhere so pronounced as in the career of our master. Hence his comprehensive theoretical preparatory studies, his knowledge of the classic world fully abreast of the times, his literary no less than his artistic pursuits, his enthusiasm for antiquity. In unison with these tastes is his prevailing bias for the plastic manner, at first one-sided and somewhat crude, later on better regulated. And here the counteracting element was a vigorous, healthy realism, a naturalness in no way impaired by formal discipline, and resulting not merely in the faithful delineation of the strictly objective, but also in the forcible reflection of the inner life, of the passions and emotions. With Mantegna the accurate reproduction of real types is combined with grace and an instinct of the beautiful, while peculiarly his own is a wealth of inventive power, ever kept within due bounds, and prevented from degenerating into the fantastic by a never flagging and consciously intelligent command of his subject.

There can be no doubt as to the high estimate his contemporaries had formed of him, nor is the laudatory ode in Giovanni Santi's *terza rima* a solitary case in point. This Italian effusion was rivalled by many Latin compositions of the learned, one so early as the year 1458, by Janus Pannonius, afterwards Bishop of Fünfkirchen, in Hungary. And after a considerable lapse of time, this appreciation of his genius suffers little or no abatement. Vasari had already quoted the passage in Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso" (Canto 33), in which Mantegna is mentioned amongst the greatest artists of his own epoch, between Leonardo and Giovanni Bellini, immediately before Michael Angelo and Raphael. But however highly we may now value him, this estimate seems perhaps somewhat surprising. At this remote distance we involuntarily contrast him with the still greater artistic phenomena that succeeded him. But we should clearly understand that he first smoothed the way for them, and that there was, moreover, a time in which he really was the greatest artist in all Italy. The studies he had made seemed for his contemporaries conclusive. In their eyes he had soared far above all his predecessors, while, unapproached by any of the next generation, till the completion of Leonardo's "Last Supper," in 1498, and of Michael Angelo's "Pietà," in 1499.

NOTE.

The anonymous writer quoted by Morelli (p. 378), is not quite of accord with us in assigning the paintings of the Eremitani to the several artists engaged upon them. "The chapel on the left of the high altar was painted, the whole left surface by Andrea Mantegna, the right, below, by the same, above, partly by Ansiuno da Forli, partly by Buono of Ferrara or Bologna. The Assumption with the Apostles behind the altar, the figure aloft, under the cupola, by Niccolo Pizzolo of Padua, with the Evangelists in perspective." Most recent Art historians, including Crowe and Cavalcaselle, follow this account. But we have not thought it incumbent on us to prefer the doubtful authority of this unknown traveller to our own conclusions, based on a personal inspection of the works. Besides, if our account differs from his, it is not at variance with that of Vasari.

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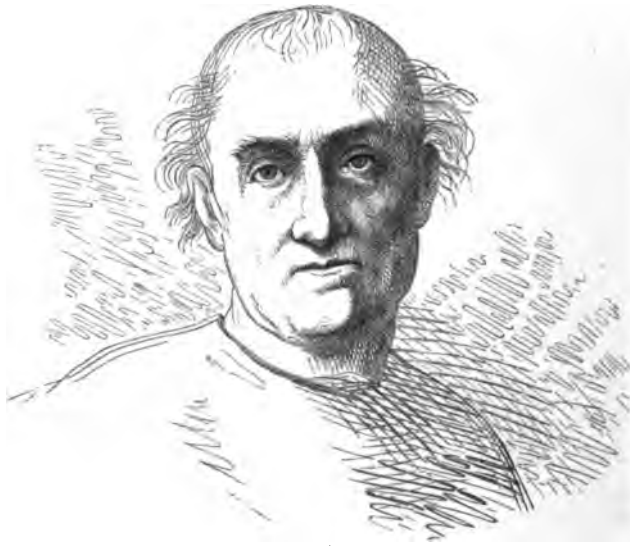
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FRA BARTOLOMMEO.

(Born in Sussignano (?) 1475 ; died August 3rd, 1517, in Florence.)

BY HERMANN LUCKE.

WHEN, in April, 1498, Savonarola's opponents stormed the Convent of San Marco in Florence in order to get the daring reformer into their power, Vasari tells us that amongst the defenders of the building was a young painter named Bartolommeo Pagholo, one of the mighty Dominican friar's most trusty and disinterested adherents. During the fight ending in Savonarola's capture, Pagholo is said to have made a vow that he would join the Order of Friar-Preachers if he escaped with his life. At any rate he soon after entered the novitiate on July 26th, 1500, in San Domenico, under the name of Fra Bartolommeo.

The history of Art has adopted this name, by it designating one who certainly fell short of the excellence of the great artists of that period, but was still one of those few that came nearest them amidst the crowd of celebrities by whom as by lesser lights those men of dazzling genius were surrounded. He moreover stands out from the rest of the group as a personality stamped with a special and well-defined character of his own.

He was born in 1475, probably in Sussignano, a little hamlet in the neighbourhood of Florence. Three years thereafter his father removed to Florence,

where he exchanged the occupation of a mule-driver for the more lucrative one of a waggoner, and purchased for himself a little house by the Porta San Pietro Gattolino. Here, after the premature death of his parents, Baccio, as Bartolommeo was familiarly called, continued to reside with his brothers Piero and Michele till he entered the monastery, from this circumstance receiving the by-name of Della Porta. In his seventeenth year he had already entered the studio of Cosimo Rosselli, a not particularly distinguished though still an able and industrious master, receiving from him sufficient rudimentary instruction, though certainly no lasting inspirations.

Probably soon after the usual term of apprenticeship, perhaps about 1490, Baccio left Cosimo's studio and began to work on his own account, jointly with his fellow-pupil, Mariotto Albertinelli, who was about his own age. The friendship which he entertained for Mariotto is described by Vasari in warm terms. Of different temperaments and dispositions—Bartolommeo serious and composed, Albertinelli restless and sanguine—they still lived together as brothers. As an artist Mariotto was so decidedly influenced by his friend, and later on so strikingly resembled him in his best compositions, that, as Vasari remarks, he might in this respect be considered a second Bartolommeo.

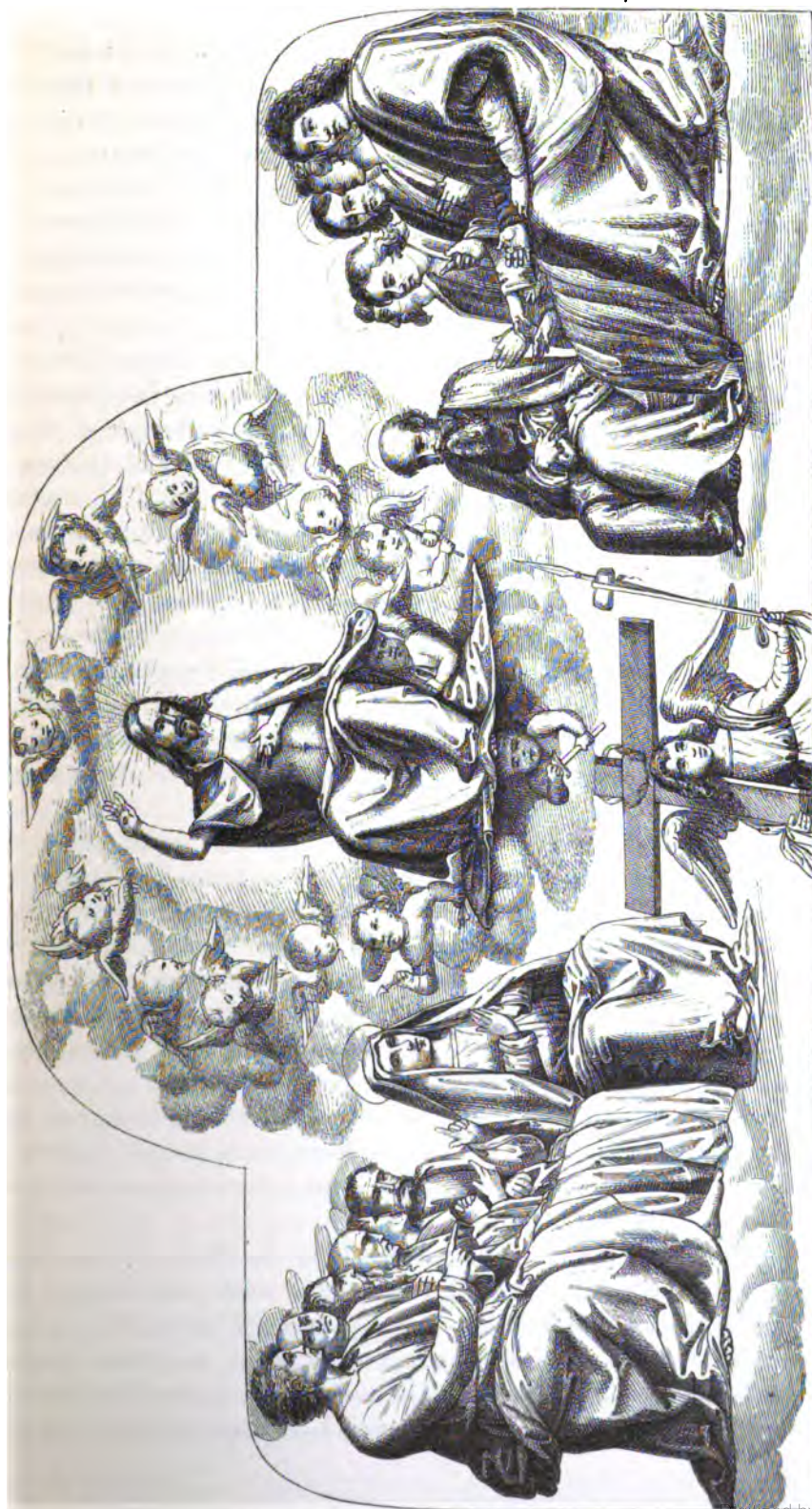
Their essentially different characters were brought into the sharpest contrast on the occasion of the appearance of Savonarola, whose terrific denunciations of the prevailing corruption produced such an unheard-of effect in the thoughtless and frivolous Florence of those days. The fearful depravity of the times had filled with horror the soul of Savonarola, whose eye was open to the darker and more unhallowed side alone of the Renaissance, then approaching its meridian splendour. In himself a tragically inconsistent phenomenon, a Mediæval fanatic and yet a prophet of the coming generation, alien to the spirit of the Renaissance while yet akin to it in his passionate love of freedom, he stood forward as a reformer of morals and of the State, after the famous Lenten Sermons of 1495 acquiring such a prodigious sway over the minds of men that the gay and dissipated city of the Medici seemed for the next two years entirely transformed. The strains of the merry songs composed for his Florentines by Lorenzo il Magnifico were now silent, while the streets echoed with the lugubrious penitential notes of the Piagnoni. The populace, frightened by the pending doom announced by Savonarola's threatening words, thronged ceaselessly to the churches. Carried away by the moral greatness of the man, victoriously shining forth amidst all the darkness of a monkish and superstitious fanaticism, many even of the noblest in the land became his most enthusiastic votaries.

Yet the worldly spirit of Mariotto held aloof from the contagion, and while Bartolommeo yielded with the most earnest single-mindedness to Savonarola's

influence, his friend sided with the opposite party all the more resolutely that he was amongst the favourites of the Medici, the bitterest foes of the friar-preacher—and, as Vasari relates, Mariotto was almost beside himself with grief and chagrin when, soon after Savonarola's tragic end, Bartolommeo entered the cloister and for a long time renounced Art altogether.

Savonarola has been unfairly charged with a barbarous contempt of Art. Sufficient proof to the contrary is afforded by the many artists reckoned amongst his adherents, including, besides Bartolommeo, Lorenzo di Credi, Sandro Botticelli, several of the Robbias, Cronaca, and lastly, Michael Angelo himself. The reformer had even recommended to the monks the cultivation of Art as a worthy occupation, and as an honourable means of increasing the revenues of the orders. At the same time many emphatic passages in his sermons show how essentially opposed he was to the whole tendency of contemporary Art, whose most glorious fruits could never have ripened in the atmosphere of the Convent of San Marco. The representation of the unveiled beauty of the human body was by him looked upon as heathenish and sinful, and if we are to believe Vasari's statements, many noble works of Art were on this ground added to the famous auto-da-fés raised by Savonarola's fiery zeal during the Shrove-tide seasons of 1497 and 1498 in the public places of Florence. Doubtless at an early stage the destruction of works of Art at these *bruciamenti della vanità* was purposely driven to excess. From the accounts of the poet Benivieni and the historian Guicciardini, who were present at the "bonfires," it appears that no works of pre-eminent importance were destroyed. The "vanities" on that occasion demolished mostly consisted of objects of extravagance, carnivalesque costumes, masks, dominos, articles of the toilet, lutes, playing cards, and the like. The objects consigned to the flames by the artists belonging to Savonarola's party consisted apparently of mere studies and drawings from the nude. Bartolommeo seems to have set his fellow-artists the example of the act of self-sacrifice, probably involving the destruction of much that would have thrown further light on the early development of our master.

The earliest of his own works is a portrait of Savonarola, long preserved in the nunnery of San Vincenzo at Prato, and now in the possession of Ermolao Rubieri in Florence. It is one of those effigies that are their own best guarantees of the perfect truthfulness of their conception, and in its excellence all the more interesting that portraiture was otherwise foreign to his artistic pursuits. Taken quite in profile, extremely precise in the outlines and powerfully modelled, the work in the harsh and solidly-cut forms of the head fully displays all the resolute spirit of the mighty yet after all so narrow-minded reformer. His passionate and choleric nature is stamped upon two other likenesses of Savonarola, one an excellent terra-cotta relief, presumably by Ambrogio



Design for the Upper Portion of the "Last Judgment." (After a Drawing.)

della Robbia, and a gem by Giovanni delle Corniole. The on the whole rather subdued expression in Bartolommeo's work is still suggestive of the most frenzied excitement in the peculiarly strained and bright flash of the eye. We thus become all the more vividly conscious of that demoniacal spirit of fanaticism by which Savonarola was irresistibly carried away. In after years Bartolommeo again depicted him in the glorified figure of Peter Martyr; but though displaying higher artistic development, this likeness is still deficient in that direct and persuasive individual truth which is peculiar to the earlier work.

Besides this last, no other work of the same date, 1498, can with certainty be referred to our master. Fortunately, however, a considerable number of his drawings have been preserved, many obviously belonging to this period. Some of these are in the Uffizi, some in the possession of the Grand Duchess of Weimar, and others in Vienna, Paris, and Venice. Many consist of carefully executed pen-and-ink drawings, mostly designs for compositions; in the lanky figures, oval heads, creased folds and inflated draperies gathered up in festoon fashion still recalling Cosimo Rosselli, though a simpler and nobler disposition of the dress is already apparent. In the motions of the figures, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle especially insist upon, there is a marked straining after grace and elegance, reminding us of Filippino Lippi, one of the most distinguished masters of the fifteenth century. In the grouping of the figures also there is an evident sense of beauty of outline above all characteristic of Baccio's progressive development.

Two little miniature-like works in the Uffizi, "The Adoration of the Kings" and the "Presentation in the Temple," are particularly mentioned by Vasari as productions of his youth. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, regard them as the first works of the time when he again devoted himself to painting after entering the cloister. At any rate, the masterly execution and the extraordinary dignity and simplicity of the draperies show that they are not amongst the early works of his first period. At the same time the types of the figures show a certain affinity with the works of this epoch, and one feels all the more inclined to refer them to its close that the still extant designs harmonize in a technical sense with the drawings for the great fresco in the cemetery of Sta. Maria Nuova in Florence, begun by him a few months before withdrawing from the world.

This fresco forms a turning point, not merely in the history of our artist's development, but in that of Art itself, being one of those creations that lead directly up to the most perfect and crowning epoch of Italian Renaissance. And yet this very work, in its solemn grandeur breathing the loftiest contemplation and clearness of intellect, was produced but a short time after the martyrdom of Savonarola, an event that must have most profoundly affected

the mind of the artist. It occurred on May 23rd, 1498, and we find Bartolommeo already engaged on the work before the end of the year. But the victory he had gained over himself with the energy of his artistic enthusiasm gave him no rest. During the progress of the fresco his resolution was matured to find a refuge in the cloister from the wild, tumultuous life of the world; he discontinued the work and left its completion to Albertinelli.

The subject is the "Last Judgment;" Christ is throned on high beneath an arch formed by seraphs' heads, with Mary and the twelve Apostles seated on clouds, disposed in semicircular form on either side, in the intervening space an angel with the cross, crown of thorns and spear, and two others with trumpets heralding approaching doom. Beneath is the throng of those rising from the dead, in their midst the Archangel Michael with his raised sword severing the blessed from the damned. Our woodcut reproducing the upper portion of the work is from a pen-and-ink sketch in the Academy of Venice, wrongly included amongst Bartolommeo's original drawings. But though a rather clumsy copy by another hand, it still gives a tolerably correct idea of the general character of this portion of the work.

This fresco, now set up in a side court of Sta. Maria Novella, has unfortunately suffered much, especially in the lower parts carried out by Albertinelli after Baccio's design, portions being here entirely obliterated. From what has survived and from the artist's general style, we may surmise that these were the least important parts of the work. The dramatic expression here required by the subject matter was not one of his strong points, and he at no period shows himself equal to that passionate action which characterises the figures in Signorelli's "Last Judgment." His special qualities are doubtless best revealed in the upper half of the work, in the figures of the saints gloriously throned aloft on the clouds. Quite a new type of figures is here introduced, a series of grandly conceived characters, in the presence of which all earlier efforts of the same sort appear insignificant and clumsy. The imperfect essays of the above-mentioned drawings now appear fully developed with a grandeur clearly announcing the influence of Leonardo da Vinci, the master who first rescued Florentine Art from the fetters of the fifteenth century.

But the deep significance of the work does not consist alone in the grand and free drawing so imposingly conspicuous in the development of individual figures, in the moulding of the bodies, and the treatment of the draperies. To all this must be added the character of the composition itself, and the fine disposition of the whole. Towards the close of the fifteenth century Florentine panel and fresco painting, owing to its realistic mania, had acquired a certain narrow spirit, laying aside the grand draperies of an earlier period, and through its intimate association with daily life assuming a manner that approached the genre style. Ghirlandajo alone had in some of his frescoes aimed at a really

monumental effect. In his "Last Judgment," Bartolommeo was now the first who, with the confidence of genius, grasped the spirit of the old Florentine laws of composition, at the same time applying them in that new, free, and grand manner that was revealed to Florentine Art with the appearance of Leonardo da Vinci. The solemn severity of Giotto and Masaccio in the composition of his work, and especially of the glory, is wedded with the artistic spirit of the Renaissance now approaching its full bloom. Thus is now for the first time produced that beauty of picturesque grouping which depends upon the harmony of architectural precision of outline with the free play of lines in living and animated figures. Bartolommeo's severe manner of composition and his resemblance to those earlier masters are especially conspicuous when contrasted with the last Florentine artists of the Quattro-cento. But his style appears on the other hand in all its freedom and grandeur, when we compare a contemporary work of the Umbrian School still clinging to the old manner, one of the best works of Perugino, for instance, with the fresco of Sta. Maria Nuova. From this point of view Bartolommeo's influence on the historic development of Art acquires a special and ever-memorable significance in his relations to Raphael.

Soon after joining the Dominican order at Prato, Bartolommeo had been transferred to the monastery of San Marco in Florence. Here he was residing in the strictest retirement, breathing the very atmosphere pervaded by the spirit of Savonarola, when the young rising star of Urbino appeared in the Tuscan capital. The current of artistic life in Florence had at that time once more risen to a mighty flood. After a protracted absence both Leonardo and Michael Angelo had returned thither, and were now engaged in a noble rivalry with the works for the council chamber of the Palazzo Signorile. The public exhibition of their famous cartoons in 1505 had created the most intense excitement in the whole Florentine Art-world; but Raphael does not appear on that occasion to have been brought into personal contact with them. The moment had not yet arrived when Michael Angelo became an element in his development; but Leonardo's style exercised at that time the most direct influence on him. On the other hand, Bartolommeo's friendly intercourse with the young genius of Raphael did not fail to produce a decided after-effect, while it was at the time probably one of the chief causes that induced him to resume the cultivation of Art.

Tending like Leonardo to the universal enfranchisement of contemporary Art, Bartolommeo further produced a marked effect on the early development of his friend.

Whilst the realistic spirit of Florentine painting first led Raphael's glance from the narrow circle of ideas characterizing Perugino's school to the infinite variety of life, it was mainly through Bartolommeo that he acquired increased

grandeur and freedom of conception and modelling. The types of his Peruginesque style, their minute and delicate forms weakly drawn in profile, grow beneath this influence as the bud expands into blossom. The former timid, shy grace in the motion of his figures is now succeeded by unfettered charm; his symmetrical and ceremonious disposition of the figures is replaced by a



"Holy Family." (Earl Cowper's Collection, Panshanger.)

grouping full of life, while still regulated by the laws of the strictest beauty of outline.

The fresco painted in 1505 in the convent of San Severo, during a short stay in Perugia, first betrays the influence of Bartolommeo in the most decided manner. Here the glory, a semi-circle of saints—a motive later on repeated with enhanced beauty in the "Disputa"—has its unmistakable prototype in the

Sta. Maria Nuova fresco, as seen in the composition, in the broad treatment of the draperies, in the freer modelling of the figures. The revolution in Raphael's artistic conceptions, as proclaimed in this work, seems scarcely less important than the subsequent modification of his views brought about by Michael Angelo. But that he suddenly acquired such perfection, as must have been the case if, as is generally assumed, he first visited Florence in 1505, may well be doubted, all the more so that there are not lacking good reasons for suspecting an earlier residence in that city.

The actual time when Bartolommeo again applied himself to Art has not been determined. About 1505 he was appointed director of the studio attached to the convent of San Marco, and henceforth continued to cultivate Art without further intermission. All business matters were seen to by the Order, which bespoke all the works executed by him and appropriated all the profits, the only indulgence granted him being his exemption from service in the choir.

The grand manner assumed by him in the Sta. Maria Nuova fresco is not again immediately displayed in the works of this new period. In the "Vision of St. Bernard," now in the Florentine Academy, and presumably the earliest of these, there is a perceptible echo of a certain dreamy sentiment, in keeping with the contemplative and secluded life the artist had led for some years past. The delicate modelling of the figures, the soft, pensive expression of the saint, who has fallen on his knees before the heavenly apparition, show an approach to the Umbrian manner, which at his first meeting with Raphael may have exercised a secret fascination on him.

But he soon began again to be inspired by the higher type of beauty now revealing itself in Raphael's creations under the influence of his own works. This is evident especially from two works produced soon after this time (1508 or 1509)—the "Madonna with the Infant between four Saints," in San Marco, Florence, breathing so much of the spirit of Raphael that it was supposed by Pietro da Cortona to be painted by him, and a "Holy Family," in Earl Cowper's collection, Panshanger. This last, regarded as one of Bartolommeo's choicest gems, in its types and expression of sentiment shows the Leonardo and Raphael manners in the most charming combination. An agreeable landscape, such as Raphael loved to associate his Madonnas with in his Florentine period, surrounds the group, distinguishing the sentiment of this work from later pictures of a similar nature, in which the background is filled in with some stately architectural details—a very noteworthy feature of his style.

His method of painting itself was formed directly on Leonardo's technical principles. In the dead colouring, which in this process required the greatest care, the forms were as a rule first modelled with perfect accuracy on a brown ground, after which the general local tone was applied semi-transparently, the shadows and the half-tones scumbled to a bluish grey, and the whole at last united

by a final delicate glazing. This process is clearly shown in the present state of the above-mentioned "Vision of St. Bernard," repeated flaying and restoring having in parts caused serious injury to the surface. The fine modelling, the perfection of the "sfumato,"* or delicate blending of light and shade, bringing out the relief and the uniform rounding off of the figures, are pointedly praised by Vasari in Bartolommeo's works; but he at the same time expresses a warm admiration for the "grazia nei colori," as their special colouristic charm. Leonardo had not yet finally brought about the perfection of the colouristic element as such, so as to produce its full artistic effect, the expression of form still remaining for him the main feature. With Bartolommeo, on the contrary, the principle of colour was so completely harmonized with the full development of his style of composition and form that he may be called a colourist in the most pregnant sense of the term, and as such takes a similar position that Andrea del Sarto does in the history of Florentine painting.

His direct contact with the school in which colour first acquired a real ascendancy did not fail to produce a decided influence on our master. In the spring of the year 1508 he accompanied the syndic of his convent on a visit to Venice, where a new era had just been ushered in with the appearance of Giorgione and Titian. The important effects of this visit became at once apparent in the brilliant, deep, and rich colouring of a painting executed immediately on his return to Florence. It represents in the upper half God the Father in a glory, in the lower division Mary Magdalene and St. Catharine of Siena in a devout and most nobly conceived attitude. He had been commissioned to paint it during his stay in Venice by the vicar of the convent of Murano, who, however, owing to some subsequent differences in matters of business, never received the work. It is at present in the church of San Romano at Lucca.

After this Venetian journey his artistic industry assumed greater expansion. He took increased interest in the studio attached to the monastery and intrusted to his care, enhanced its productive powers by attracting thither fresh and able talents, including Albertinelli, by special dispensation, members of the Order alone being as a rule admitted to the studio. The convent concluded a formal contract with Albertinelli in 1509, so that Bartolommeo again continued to work for several years jointly with his friend, as he had done at an earlier period. In many of their works Mariotto's co-operation was evidently of a subordinate nature only, but in others Bartolommeo left important portions to be carried out by him, these being distinguished from the others by the monogram of the studio of San Marco—two rings linked together with a

* In the "Vocabolario," edited by D. Passagli (Florence, 1842), "Sfumare" is thus defined: "Unire i colori, confondendoli dolcemente tra loro," *i.e.* to unite the colours by gently blending them together; and in an intransitive sense: "Essere digradato in modo il colore, che lo scuro sia dolcemente confuso col chiaro," *i.e.* to be so graded that the dark becomes softly fused with the light.—[Ed.]

cross. An excellent "Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul" in Sta. Catarina, Pisa, and the "Annunciation," in the Madeleine, Geneva, are marked by this monogram as of the second class.

When the contract was dissolved in 1512, apparently through the ill-will of the new prior, the two artists came to an agreement for a fair division of their effects, in which mention is made of a lay figure—according to Vasari the first on record. Bartolommeo would seem to have invented this device for the purpose of studying the draperies, that earliest-mentioned specimen being apparently the one at present preserved in the Florentine Academy.

During the period of his association with Albertinelli an important change becomes evident in Bartolommeo's style. He reverts to the line of his earlier development, and with widened experiences and increased artistic powers aims once more at that grandeur in the treatment of form and composition which was the original goal of his art. His further development is in this direction one of constant progress. The structure of the picture, the architectural disposition of the groups, expand to spacious and ever more richly organized proportions. All his forms assume greater breadth, fulness, and grandeur of profile, while the distribution of the inner surfaces is at the same time simplified by the greater prominence given to broader masses of light and shade. Vasari, who, as Rumohr remarks, was the first to notice this tendency as an element in the development of Art, characterizes it in contrast with the Quattro-cento style as emphatically *the modern manner*. We may at the same time look upon it as the development of the pictorial taste in the more restricted sense, all the more so with Bartolommeo that in his later works the special colouristic principle becomes constantly more pronounced in that peculiar softening of the outlines necessitated by the light element in colour and the effects of atmosphere. The delicate feeling with which he probes the mysteries of aerial perspective is of itself alone sufficient to entitle him to be considered as an eminent colourist.

This turning-point in the development of his style is most clearly illustrated by the "Espousals of St. Catharine," painted in the year 1511, and now in the Louvre. The solemn beauty pervading this painting, and which is henceforth the prevailing characteristic of his works, depends above all on the marked prominence given to the central group, and on the pyramidal method of disposition which in his hands first acquired its full artistic significance. Before a wide-arched niche, and beneath a high canopy supported by angels, Mary is enthroned with the Infant Saviour, who bends down to Catharine kneeling below in order to place the bridal ring on her finger. This group, in which the mystic ceremony assumes an air of the most natural charm, is surrounded by a semicircle of male figures of saints bearing in the draperies an expression pervaded by a dignity and a grandeur unsurpassed by any other artist.

This painting, which at once excited universal admiration, was frequently copied to order in the studio of San Marco, and Bartolommeo himself produced a replica enriched with further additions, and presenting some variations in



"Madonna della Misericordia," San Romano, at Lucca. (After Rosini's engraving.)

the details. This work now forms one of the ornaments of the Pitti Gallery, in Florence. Here the group of the Virgin and Child has gained considerably in the life-like grace through the contrast of their motions, while of the two

figures of SS. Bartolommeo and Michael, now added to the solemn group of witnesses to the scene, the latter was already praised by Vasari as one of the artist's noblest and loftiest conceptions.

The great esteem at that time enjoyed by Bartolommeo is shown by the commission he received from the Gonfaloniere Soderini to decorate the Council Chamber in the Palazzo Signorile, the same place that Michael Angelo and Leonardo had a few years previously been also engaged to embellish. The designs of these two mighty rivals had remained unfinished, and by a strange coincidence Bartolommeo's also was fated never to be completed. In 1513 the Florentine magistrate made a payment to the convent of San Marco on account of our artist's work; but its completion was prevented by some now unascertained cause. It was never carried further than the brown dead colouring. But this *ébauche*, now in the Uffizi, is a masterpiece of grand beauty of drawing and composition, and is one of the artist's most noble and remarkable achievements. Judging from it, Richardson even thought himself justified in concluding that, had he lived in the same circumstances as Raphael, Bartolommeo would have ranked on the same level with him.

The subject of this piece, representing Mary with the Infant and St. Anna, surrounded by the ten patron-saints of Florence, is not unlike that of the two last-described works. The pyramidal form, here also adopted in the disposition of the central group, shows itself still more highly and more effectively carried out. Nearest the throne, which is approached by several steps, is the figure of St. Anna worshipping with outspread arms before the Madonna, who is seated somewhat further back with the Child on her lap. On either side, some kneeling, some standing on the steps of the throne, are the accessory figures, presenting the noblest types of beauty, and so disposed that the broad lines of the pyramid are advanced down to the extreme foreground, the group throned in the centre above this sumptuously widened base thus producing a doubly enhanced grandeur of effect. The rest of the space on both sides of the throne is filled in with a solemn choir of imposing figures of saints. So artistic is the disposition that the strict architectural law seems to be completely concealed in the free rhythm of the lines, the adoption of this symmetrical form thus appearing a result of perfect freedom. We are conscious of the law, so to say, without actually perceiving it, the whole composition thus producing an undisturbed and complete impression of the purest beauty. In the rapturous upward gaze of St. Anna and the lofty dignity of the male figures there is a vigour and inward truth of expression recalling Raphael's power of depicting character.

In the summer of 1514 Bartolommeo passed some time in the country hospital of the Dominicans at Pian' di Mugnone. He had been affected by a bodily ailment from which he was destined never fully to recover. But

his creative faculties, so far from being impaired, showed themselves still equal to the highest achievements. Of the three frescoes executed by him in various parts of the hospital all seem to have perished except the Madonna in half-length figure with the Infant in her arms, now in San Marco, Florence. Masterly in its technical treatment, grand and noble in the forms, this picture in the fervour of the grouping shows a close affinity with Raphael's "*Madonna della Sedia*." The replica soon after executed by the artist himself for the Capella del Giovanato in San Marco is still more finished in the blending of the lines and still more intense in the expression of its sentiment.

Wonderfully enhanced and at last fully concentrated in itself appears the genius of the artist in the creations of the following year, which embody the fullest and clearest expression of his artistic individuality, and in which he reached the highest point that could be compassed by his Art.

It was probably during his stay in Rome that he received the impulse to this final and majestic display of his creative powers. Before mentioning the visit to Pian' di Mugnone, Vasari tells us that, stirred by the fame of Michael Angelo's and Raphael's miracles, he went to Rome with a fellow-monk. Here in San Silvestro, on Monte Cavallo, he painted on two separate panels the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul for Fra Mariano del Piombo, whose hospitality he had enjoyed. But the Roman climate disagreeing with him he went away, leaving unfinished the picture of St. Peter, which Raphael was said to have afterwards completed. However, an entry in the account books of the Convent of San Marco is at variance with this statement. It shows that two paintings of those Apostles, that of Peter unfinished, were sent from Florence to San Silvestro by Bartolommeo; and Vasari contradicts himself in another place, asserting in his life of Rosso that our artist left Rome without having painted anything there.

Of the two works in question, when Vasari wrote still in San Silvestro, but now in the Quirinal, the figure of Peter is evidently in some portions not by the hand of Bartolommeo. The statement that Raphael had taken part in its production was supposed to have been confirmed by an anecdote of Cortigiano di Castiglione, though the manner in which the portions in question are painted still renders the assumption very improbable. Both figures are boldly and powerfully conceived, and produce the impression that at the time Bartolommeo had studied works by Raphael and Michael Angelo. Whether this was during his stay in Rome, or whether he found an opportunity of doing so in Florence, the influence of such studies in any case co-operated in a decided manner towards the glorious flight his genius now took.

The masterpiece of the year 1515, which may be regarded as his most brilliant period, was the "*Madonna della Misericordia*" in the Church of

San Romano, at Lucca. All the resources of his Art are harmoniously blended together in this wonderful work—solemn splendour of composition, beauty and depth of inward expression, wealth and delicacy of colouring. In the upper portion, encircled by wide and floating drapery, hovers the majestic figure of the Saviour, with outspread arms, gazing mercifully down on the host of worshippers assembled beneath in varied and animated groups. Out of their midst on a lofty pedestal, as mediatrix for the world, rises the gracious Virgin Mother, one of the most glorious figures ever conceived by the artist. In the classic beauty of her motion, in the sublimity of her attitude and her upward glance, there breathes an ecstatic love and pity, a grandeur and intensity of feeling, whose touching and at the same time entrancing effect finds little else comparable to it in the whole range of Art. Those assembled round her—earnest figures of men, charming groups of women and children—display in their motion and expression a wealth of the most attractive motives, while the whole and all the parts are pervaded by finished harmony of outline.

In respect of colour also this work is one of the most important produced by our artist. It is distinguished above all by its skilful treatment of the sky-colour, blending and harmonizing the tones, while in their fine grading towards the background the masses become detached, so as to produce the impression of great breadth and roominess in the composition. Crowe and Cavalcaselle especially praise the delicacy with which the figure of Christ blends with the aerial perspective. The character of the colouring is in perfect unison with the ideal style of the composition, and, in a word, all the best qualities of Bartolommeo's Art may be said to be completely harmonized in this work.

Two other pictures were also produced in the year 1515, a grand "Madonna" in the Hermitage, and the "Annunciation" in the Louvre. The latter shows this old theme handled in quite a new style, which for our master's manner is very characteristic. The background is formed by a sort of architectural recess, before which, surrounded by figures of saints, Mary is seated gazing with a backward motion at the angel descending from above. In the solemnity of the composition there is a certain ceremonious character which may, perhaps, produce a somewhat jarring effect. But in its execution, and especially in the beauty of the female figures kneeling in the foreground, the work bears all the marks of the master's highest Art.

About the same time seems also to have been produced the lost St. Sebastian, the only work in which Bartolommeo undertook the task of depicting the unveiled beauty of the human body. According to Vasari the naked figure of the saint possessed such extraordinary charm and was so life-like in form and colour that the monks looked on the work as downright

heathenish, causing it later on to be removed from the Church of San Marco, where it had been set up.



"Pietà." (Pitti Gallery, Florence.)

A work of the following year, 1516, the "Resurrection of Christ," in the Pitti Gallery, in its consummate perfection, and above all in the sublime

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character of the principal figure, recalls the style of Michael Angelo. Here also the composition shows the ideal space of a classic architectural design. Christ risen from the dead, with an expression of majestic calmness, raising his hand in the act of blessing, in nobly disposed raiment and sublime attitude, is not treated in distinct association with the Gospel narrative, but simply as the genius of delivery for the whole world, symbolically reflected in the mirror supported by two charming little angels seated on the steps in the foreground. This Christ with the four grand apostolic figures surrounding him is the last in which our master gave full artistic expression to his moral ideal. In the two prophets, Job and Isaias, that had been originally placed on either side of this work, but now in the Uffizi, and in the colossal figure of Mark in the Pitti Gallery, however imposing they may appear at the first glance, we still miss the full inward life and animation by which such grand figures should be inspired. This is especially the case with the St. Mark, which was later on vaunted as a masterpiece of our artist and a miracle of Art. It is remarkable, however, that Vasari only mentions it incidentally in no very laudatory terms as the result rather of some passing caprice.

There were now produced in rapid succession a number of small frescoes in San Marco, busts of saints of the Dominican order, two Holy Families (in the Corsini Gallery, Rome, and the Pitti), an "Assumption," according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, now in the museum at Naples, and a "Presentation in the Temple" (Vienna Belvedere), a series of works which, while eliciting admiration for the master's ceaseless activity, no longer display the same spiritual vigour of conception or perfection of execution characterizing earlier performances.

Only once more does our master raise himself to the full height of his Art in the famous "Pietà" in the Pitti Gallery; which, perhaps, as the last of his works, is the most solemn expression of his creative faculty. Nowhere else has the dignity of grief been more thrillingly realised than in the attitude and features of the Madonna in this work. No other treatment of the same topic surpasses the beauty of the scene in which the mother bends down to touch with her lips the brow of her dead son, whose body is supported in a half upright position in the bosom of John, its head sunk forward as if to meet the embrace. In a paroxysm of grief the Magdalene has clasped her Saviour's feet, without, however, disturbing the hallowed effect produced by the central group. The body itself and the heads are of the noblest yet most strikingly individual types, while the peculiar softness in the general toning of the colours appears as the direct result of the elegiac sentiment of the composition. Bugiardini is said to have completed the work, a supposition probably occasioned by the circumstance that he supplemented it with two side figures subsequently obliterated.

In the autumn of 1515 Bartolommeo had again passed some weeks in Pian' di Mugnone for the purpose of recruiting his failing health. On the return journey to Florence he visited Sussignano, where were residing some uncles on his father's side, whom he had not seen for a long time. The entries in a diary, describing in a very genial way this visit to his rustic kinsmen, also contain the interesting statement that "the King of France had at that time sent for the friar with the intention of attaching him to his service." No other reference occurs to this invitation, which must have been sent before Francis I. had summoned Leonardo to France; nor has it been ascertained why the project was not carried out.

About the same time Bartolommeo suffered a cruel loss in the death of Albertinelli, with whom, notwithstanding their different temperaments and opinions, he had constantly lived on the most friendly terms. For some time after the dissolution of the contract with San Marco, Mariotto had led a somewhat adventuresome life, ultimately, however, returning with renewed devotion to his artistic pursuits. But in October, 1515, he fell ill in Guercia, near Orvieto, and had himself removed thence to Florence, where a few days afterwards he passed away in the arms of his friend, who on the news of his illness had hastily returned.

Bartolommeo's symptoms growing more serious, he was induced in the spring of 1517 to try the waters of San Filippo. But he experienced no improvement either here or in Pian' di Mugnone, which he had soon afterwards again visited for the last time. Returning in a short time to Florence, he there sank on August 3rd, 1517, under the disorder that had been slowly consuming his vital powers. He lies buried in the convent of San Marco, which, like Fiesole half a century previously, he had converted into one of the noblest centres of artistic life.

The field of Bartolommeo's Art was restricted, entirely excluding the wide domain of history and mythology that had again been revived by the Renaissance, and commanded with unfettered freedom by Raphael. He also abstained from the treatment of great epic themes in a series of comprehensive mural paintings, as well as representations of a strictly dramatic character. Of the religious subjects handled by him, either *al fresco* or on panel, those were most suited to his genius that afforded him an opportunity of combining figures of calm beauty and sublime dignity in grand and solemn situations. Even the expression of deep pathos and intensified emotion assumed with him a certain solemn character, such as the Italians understand by the word *portamento*. The grandeur in form and attitude of the individual figures was in unison with the monumental grandeur and beauty of the composition. As he loved to surround his figures with noble architectural scenery, the figures themselves in their grouping and general disposition were characterized by the rhythm of an

architectural type of beauty. That grand artistic effect arising out of the perfectly harmonized treatment of all the lines and forms Bartolommeo and Leonardo were the first to realise in the Italian Renaissance School, thereby creating a new epoch in its development. At first the feeling for the importance of disposition in space had announced itself somewhat timidly in Giotto's style of composition, later on more clearly in the severe and earnest simplicity of Masaccio. But in the works of the more recent Quattro-centisti, whose chief aim and efforts were directed towards essentially different objects, it had gradually sunk into the background, often being altogether lost sight of. How grand and striking appears the modelling of the individual figures in Signorelli's works, but in the very best of them how confused, indistinct, and crowded is the composition !

In truth, the full artistic command of the whole subject is met with in no Italian artist before Leonardo and Bartolommeo. The sense of space as revealed in their works, and the grandeur of the general effect of the whole composition, are indications of the highest perfection of the Renaissance. This is seen in all its significance by the contrast with the contemporary German School, in which the composition, with all its otherwise admirable qualities, still shows a certain awkwardness in its excessive love of detail and searching grasp of individual character, seldom rising to a free and harmonious disposition of the whole. A clear eye for the combined effect of form, lines, and masses, a feeling for the beauty of all the proportions in space which for the formative arts is what the rhythm of the verse is to the poet, in a word, the faculty of composition, shows itself so eminently developed in Bartolommeo that it readily appears as the greatest of his artistic qualities. If we further bear in mind that a certain uniformity pervades the grand types of his figures and the motives of their action, we shall feel the more inclined to indorse Zahn's ingenious remark that his style, considered as a whole, has a higher significance than the invention and disposition of the individual work. (*Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii. 174.)

There are mannerists who in isolated cases achieve the highest excellence, in the vigour and daring of an occasional inspiration often reaching an elevation far beyond their average powers. With Bartolommeo, the very opposite might seem to be the case. In truth, that inexhaustible wealth of imagination, that fulness of artistic conception lavishly displayed with ever-fresh variety in the creations of men of the very highest genius, was denied to our artist. In some of his works we seem to feel that his creative faculty lacks the power thoroughly to fill with inward life his magnificently conceived forms. But wherever the soul of the artist succeeds in fully identifying itself with the subject, he achieves a beauty of the highest order. From the solemnity of the composition, the majesty of the figures, and the grandeur of

their draperies, the rhythm of the lines and the deep harmony of the colouring, there arises the unison of a general artistic effect, of which but few other instances occur in the history of painting.

And if in such works Bartolommeo shows himself at the full height of the Renaissance, his inward sympathy with the spirit of this great epoch is no less manifest in the ethic significance of those majestic and expressive male figures breathing the full consciousness of power, ideal types of the free character of the Renaissance at length entirely released from the restraint of Mediæval awkwardness. This moral side of his artistic conceptions shows him raised far above the traditional cycle of ideas peculiar to his religious profession. Bartolommeo, the last of the artists of the cloister, and the admirer of Savonarola, was yet so far also a genuine son of the Renaissance; in the grand and characteristic figures portrayed by him we detect the mighty breath of that giant spirit which broke the spell of the monastic view of life and burst the last fetters of Mediævalism.



Portrait of Andrea del Sarto, by himself. (Uffizi)

ANDREA DEL SARTO.

(Born in Gualfondo, 1487; died 1531 in Florence)

BY DR. H. JANITSCHK.

IN the first edition of his work, Vasari begins his account of Andrea del Sarto, whose pupil he had been, by regretting the disparity between his artistic endowments and his moral qualities. To utter a sentence of condemnation on the character of a man often savours of rashness and presumption; for who is

fully competent fairly to estimate the share that individual action and outward circumstance may have had in his guilt? But though we may not feel authorized to pronounce judgment, still we cannot so escape from the duty of forming some idea of the character of the man, if we would wish to fathom the genius of the artist. For do not the roots of all action, consequently also of artistic life, lie deeply implanted in the whole spiritual and moral essence of the agent? In the case of Andrea del Sarto, also, a knowledge of his character, and of the outward and inward events of his career thereby conditioned, affords the final explanation of the reason why he did not achieve the highest excellence apparently within the compass of his natural gifts.

The traditions respecting his Flemish origin and his presumed family name of Vannucchi have now been entirely exploded. Andrea was the son of Agnolo, a tailor (*sarto*) by trade; his mother's name was Constanza, and he was born in 1487. The family lived in Gualfondo till the year 1504, when Andrea's father removed to Florence, and became domiciled in the district of San Paolo. In his seventh year he was apprenticed to a goldsmith, in accordance with the excellent practice of the times, in virtue of which the artisan naturally developed into the artist. His decided taste for painting soon made itself known. It was first detected by the Florentine painter Giovanni Barile, who is not to be confounded with the Sienese *intagliatore* of the same name, befriended by Raphael. Barile, in life and art a plebeian, but of a kindly nature and utterly unselfish, took Andrea into his studio, where he remained for three years. Having in this time learned all that the limited capacity of his master could teach him, Barile himself entered into an agreement with the painter Piero del Cosimo, in consequence of which Andrea passed on to that artist's studio.

Piero del Cosimo (1462—1521) was of an eccentric disposition, and his peculiarities increased with years. As an artist he represented the school of Rosselli, under whom he had studied together with some younger painters, such as Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli. He was not very highly gifted, lacking a free play of fancy and a harmonious sense of the beautiful. But he was a most conscientious draughtsman, while his composition was remarkable for its transparent clearness. In those days he passed for one of the ablest artists in Florence, as shown by the fact that in 1503 he was chosen, jointly with Leonardo da Vinci, Sandro Botticelli, and Giuliano da Sangallo, on the committee appointed to report on the best site for Michael Angelo's statue of David. Hence there were doubtless many things that his pupils might learn from him, though colouring was scarcely one of them. In this branch of the art his later works even show that he took lessons from his own pupils, and notably from the marvellous colorist Andrea.

Nor did our master in his turn confine himself to what he could acquire in Piero's studio. He evidently studied other masters also, a circumstance which

may account for a Florentine contemporary speaking of him as a pupil of Raffaelino del Garbo. But his most frequent visits were to the Sala del Papa, at that time still attached to the Convent of Sta. Maria Novella, though later on included in the nunnery of La Concezione in the Via della Scala. Here Andrea with his fellow-pupils spent every spare moment in studying and copying Leonardo's great cartoon of the Battle of Anghiari. Here also he came in contact with Rosso, Jacopo Sansovino, Aristotile da Sangallo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Francesco Granacci, and Francia Bigio. With the last named he soon formed a closer intimacy, out of which arose the project of setting up a studio in common.

Their mutual fellow-feeling, and the love of independence, may have been the principle incentives to quit their former masters.

Francia Bigio was about four years Andrea's senior, and had been at work in Mariotto Albertinelli's studio. Vasari refers their partnership to the time when Albertinelli parted from Fra Bartolommeo and for a brief space exchanged the studio for the tavern. This took place in 1512, but Andrea and Bigio must have been working together before that year, after which date no further works are described as their joint production. Amongst these early paintings produced by them in common, Vasari mentions the "Cortine," or side pieces of the Annunziata, with the "Annunciation" on one side and a "Descent from the Cross" on the other, both of which have long since perished. Soon after this was produced the "Baptism of Christ" in the court of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, undoubtedly one of Andrea's first works. In it we are unable to detect either the co-operation of Bigio or any characteristic traces of the school of Piero del Cosimo. In form and exposition it is an indifferent and expressionless work, while still showing symptoms of growing artistic power.

With his right hand John is pouring water from a shell over the Saviour's head, while he gathers his garments about him and holds a cross in his left. Two angels in adoration assist at the scene, which takes place in an extremely desolate landscape. The tyro here shows himself even in the technique. Andrea first prepares accurate cartoons, thence transferring the forms with the needle to the fresh plaster, so that the juncture coincides with the outlines of the several groups. He then paints it over first *al fresco*, and lastly *al secco*; but this final coating has since fallen away, leaving nothing now visible but the ground-painting in fresco. But what a stride from this process to the perfection of the technique of fresco painting as seen in the "Nativity of the Virgin," and how rapidly is the intervening distance traversed by our artist!

The shortcomings of this "Baptism of Christ" were probably the cause that the works were not at first continued here. He, however, received a commission from a fresh quarter. In the court of the Convent of the Annunziata, Alesso Baldovinetti had painted a "Birth of Christ" about the year 1450, Cosimo Rosselli

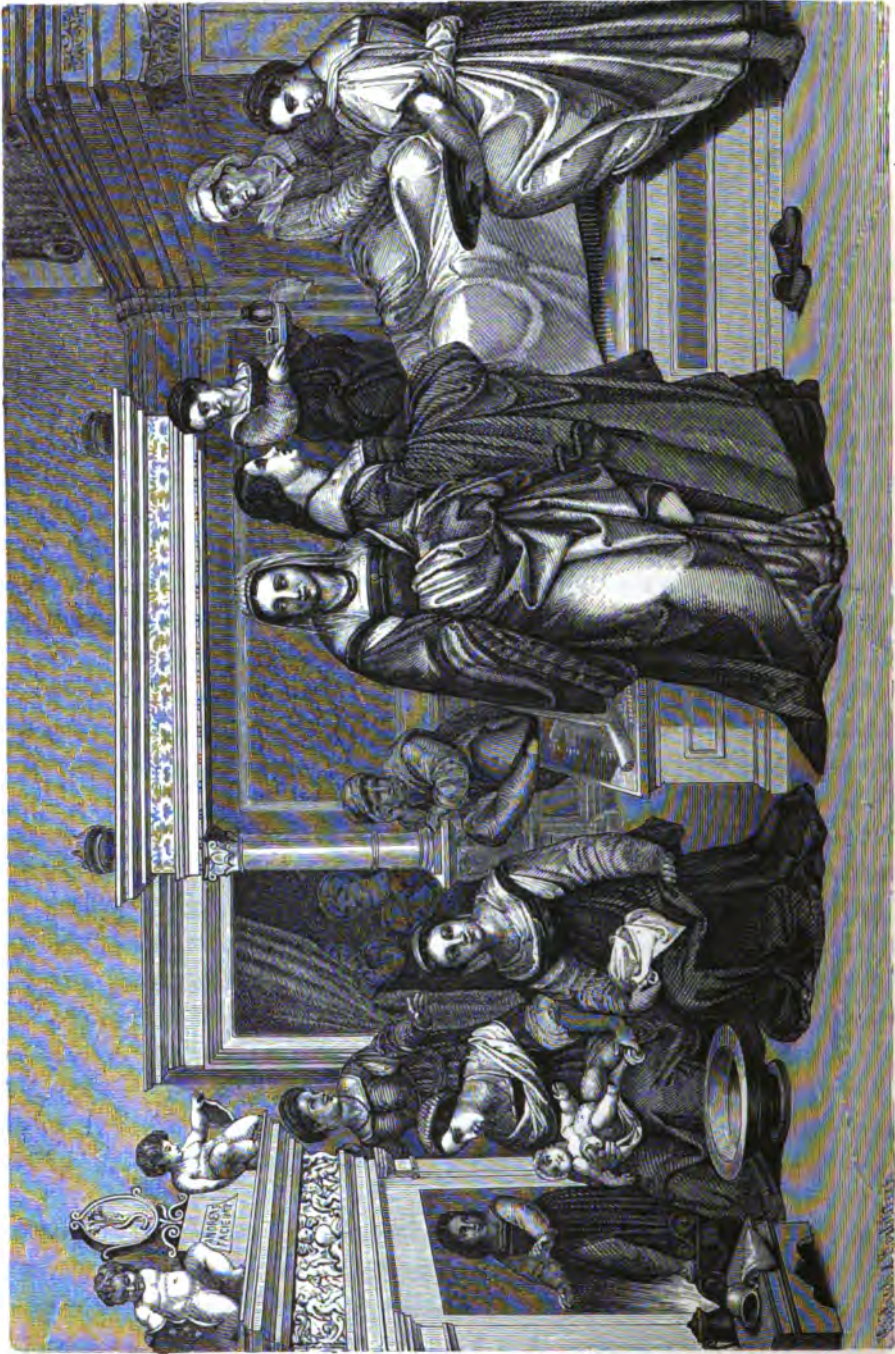
afterwards adding the "Clothing of Filippo Benizzi, Founder of the Order of the Serventi," without, however, quite finishing the work. So the friars now looked about for young and rising talent, more anxious for fame than fortune. The sacristan Fra Mariano, knowing Andrea to be a clever artist, arranged the matter skilfully. He first of all pointed out the great honour it would confer on him were he allowed to adorn the cloisters with his paintings. He then let it eke out that Francia Bigio was ready to undertake the work, in case Andrea did not accept the proffered terms. Our artist accordingly promised first to execute three mural paintings at an absurdly low figure, and forthwith set to work.

The progress made by Andrea in the knowledge of his art during these works is very remarkable. The first, consisting of a series of scenes, including the principal one, in which Philip hands his garment to a leper, still shows utter ignorance of the laws of composition. The size of the figures bears such disproportion to the perspective that the historical piece becomes a mere landscape relieved with a few accessory figures. Nor is there much more animation here than in the "Baptism of Christ," either in the characteristics of the individual figures or in those of the groups. In the second work, "Philip and the Gamesters," the proportion between the historical and landscape painting has not yet been grasped, but the action is represented with an undeniable dramatic vigour. Lastly, in the third, "Philip curing a Maiden possessed," Andrea's perception of real clearness of composition reveals itself for the first time.

The approval these three frescoes met with induced him to add two more. These were the "Death of St. Philip and Resurrection of the Youth," and the "Healing of the Children by the Touch of the Saint's Garment." In both the narrative is freer, without, however, departing from the subject-matter. In the first the action is again disposed in two parts, the first showing the dead youth before the bier of the saint, while in the second he is already in the act of rising after the contact with Philip's garment. The bier is surrounded by the brethren, mostly real portraits, amongst whom Girolamo, grand-nephew of Luca della Robbia. In the background, beneath the doorway, we see a group of monks suddenly arrested in their psalmody at sight of the miracle.

In the second painting a priest, standing at the convent gate, lays the saint's robe on the head of a child kneeling by his mother, for the purpose of curing him. The space is filled in by several groups, evidently taking a lively interest in the proceedings. According to Vasari, amongst them are the portraits of Andrea della Robbia and of Luca, younger brother of the above-mentioned Girolamo.

However closely connected in point of time, these five frescoes embrace a



Louis Schultze delin.

"Birth of Mary." (Fresco in the Convent of the Serventi, Florence.)

considerable advance in Andrea's development. While recognising the teachers that have taken part in his artistic education, we also gradually begin to detect

his own inmost nature. His method of exposition is based on Ghirlandajo, and the laws of grouping on Fra Bartolommeo, while Leonardo awakens that acute sense of colour with which nature has endowed him. But withal he is no mere clumsy imitator. His temperament is totally different from that of Ghirlandajo. He lacks depth of tone in his exposition, precisely because his figures are more cheerful and lovable, though also mostly very ordinary persons, deficient in sentiment and mental power. In this respect he recalls no master so forcibly as Correggio, though, at least as an artist, much more naïve than that painter.

He soon fully masters Bartolommeo's high ideal standard of composition. And if in the colouring he looks to Leonardo, he is still, in this respect, more highly gifted by nature and happier in his instinctive touch than is the older master in his studied efforts. Leonardo's most distinctive feature is the fusion of the highest genius, which we look on as unconscious power, with the most prodigious artistic consciousness. Thus his *Treatise on Painting* shows how he inquires into the conditions of the most vivid coloristic effects, and strives to master them by theoretic means, in order to avail himself of them in his artistic creations.

It is scarcely possible to suppose that Andrea pursued a similar course, and we see him at one bound mastering that excellence in colour which Leonardo arrives at after much careful study and effort. The harsh fixity of colour yields to a softly blended modelling; a general opaque tone makes full allowance for the aerial effect, yet without impairing the cheerfulness and transparency of the colours.

The germs of all these qualities, defects and excellencies alike, are clearly visible in the two last-mentioned frescoes; they are brought to greater maturity later on, but at bottom Andrea strikes out no new paths. With the commencement of the works in the Convent of the Serventi he had already broken up his quarters on the Piazza del Grano, occupied jointly with Francia Bigio, and had rented an apartment in the Sapienza. Here was also the studio of Andrea Sansovino, with whose pupil Jacopo Sansovino, our artist soon contracted such a close friendship that they became inseparable by day or night. Giovan Francesco Rustici also, who resided in the Via della Scala, had his studio in the Sapienza. Rustici was a man of independent means, and cultivated statuary merely for love of Art. But what he might have achieved is sufficiently evident from the bronze group of John the Baptist preaching, placed over the north door of the Baptistry.

Rustici's hospitable residence soon became the centre of a jovial circle, including, besides our artist, Domenico Puligo, Aristotile da Sangallo, Francesco di Pellegrino, Baccio Bandinelli, and Jacopo Sansovino. They called themselves the "Pot Club" (*Compagnia del Pajuolo*), and it is abundantly evident

from Vasari that gastronomic pleasures were by no means neglected by them. Nor was there any lack of wit and humour. Thus, in 1519, for instance, when Francia Bigio was master of the ceremonies, Andrea del Sarto recited the serio-comic epic of the Battle of the Frogs and Mice for several consecutive evenings. He was not exactly the author of the poem, which was nothing but a free rendering of the Greek original, with the addition of a few occasional apostrophes, due mainly to Ottaviano de' Medici, who is thus referred to in the penultimate strophe of the last canto:—

“ Questi soventi il Greco interpretava,
E della rima mi faceva il sentiero. . . .”

It would be somewhat hazardous to credit Andrea himself with any knowledge of Greek. But as he frequently visited at the house of Ottaviano, the latter may have easily made him the medium of ventilating such a literary trifle. Andrea belonged also to another club, that of “The Trowel” (Cazzuola), the eccentric occurrence that led to the formation of which, in 1512, is very drily related by Vasari. The members were at first divided into two, afterwards into three, different classes, to the third of which our artist belonged. For its patron they chose St. Andrew, whose feast was always kept with boisterous hilarity. To this were constantly being added more “holidays,” for the love of life and dissipation that distinguished the Florence of the fifteenth century had not yet become a thing of the past. It had, however, already begun to degenerate into unbridled license, destined itself to be followed by academic insipidity pervading both Art and society.

Andrea was fond enough of good living, though this in no way interfered either with his love of or capacity for work. The above-described frescoes had earned him some repute; the convent itself wanted the works to be continued, while there was no lack of orders from other quarters. He engaged to paint two more frescoes for the monks. But before these he executed the four round frescoes in the refectory of the convent of San Salvi, which surround the “Last Supper” afterwards painted here. They represent SS. John Gualbertus, Benedict, Salvi, and Bernard degli Uberti, and clearly betray Fra Bartolommeo's influence.

About the same time the architect Baccio d' Agnolo procured for him the commission to paint an “Annunciation” on the exterior of a house in the neighbourhood of Or San Michele. What remains of this fresco, which is now sheltered, is not in a condition to allow of any judgment being pronounced on it; but Vasari censures its somewhat artificial manner. On the other hand, the “Annunciation” he at this time painted for the convent of San Gallo is thoroughly satisfactory.

He had at an earlier period supplied for the same place a “Noli me

tangere," now in the Uffizi (No. 40), though in a very bad state. The "Annunciation" which he now also painted for the church there, and preserved in the Pitti Palace (No. 124), is as lovable as it is skilfully executed. Mary stands before a *prie-dieu*, in her left hand holding a book, in which she was evidently absorbed before the message brought by the angel, who seems to have just flown down from heaven, and now stands with bent knee before her. The space on the left is filled in with two attendant angels, who are amongst the loveliest figures ever painted by Andrea. Rich Roman architecture in the middle distance, and a thoughtfully treated landscape in the background, form a distinguished framework to the composition. The conception of the action here reveals a spiritual depth such as he elsewhere rarely gives proof of. The colouring, however, still lacks that perfect blending of the modelling peculiar to his more mature works, but is already full of promise in its finely balanced tones and the consequent harmonious general effect. This painting must be referred to the year 1512, as the predella, that has since disappeared, was prepared by Pontormo, who worked in Andrea's studio in 1512 and 1513.

During the progress of these works he was also engaged on the two frescoes for the court of the Nunziata. They represent the "Birth of Mary" and the "Adoration of the Kings," and here he put forth all his strength in rivalry with Francia Bigio, who had undertaken to paint the "Betrothal of Mary" in the same place.

The "Birth of Mary," if not in every respect the ripest, is assuredly the most beautiful work by our master. In spiritual import it is the best and the highest of which his nature was capable. The composition is of a simple yet unsurpassed beauty, and the draughtsmanship correct. The colouring, though perhaps inferior to that of the "Madonna del Sacco" and the "Last Supper," still already shows all those qualities that made Andrea the greatest colourist of his day.

The room in which the scene is represented shows in its decorations the purest taste of the Renaissance. Two principal groups are at once perceptible—on the right, St. Anna waited on by two maidens; on the left, women and maidens attending to the new-born infant. These two groups are connected by means of two stately and beautiful female figures, represented as visitors approaching the patient. In the background we see Joachim with two women just crossing the threshold, while charming little *amorini* are seated on the frame of the canopy-bed. Above the fire-place are introduced the Medici arms, supported by two *putti*, with the inscription on the base, "Andreas faciebat," and further down A.D. M.D.XIII., then the double ✠ as the master's monogram.

A comparison of this work with Ghirlandajo's treatment of the same theme in Sta. Maria Novella will best show wherein Andrea del Sarto fails, and in what respect he is in advance of contemporary painting. Both artists aim alike and

exclusively at a realism beautified by each of them in his own way, and, in fact, both representations give the impression of the most vivid truthfulness. But



"Charity." (Louvre Gallery.)

while Ghirlandajo's characters not only display the beauty, but also the power and more elevated spirit of the times, in those of Andrea we find nothing but

grace, and the sensuous charm of physical existence, so that we scarcely venture to put the crucial question, What would such beings have to communicate to us, were we to meet them in the flesh?

On the other hand, Andrea surpasses Ghirlandajo in delicacy and nobility of composition, while his colouring, with its enchanting "sfumato," combines with the grand effect of fresco the elegance and refinement of oil-painting. Hence we may say that Ghirlandajo is the greater artist, Andrea the greater painter; and this is the position that the latter really occupies in relation to his great contemporaries.

Immediately after the completion of this fresco he began the seventh and last, representing the "Adoration of the Kings." It is a work rich in figures, but consequently deficient in one of Andrea's chief merits—clearness and simplicity, and nobility of composition. There is no lack of appropriate details. Amongst the spectators is a group of three men in Florentine garb, all portraits—Jacopo Sansovino, turned towards the observer, the musician Francesco dell' Ajolle, whose profile is visible behind Sansovino, and the painter himself pointing forward with foreshortened arm.

Of the two handsome women connecting the main groups in the "Birth of Mary," the first, turned towards the spectator and even of a more haughty type than her companion, represents Lucrezia del Fede.

Vasari has described this woman as the special bane of Andrea's existence. In the first edition of his work this writer heaped up so many charges against her that even the most impartial must have regarded her as a heartless courtesan. But the reproach has been justly removed, although Vasari is still unable to conceal his abstract repugnance to the woman, possibly to indemnify himself for what he may have had to put up with from her proud and capricious temper during his apprenticeship in Andrea's house.

Looking at the incidents reported by Vasari, apart from his accompanying reflections, Lucrezia would seem to have been no very sublime character. She was rather a commonplace woman, handsome, but conscious of her prepossessing appearance; coquettish, like all fine women with whom beauty is not accompanied by mental culture; domineering also, as most women again are who find themselves associated with men of weak character, men such as Andrea, who lacked vigour and determination. As an artist so less than as a man, he appears of a soft, kindly temperament, easily affected by outward influences. He is deficient in energy of spirit; he shows himself of an extremely passive nature, and in accordance with this is the effect produced on him by his passion for Lucrezia. It does not spur him on to the highest development of his powers, as it would have done with a more active disposition. It reveals to him no new depths of inward life; it sheds no higher glory on the outer world, and, in a word, produces no radical change in the course of his development.

Hence the groundlessness of Vasari's assumption that it was his passion for Lucrezia that prevented him from achieving the degree of excellence lying within the sphere of his natural gifts. This passion, notwithstanding its vehemence, brought to light some few weak points only in Andrea's moral character, but left the artist himself uninfluenced in his essential being; it is therefore evident that what he achieved was the highest and greatest of which he was at all capable.

He was passionately affected by the sensuous attractions of Lucrezia, and she thus became in due course the tyrant of his household. The artist was meantime interested by her outward form, to which he does full homage by repeatedly introducing it into his pictures.

Lucrezia was the daughter of Bartolommeo del Fede, and when Andrea became acquainted with her, she was married to the cap maker, Carlo Recanati, who had a shop in the Via San Gallo. Her husband died on December 26, 1512, so that there was now no longer any obstacle to her marriage with Andrea. Vasari's remark that such a union was not only discountenanced by all his friends, but also that all Florence was scandalized at it, seems to be a gross exaggeration, especially when we consider the light moral views current at the time. Nor must we forget that Vasari was of a very excitable temperament, one of whose cardinal virtues was certainly not historic accuracy.

The marriage may have probably taken place towards the end of 1513, as Lucrezia's portrait is introduced into the "Birth of Mary," which the artist would scarcely have ventured to do in so sacred a subject had his connection with her not been of a legitimate nature. The earliest authentic record referring to the marriage is dated May 25, 1518. It is the deed in which Andrea acknowledges receipt of the dowry he caused to be paid over before setting out on his journey to France, which took place about this time.

Of the numerous portraits which he has left us of Lucrezia the finest is in the Prado (No. 383), in Madrid. The double portrait of her and the artist himself would seem to be a work of Francia Bigio.

Before the completion of the last two frescoes in the Convent of the Serventi, he had painted in the garden of the same place two other works in chiaroscuro, illustrating the Parable of the Vineyard, which have now all but disappeared.

Of his painting in the Novitiate of the Convent of the Serventi we may here mention: the two frescoes of a "Pietà" in *terra verde*, now in the Academy (No. 61, Sala de' Quadri grandi), and an "Infirmary" also in the Academy, but covered by No. 67. The first is greatly damaged, though the excellence of its draughtsmanship is still perceptible. The second shows skilful disposition combined with hasty execution. Whether the superb "Head of Christ" in the Annunziata belongs to the same period is uncertain. We only know that in it he attains quite an exceptional elevation and ideality of expression.

The constantly increasing reputation of the artist may perhaps have now induced the Compagnia dello Scalzo to intrust him with the continuation of the works here begun some years previously. On November 1st, 1515, he received



"The Burial of Christ." (Pitti Gallery.)

74 lire 2 soldi, in payment for the "Preaching of John" and the "Allegory of Justice" now completed. In the first we see John standing on the stump of a tree, warning the people to do penance, and announcing the advent of the

Redeemer. Next him are the men finely grouped, and with inward emotion hearkening to his words; further off are the women kneeling in a semicircle. It is well known that for this work he borrowed two figures from Dürer's *Passion*; and when it is compared with Ghirlandajo's treatment of the same theme, there appears to be no greater connection between the two than was required by the identity of the subject matter. Ghirlandajo's spiritual conception is certainly finer, though Andrea's work is still of the highest excellence in its forms, perfect alike in drawing and composition, and clearly shows the immense stride he has made in his development since the period of the "*Baptism of Christ*."

On completing this picture his work was for a brief interval interrupted. Pope Leo X. was expected in Florence, where preparations were being made to give him a grand reception.

All the Florentine artists were busily engaged on works for the approaching festivities. Andrea undertook jointly with Jacopo Sansovino to provide the Cathedral of Sta. Maria del Fiore with a temporary façade, which was so highly approved of by Leo that he expressed a wish it might be carried out in permanent stone work. Though we may presume that Sansovino had the principal share in this decorative work, Andrea's co-operation still shows that his skill in such matters was fully recognised.

After the excitement of these festivities had subsided, Andrea resumed his work in the Scalzo. In October, 1516, he finished the ornamental surroundings of the "*Baptism of Christ*," the "*Preaching of John*," and the "*Allegory of Justice*," as well as of the "*Carità*," or "*Christian Love*," which last also had been recently completed. In March, 1517, he finished the "*John baptizing the People*," and in July the "*Imprisonment of John*." In the same year he produced his most important oil painting, the so-called "*Madonna delle Arpye*," now in the Uffizi, Tribuna, No. 1112, but originally painted for the Franciscan Convent in the Via Pentolini, in Florence. Here Mary, as the true Queen of Heaven, full of dignity and grace, stands on a pedestal, with her right hand pressing the infant Saviour to her side, in her left holding a book. SS. Francis and John the Evangelist are introduced, the first of a severe, manly type, the second distinguished by a youthful, animated beauty. On either side of the pedestal are two angels clinging to the Madonna's robe, and on the socle the inscription:—

And. Sar. Flo. Fab.
Ad summu regina tronu defertur in altum.
MDXVII.

No other work of our master can compare with this for animation and elegance. With all its naturalness the drapery produces in its folds an imposing effect, while in the colouring it may be described as the most

brilliant achievement of this epoch. The "sfumato" is here so hazy that it, so to say, causes the fixed outlines to disappear, without, however, depriving the forms of their distinctness. The chiaroscuro is of a marvellous power and clearness, the general effect warm and perfectly harmonious. In a word we now at last meet with an artist who is completely master of his technique, and who at the same time reaches the extreme limits of his art.

To the same period must be referred the "Disputa," as Vasari expressly states that it was painted before his journey to France. It was executed for a chapel in the Church of the Convent of San Gallo, where Andrea continued to be held in high favour. It is now in the Pitti Palace, No. 172.

On a raised plane stand SS. Augustine and Laurence to the right, Peter Martyr and Francis to the left. These are the four disputants, the object of their controversy being the Trinity, which is visible on high. The foreground is occupied by St. Sebastian and the Magdalene, who, however, take no part in the contest. From this work it becomes evident that Andrea strove to the very utmost to introduce spiritual life and motion into the situation. But to give any deeper point to the part played by the disputants in accordance with the spiritual type of each, neither lay within the compass of his powers, nor was it in itself an easy matter considering the arbitrary choice made of the characters represented in the scene. But wherever the spiritual action passes into pictorial embodiment, Andrea again shows himself a great master, which is here all the more meritorious that the disposition was not determined by tradition, but had to be invented by him for the occasion. In its colouring the work can scarcely have been inferior to the Tribuna piece; even in its present state, after the injury it sustained when the church was flooded in 1557, it still shows a really delightful strength and harmony of colour. The legend runs:—
"And. Sar. Fior. Fac."

Till this time Andrea had never quitted Florence; at least the visit to Rome assumed by Lanzi on the strength of a vague remark by Vasari is so wanting in the least shadow of proof that it cannot be at all accepted as true.

In spite of his frequent commissions he had lived in Florence if not in actual poverty, at all events in far from easy circumstances, his patrons themselves probably not failing to take advantage of his good nature. But it seemed as if a splendid career were now about to be opened for him. Two of his works, a "Dead Christ with weeping Angels," and a "Madonna," both now apparently lost, had been sold by Giovan Battista Puccini to that warm encourager of Italian Art, Francis I., King of France. Francis was highly delighted with them, and being informed that the artist might be induced to enter his service, he made the offer to Andrea, and, on its being accepted, forwarded him the money required for the journey.

So Andrea set out in June, 1518, accompanied by his pupil, Andrea Sguazzella. He was most honourably received by the king, who during the very first days made him presents of rich dresses and money. He, however, lost no time, but at once set to work, his first painting being the life-size portrait of the new-born Dauphin, for which he received 300 scudi. There followed a "*Carità*" now in the Louvre (No. 437). A woman of noble and dignified bearing holds two children on her lap, one of them at the breast, the other smiling and showing a bunch of nuts. A third lies on the ground, and the background is filled in with a pleasant landscape. It is inscribed:—"Andreas Sartus. Florentinus Me Pinxit MDXVIII."

In the treatment of form we here observe more decided traces of Michael Angelo's influence than were hitherto perceptible. Though damaged by the damp, the colour still shows the perfection of Andrea's best period.

He now continued to grow rapidly in the favour of the king and the court, and being a quick worker and anxious to oblige every one, a tolerably large number of works were soon produced, most of which, however, have since disappeared. But amongst them are undoubtedly the two Holy Families now in the Louvre (Nos. 438 and 439).

The first shows for Andrea a remarkable coldness in the colouring, while a complete overpainting prevents any opinion being formed of the second. It is inscribed: "*Andrea del Sarto Florentino faciebat,*" and also bears his monogram. Other Holy Families elsewhere met with in France must for the most part be referred to Sguazzella.

Whilst engaged on a "*Penitent St. Jerome*" for the Duchess of Angoulême, he received letters from his wife that induced him to return at once to Florence. Vasari hints that Lucrezia was actuated by purely selfish motives, adding that she assured Andrea he would find her dead unless he came back immediately. Whether there was any other reason for his sudden departure is unknown, but certain it is that he also had Lucrezia ever before his eyes, so that his Madonnas constantly assume her features.

He asked permission of the king to go and arrange some matters in Florence, whence he would return in company with his wife. Francis granted his request, and after intrusting him with a considerable sum of money for the purchase of paintings and sculptures, made him swear on the gospel to be back in Paris within a few months' time. But on his arrival in Florence, Andrea in his delight at once more meeting his wife and friends forgot his commissions and obligations to the king. One entertainment follows another, and his kind friends and kinsfolk are little loth to profit by his natural kindness.

And now he bethought him to build himself a dwelling-house. This soon ran away not only with all his savings, but also with the money advanced by

the king for the purchase of works of Art. But his conscience now smote him ; he wished to make a confession of his guilt and ask the king's forgiveness. Lucrezia, however, who must have been naturally reluctant to accompany him on such a mission, conjured him with tears to remain in Florence. Unable to resist her influence, Andrea yielded and so broke his troth to his patron and protector. The baseness of his conduct may not perhaps have presented itself in a very clear light either to him or to Lucrezia. She acted like a woman who places her inclinations above all sense of moral duty, while nothing could produce a more irresistible effect on Andrea's weakly nature than the tears of the woman he loved. King Francis, however, was justly enraged at such disloyalty, and for a long time no Florentine artist dare be seen in his presence.

But the occurrence does not seem to have otherwise affected our artist's reputation in Florence. We find him soon fully occupied with orders both from persons of distinction and from public bodies. During his absence in France, Francia Bigio had been working in the Scalzo. But scarcely had Andrea re-entered Florence, when the Compagnia applied to him with the request to complete the works he had left unfinished there. For the moment, however (1520), the Allegories of Faith and Hope on either side of the entrance were alone executed.

An order from his old patron and friend, Ottaviano de' Medici, now summoned him to Poggio a Cajano, an ancient country seat of the Medici family. Lorenzo had the villa rebuilt by Giuliano da Sangallo in 1480, and was fond of passing his time here in company with his learned and Art-loving friends. Leo X. now wanted to have one of the apartments adorned with frescoes. Giulio, who attended to the Florentine affairs of the family, intrusted the matter to Ottaviano, as associating more with the Art-world, and by him Francia Bigio, Pontormo, and Andrea were engaged for the work.

Bigio painted Cicero carried in triumph by the Romans, Pontormo sundry allegories, and Andrea Cæsar receiving tribute from the animal world. But the work was only half completed, having been suspended for a long time by the death of Leo X. on December the 1st, 1521. Not till the year 1580 did Ferdinand I. cause the portion begun by Andrea to be finished by Alessandro Allori, as stated in the inscription : "Anno Domini 1521, Andreas Sartius pingebat, et Anno Domini 1580, Alexander Allorius sequebatur." But even so, no very high opinion can be formed of Andrea's share in the work. Here he found himself confined to the narrow antiquarian whims of Paolo Giovio, in whose hands were the choice and arrangement of the subjects. Andrea was rather out of his element in the midst of such a motley throng, and the whole scarcely produces any higher effect than that of an occasional decorative piece.

After discontinuing the works at Poggio a Cajano our master resumed those in the Scalzo. In the beginning of 1522 he painted "Salome dancing



before Herod ;" in the spring of 1523 he finished the "Death of John ;" a few weeks thereafter "The Head of John presented to Herodias ;" lastly, in the summer of the same year, the "Angel appearing to Zacharias." In the "Dance of Salome" the disposition is very defective ; but in the "Death of John" and the presentation of his head, deserving of all praise is the delicate artistic feeling which strives in every possible way to soften the repulsiveness of the subject.

To this period are also to be referred the scenes from the life of Joseph, now in the Pitti Palace, Nos. 87 and 88. They probably served to adorn two cabinets, with which Salvi Borgherini embellished his son's nuptial chamber on his marriage with Margarita, daughter of Roberto Acciajuoli. Each panel embraces several scenes, no attempt being made at unity or clearness of composition. Still we feel attracted by the simple and touching treatment of the subject, and by the decided symptoms of an awakening love of nature, as announced in the circumstantial and careful handling of the landscape element.

In the autumn of 1523 we find Andrea engaged in the nunnery of San Piero in Luco. In 1522 an epidemic of a violent nature had spread from Rome to Florence, where, however, it was at first confined to a few isolated quarters. But it now began to rage violently, so that the engagement at Luco, negotiated by Antonio Brancacci, was very welcome to Andrea. He proceeded thither with his wife, his sister-in-law, his step-daughter, and an assistant. Here, though he remained only a few months, yet he found time to finish three works—a "Visitation," a "Head of Christ," and a "Pietà," of which the last alone has survived, and is now in the Pitti, No. 58. The dead Saviour is supported in a half-sitting position by John, while Mary kneels by his side holding his arm and hand in her hands. At his feet is the Magdalene also kneeling, and St. Catherine somewhat further back, with the Apostles Peter and Paul standing in the background. In grandeur of composition it surpasses Perugino's, while inferior to Fra Bartolommeo's "Pietà ;" but in intensity of feeling it cannot compare with the work of Perugino, to say nothing of that of the great friar-preacher. The painting, however, is admirable.

On his return to Florence towards the end of the same autumn, he first of all painted the "Visitation" in the Scalzo, and afterwards a "Madonna," enthroned in the clouds and attended by six saints," for a glazier, named Beccuccio of Gambassi, in the Val d' Elsa. It is now in the Pitti, No. 307. In the composition it is one of his finest works ; but no judgment can be formed of the colouring, which has much suffered from over-painting and other causes.

Probably to the same period may be referred the five superb figures of saints, now set up in various places in the Cathedral of Pisa. These are SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Catherine, Agnes, and Margaret, painted for the Church of Madonna di Sta. Agnese, in Pisa. Vasari's assertion that the three

female saints are the loveliest female figures ever painted by Andrea can scarcely be gainsaid. In point of colour also they are amongst his most finished works.

In 1524 were executed the copies after Raphael of the portraits of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and of Pope Leo X., accompanied by two cardinals. The



From the "Last Supper." (Fresco in the Refectory of San Salvi.)

first has disappeared, but the other is in the Naples Museum. Its history is related in full by Vasari. It was a thorough fraud, in his patriotic zeal perpetrated by Ottaviano de' Medici, whereby Andrea's copy was sent to Federigo II. of Mantua instead of Raphael's original promised him by Clement VII. It deceived not only the Duke, but even Raphael's pupil, Giulio Romano. When subsequently enlightened by Vasari as to the real

state of the case, Giulio got out of the affair with the ready remark: "I still value the work not a whit less than if it had been by Raphael's hand—nay, even more; for that a great master should so completely renounce his own manner and so perfectly imitate that of another is a thing never before heard of." The work passed later on to the Farnese Gallery in Parma, and thence by bequest to the King of Naples. Though as a copy a masterpiece, a searching eye may still detect a difference between it and the original. Not only is there a lack of perfect freedom of exposition, but in the colouring also, with all his efforts to reproduce Raphael's style, the artist is unable entirely to disguise his own fundamentally different principles. This difference is thus defined by the last historians of Italian Art: "The lights are doubtless sufficiently blended and



Group from the "Last Supper." (Fresco in the Refectory of San Salvi.)

clear to entitle the work to the praise of a good imitation of Raphael; but owing to its more rigid character the shading does not fill in the forms with sufficient fulness, while the colour of the draperies, however correctly copied after Raphael, still falls short of the decided unity of the original." (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iv., 572.)

The next year (1525) is distinguished by one of his most famous productions, the "*Madonna del Sacco*," the style of which shows conclusively that it cannot be referred with Biadi to the year 1514. It is a fresco, occupying the lunette over the doorway leading from the cloisters into the Convent of the Serventi.

Mary is seated on a marble step, with the Infant, a remarkably life-like figure, struggling to escape from her lap and run to Joseph, who is represented

seated in profile leaning against a sack, and holding an open book in his hand. Scarcely in any other work of the master is the absence of inner life so painfully felt as in this, which displays the grandest forms and the most finished technical execution. Mary recalls Michael Angelo's Madonnas not only in the type of her features, but also in the general form, conceived quite in his spirit, while in the treatment of the draperies a charming naturalness is combined with an imposing grandeur. But what impression is conveyed by these features? Have we not here the insipid and wearied expression of the hired model? Joseph doubtless fills the space better, but is so little interested in the action that his presence might otherwise be very well dispensed with. The Child alone in its charming restlessness relieves the eye from the spectacle of mere form and colour. The colouring itself, in spite of all the damage it has sustained, is still admirable, and marks the highest point in Andrea's technical skill in fresco painting.

This was his last work in the Convent of the Serventi, and in the spring of the following year he completed the series of his frescoes in the Scalzo with the "Birth of John the Baptist." Elizabeth, half-risen from the couch, turns inquiringly towards Zacharias, who is writing on a tablet the name by which the new-born infant is to be called. A young woman of somewhat heavy appearance is handing the child to its mother, while on the left is seated an old woman apparently looking on in wonder at the proceedings. In the background is visible another figure, which in crossing the threshold has turned round to take one more curious glance at the scene. The composition is at once simple and grand; but here we have something more than beauty of form filling in so much space. The whole is also pervaded by a spiritual harmony, life, and animation. A vast stride has been made from "The Baptism of Christ" to this work, though less perceptible in the growth of inward conception and sense of power than in the further development and improvement of the artist's feeling for the beautiful.

This work was followed by the "Last Supper" in the refectory of the Convent of San Salvi, also the last of a series long since commenced.

In the centre is seated the Saviour, on one side John, his hand pressed by that of Christ, on the other Judas, to whom he is handing the bread. Then follow right and left the disciples in groups of two each, with one seated also at either of the narrow ends of the table. In the background two spectators are visible at a window.

Our enjoyment of this work need be in no way diminished by the contrast with the corresponding piece by Leonardo. Andrea accomplished all that his inmost nature was capable of. Not only to feel, but also to give artistic expression to the whole spiritual significance of the moment lay within the grasp of a Leonardo alone. Andrea's "Last Supper" is a faithful exposition of the event,

as conceived and related by a simple, unaffected nature. These apostolic figures are the types of mere fishermen, honest men of the people, doubtless admirably characterized, but still without any sense of their higher mission. The head of the Redeemer is more dignified, but still inferior to that of the Annunziata in loftiness of conception. The gestures of the individual disciples are animated, and clearly interpret the course of the action. The treatment of the draperies point to the period of the "Madonna del Sacco." The colouring, somewhat damaged in many places, is on the whole still fresh and powerful, though the work is inferior to the "Madonna del Sacco" and the "Birth of Mary" in this respect. A design in oil for this "Last Supper" is preserved in Oxford.

The completion of this fresco was followed by a commission from the monks of Vallombrosa. For the Paradisino, situated on a lonely mountain-top about ten minutes from the head monastery, he painted the four patrons of the establishment: SS. John the Baptist, John Gualbertus, Bernard, and Michael. The work is dated: "Ann. Dom. MDXXVIII." It was disposed in two compartments, forming the volets of a triptych, the centre panel of which was an old painting in the Byzantine style. Two *putti* belonging to it, but now hung by themselves there (No. 62), were doubtless introduced in connection with the older painting. The saints, who are conceived simply as attendants, are fine and powerful figures, in their attitudes strongly recalling Fra Bartolommeo.

To the year 1529 must be referred the "Sacrifice of Abraham," painted by Andrea to the order of Giovanbattista della Palla, who as agent of Francis I. may have intended by means of it to bring about a reconciliation between his fellow-countryman and the king.

Abraham, a majestic and powerful figure, is on the point of sacrificing his son, when an angel swoops down from behind to prevent him. On one side is an attendant with a mule, and the scene is represented as in a rich and finely disposed hilly landscape. Of this work there are two replicas by Andrea himself, one in the Prado (No. 387), Madrid, the other in Dresden (No. 44), this latter being the most famous, hence doubtless that intended for Francis I.

A younger contemporary of Vasari, who wrote before him, if not so voluminously often with better judgment, thus refers to this work: "The last painting finished by Andrea was a picture about three ells high, representing the sacrifice of Abraham and some shepherds. Here he shows himself a perfect artist and most distinguished master. The work which the Marchese Pescara afterwards procured by means of Filippo Strozzi deserves to be reckoned amongst the rarest of the old works." In point of fact its composition and draughtsmanship are masterly, recalling both the antique and Michael Angelo, and the resemblance of Isaac to one of the sons in the Laocöon group has

been justly dwelt upon. In the attitude and the draperies of the Abraham there is a pathos suitable to the occasion, elsewhere seldom met with in Andrea's works. The colouring, though lavish, is powerful and harmonious.

The work in the Prado may have been the replica executed for Paolo da Terrarossa, but the copy in Lyons is the product of Andrea's School.



"The Sacrifice of Abraham." (Dresden Gallery.)

To the year 1529 belongs the "Holy Family," now in the Pitti (No. 81), painted for Ottaviano de' Medici.

Mary is seated on the ground with the Infant astride on her knee, and turned towards the little John, who is struggling to escape from Elizabeth towards him. The pleasantly disposed scene is placed in a cheerful landscape; but this, like his other Holy Families, is deficient in that deeper sentiment, the

absence of which is the less felt owing to the graceful grouping and the irresistible charm of the Infant Saviour, even when they are less radiant with the magic of colour than is here the case.

In his last years we find Andrea engaged in carrying out a work of a not very honourable nature. Republican Florence was fighting its death-struggle in the year 1530, and such troubled times were not very favourable to Art.



Fac-simile of a Drawing in the Uffizi.

Hence Andrea, who was never very careful of his earnings, may have now found himself in a somewhat unenviable position. So he accepted from the Signoria the commission to paint on the façade of the Mercanzia Vecchia as a memorial of their infamy the figures of the three refugees, Cecco and Jacopantonio Orsini and Giovanni da Lessa, who had been hanged in effigy. This he did concealed behind a scaffolding, fearing, like Andrea del Castagno, to be

gibbeted with the nickname "degli Impiccati." In the same way he painted on the palace of the Podestà the likenesses of the rebels Alessandro Corsini, Taddeo Giudici, and Pierfrancesco Ridolfi.

Meanwhile the unhappy city was approaching its doom. The devotion of the citizens could do no more, and the traitor, Malatesta Baglioni, had contrived to seize upon the supreme power in the State. After the fall of Francesco Ferucci by Gavinana in the Pistoja territory, the ruin of the freedom of Florence could no longer be averted, and the Medici entered the city. The war was doubtless over, but the plague, that had never quite died out since 1522, now broke out again with redoubled fury. Andrea also fell a victim to it. He died, Vasari relates, forsaken by all, even by Lucrezia, who shunned him through fear of the contagion. The confraternity of San Sebastian, which he had joined in February, 1529, buried him quietly and without any ostentatious display. On January 22, 1531 (old style, 1530), the dead mass was celebrated for the benefit of his soul. He found a resting-place in the Church of the Serventi, where his most glorious works had been painted. Here also his pupil, Domenico Conti, raised a monument to his memory, for which Pier Vettori composed a touching inscription. But in consequence of the disputes between the brotherhood of San Sebastian and the convent respecting the burial places in the Nunziata, Andrea's monument was subsequently removed, and has since disappeared. But in 1606 the prior of the convent caused a memorial to be set up to him in the very court itself that had been adorned with his works. It consisted of a marble bust with a laudatory inscription, between the first and second paintings of St. Philip.

Lucrezia survived her husband many years, dying at a very advanced age in 1570.

The presumable portrait by himself, painted about 1529, and now in the Uffizi (No. 280 in the room set apart for the portraits of painters), shows the artist in the full vigour of his life, a simple, almost rustic type, but full of kindness and good nature. His portrait introduced into the "Adoration of the Kings," has been already mentioned, and to the same period may perhaps be referred a third now owned by the Marchese Campani, in Florence.

If in inward depth of expression Andrea yields to the greatest of his contemporaries, in the technical sphere he appears as such a brilliant discoverer, that he must still rank with the foremost of his day in any just and comprehensive estimate of the artistic triumphs of that period.

Besides Sguazzella, Pontormo, and Vasari already referred to, amongst his pupils may also be mentioned Domenico Puligo, who was, however, little more than a superficial imitator of Andrea's manner.

There remain to be quoted some of his more important works not named in our account of the artist :—

FLORENCE.—Palazzo Pitti : “Annunciation” (No. 163), painted for Giuliano della Scala, ruined by restoration. Two Assumptions (Nos. 191 and 225), the first painted for Bartolommeo Panciatichi, but unfinished. “Mary in a Glory with four Saints” (No. 123), also finished by another hand; the upper portion seemingly by Andrea, the lower by Morgante Bonilli da Poppi. “Annunciation” (No. 97), originally intended for the Abbey of St. Godenzo, entirely overpainted. “Portrait of a Young Man” (No. 66). Another (No. 184), fine colouring, but hasty drawing. “John the Baptist” (No. 265), probably the work bespoken by Giovan Maria Benintendi.

UFFIZI.—No. 1254, “St. Giacomo,” painted originally for the confraternity of St. Giacomo del Nicchio, much damaged. No. 188, female bust. No. 1169, portrait of a young man, probably that mentioned by Vasari as the likeness of a merchant of Vallombrosa; restored.

ROME.—Barberini Gallery : No. 90, “Holy Family,” in parts overpainted. Borghese Gallery, Room III. : No. 28, “Holy Family.”

NAPLES.—Church of St. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, on right of main entrance, “Holy Family.”

GENOA.—Palazzo Brignoli, Sala Autumio, “Holy Family.”

BERLIN.—Museum, No. 246, “Mary with the Infant and Saints;” one of the master’s finest works of the year 1528, but utterly ruined by restoration.

VIENNA.—Belvedere, Florentine School, Room IV. : No. 23, “Pietà,” signed, “And. Sar. Flor. Fac.”; No. 4, “Tobias with the Angel,” on one side Laurence with a donor kneeling.

MUNICH.—Pinakothek : No. 578, “Bust of St. Joseph.”

DRESDEN.—Museum : No. 43, “Espousals of St. Catherine.”

MADRID.—Prado : Holy Families, Nos. 387 and 388.

PARIS.—Louvre : Holy Families, Nos. 438 and 439.

LONDON.—National Gallery : No. 690, “Portrait of a Man,” with Andrea’s monogram. Bethnal Green Museum : “Madonna with the Child, Angels, and Saints,” signed, “Andrea del Sarto Florentinus faciebat.”

WORKS CONSULTED.

VASARI : “Vite,” &c., 1st edition, Florence, 1550; and Le Monier edition.

BIADI : “Notizie inedite della vita d’ Andrea del Sarto,” Florence, 1829.

REUMONT : “Andrea del Sarto,” Leipzig, 1835.

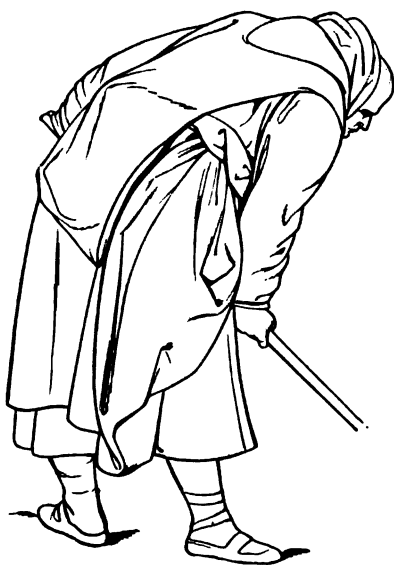
CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE, German edition.

ANONYMO : “Vite dei Pittori,” &c., MS. Magl. xvii. 17, containing the passage on the “Sacrifice of Abraham” quoted in our text. As there stated, this author wrote *before* Vasari.

LUCA SIGNORELLI.

(Born 1441, in Cortona; died there, 1523)

By ROBERT VISCHER.



"Monk digging." (Mont' Oliveto.)

IN that part of Central Italy where Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches converge, including Arezzo, Borgo San Sepolcro and Città di Castello, and, stretching roughly from Lake Trasimene and Cortona to Urbino and Fossambrone, there lives a people in whom seem to be concentrated the special qualities of two races, the active energy and practical feeling of the Florentine with the dreamy thoughtfulness of the Umbrian. This is made evident more particularly by their pictorial art, an art which ever bears the clearest impress of national individuality and culture.

Here we everywhere find the most unmistakable proofs of the fusion of Florentine and Umbrian art influences in the fifteenth century. It shows itself at one time in its sharp dualistic contrasts, at another by an intimate and natural blending of both faculties. And yet the representatives of this artistic borderland, Pietro degli Franceschi (1423—1492); Melozzo da Forlì (1438—1494), Luca Signorelli (1441—1523), Giovanni Santi (1444—1494), and Raphael himself (1483—1520) can by no means be looked upon as eclectics. In a general survey of their works, their individuality and independent life are everywhere conspicuous, even where foreign influences are openly and confessedly at work. These very twofold foreign influences here coalesced in a vigorous, all-absorbing display of power, thereby losing their extreme characteristics, the monotonously mild and dreamy features of the somewhat provincial Umbrian on the one hand, and on the other the world-wide, rough, and incisive qualities of the more stirring and formative Florentine School.

Very decided tendencies towards the manner of his Florentine contem-

poraries are shown by the great master of Borgo San Sepolcro, Pietro degli Franceschi, who is to be considered not only as the worthy leader of this so-called Umbro-Florentine group of painters, but also upon the whole as the theoretico-practical guiding-star of Renaissance painting in general. His countryman and contemporary, Luca Pacioli, calls him a veritable "king of painters" ("monarca della pittura"), outstripping all his fellows. Pietro's chief merit was his scientific establishment of pictorial perspective. In the Ambrosian Library at Milan is preserved a treatise by him, "*De Prospettiva pingendi*," in which the doctrine of the vanishing point is for the first time plainly announced. He establishes the relation of the distance to the diameter of the equilateral section, which he finds to be equal to that which subsists between the elevation and one side of the equilateral triangle. He also speaks of the use of the cord in determining the intersections, but gives no further practical suggestions, the craft having in those days kept its discoveries closely concealed from the outer world. In any case, however, he at least indicates the rest by practically illustrating it in his own productions. At the same time the first paintings in Italy displaying a correct treatment of proportions in space come from the Van Eyck school; a fact which Italian Art-historians are still reluctant to acknowledge.

It might be shown even on local grounds that this school had a direct influence on Pietro himself, perhaps even on his treatment of colouring, though in this respect he still clings to the traditional Italian expedients, and knows nothing of the Van Eyck pigments. Pietro's chief colouristic efforts consisted in giving effect to that gradual shading-off of the hard and fast lines which the local tones assume when seen through the veil of the atmosphere according to their distance in the background. He endeavoured more particularly, by a careful blending of grey tints, to reproduce the atmosphere itself in its harmonizing adjustment and modification of the surrounding objects, herein perhaps taking as his models the frescoes of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel.

But light itself, as an independent phenomenon, is studied by him, and he is specially remarkable for the application of *chiaroscuro*, of strong lights and shadow projections. He at the same time constantly observes a regular distribution of light and shade, and seeks by this means to arrive at a proper disposition of objects and figures in space. Still his method of harmonizing bears altogether a studied neutral stamp, lacking a thoroughly intimate union with the mental conception. In this elementary function, however, he already shows himself a decided naturalist, who aims at reproducing everything that comes within his free glance. And as new theories are ever attended by technical improvement, we find the technique of the Art displaying in Pietro's works a fresh and original development. In a word, he was a genuine painter in the strict acceptation of the term, a painter who made colouristic description his main

object, herein fully as skilled as in correct disposition and anatomical knowledge.

This last quality above all, involving a comprehensive study of the human figure based on organic principles, is one of Pietro's chief merits. It does not certainly distinguish him exceptionally, for Andrea del Castagno, P. Uccelli and the Pollajuoli, not to speak of Donatello and the sculptors, were in this respect at least his equals. But it stamps him in a special manner as the



Portrait of Luca Signorelli, by himself. (Cathedral of Orvieto.)

teacher of the young Signorelli, who kept mainly to the anatomical modelling of this master. The rest he took less to heart, not holding it of equal necessity for his special purpose. Pietro may have perhaps instructed him and others in the Campo Santo at Arezzo, for anatomical studies were in those days generally pursued without much reserve in such burial-places. As an anatomist, however, Pietro is more timid and much more trammelled by tradition, though certainly not more deficient in scientific knowledge, than his more talented pupil. If many of Pietro's figures in the Arezzo frescoes are

somewhat laboured and inanimate, they are still for the most part highly original in the attitudes, and always give proof of exceptional anatomical knowledge.

So much is certain, that Pietro degli Franceschi marks a turning-point in the history of Art, a fact which should be all the more carefully borne in mind the less it has been kept alive by his existing works outside the walls of the Academy. He was no genius in the true and higher sense of the word, being for this too deficient in fire and sentiment, and especially in ideal grasp of the subject. He is always great, severe, and vivid, yet at the same time crabbed, stiff, and heavy. We see that his pictures are obviously the result of the serious, painstaking study of first principles. But for this very reason he possessed precisely that formative power which enabled him to educate young and aspiring talents without checking or impeding their independent development. His most distinguished pupil Signorelli seemed more particularly to have been providentially thrown in his way as his allotted spiritual heir, both being, as it were, chosen one for the other.

Luca (d'Egidio di Ventura) Signorelli was born probably in the year 1441 at Cortona, a town picturesquely situated amongst the hills at no great distance from Lake Trasimene. Giorgio Vasari, a maternal relative, states that he studied under Pietro degli Franceschi at Arezzo, where he produced his first works in 1472 in the Church of San Lorenzo. From this it may be inferred that Signorelli had continued till his thirtieth year if not a pupil of Pietro in the strict sense, at least a dependent fellow-worker with him. He seems to have remained in Arezzo till 1473, and to have gone next year to Città di Castello, where he adorned the tower of the piazza with a "Madonna."

The next traces that we discover of him are the frescoes at Loretto, the execution of which must be referred to somewhere about the year 1478. But if we may suspect that in his earlier years during his relations with Pietro, he travelled for the purpose of furthering his studies, these works must necessarily have been produced between 1474 and 1478, for his Loretto paintings already betray decided Florentine influences. That he had previously made the acquaintance of the artists of Perugia, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and remained more or less influenced by them, may also be concluded with some show of probability, considering how nearly situated this town is to Cortona.

Still the power that was predominant in him, and that was directly developed by the training of Pietro, must have much more urgently directed his steps towards Florence, where he would have come in contact with Fra Filippo and Filippino, but more especially with Botticelli and the Pollajuoli, and the stirring artistic life of this city generally.

Probably in the same year, 1478, he was summoned by Pope Sixtus IV. to

Rome, in order here to give proof of his genius in the Sistine Chapel, jointly with such men as Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, Perugino, and Rosselli. The portion of that great series of frescoes executed by him illustrates the last deeds and the death of Moses. During this visit to Rome the twofold influence of the Umbrian and the Florentine manner must have affected our master in a marked degree.

How long he remained in Rome is not known for certain. Six years later on he reappeared in his native town of Cortona, where with but occasional interruptions he continued to reside as a well-established citizen, often in the position of chief magistrate, and in the enjoyment of other official honours.

In the year 1488 he received the freedom of Città di Castello, after painting a church banner for a confraternity of that place. He was also personally engaged with many commissions for the town of Volterra, and in 1498 he resided for some time in Siena. His appearance in this place must have acted like the blast of a trumpet on the prevailing dead-and-alive school of Art, through adverse political causes and conservative obstinacy still enslaved to Gothic traditions. Here he was, properly speaking, the first efficient representative of the new style, his visit having preceded both that of Pinturicchio and of Soddoma.

Siena's "magnifico," Pandolfo Petrucci, commissioned him to execute several mythological and historical pieces in his palace. Of these some are still extant, and give us a curious insight into the fanciful spirit of the times. He was, moreover, engaged on works for some of the churches here, more particularly for the neighbouring Convent of Mont' Oliveto, where he illustrated events in the life of St. Benedict by a series of magnificent frescoes. These may have been produced so early as the year 1497, and it is quite possible that some of his Sienese works were undertaken at even an earlier date, though there is no certain record of his having visited Siena before the year 1498. Vasari writes: "From Siena Luca went to Florence in order to see the works of dead and living masters, and he there painted on canvas some figures of the gods for Lorenzo de' Medici." This precious work, the so-called "School of Pan," has been recently again brought to light, and belongs to the same category as the mythological frescoes executed for Petrucci.

The Florentine Madonnas by his hand seem to belong to the same period. Yet he is already in Orvieto so early as 1499, having been here commissioned to continue the work of Fiesole by painting the chapel of the Madonna di San Brizio in the cathedral. It was these world-renowned Orvieto frescoes that first showed him in the full strength of his powers. It is singular how late in life his genius attained its full perfection, for he was now in his sixtieth year.

The evening of his life was occupied with a number of works executed by him chiefly for his native town and neighbouring places. In these later works, apart from their inherent fire and vigour, he shows more decided efforts at unity

and harmony, which reveal themselves more especially in a purer composition and warmer colouring. He had meantime been evidently inspired by Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael, and he now accordingly endeavoured in his way to keep pace with the onward march of the young Cinque-centisti.

He paid two more visits to Florence, one in the year 1508 in his official capacity as "oratore" of Cortona, the second in 1512, in company with two other distinguished fellow-townsmen, in order to compliment the Medici family on their return. These are his only two authenticated visits to Florence. He also revisited Rome in 1508, whither he was invited by Pope Julius II. to take part with Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Soddoma in the pictorial embellishment of the Vatican apartments. But none of them could compete with the young Raphael, and were soon after discharged. No trace now survives of the work executed by any of them on that occasion, with the exception of a little by Soddoma.

In 1517 the grey-haired Signorelli appeared for the third time in Rome, as member of an embassy conveying an offering from Cortona to a cardinal there. What were his impressions at sight of the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo? A great part of his Sixtine frescoes had now been finished by the latter, not however including his "Last Judgment," which of all others bears the most unmistakable proofs of Signorelli's influence. Yet, in the presence of this glorious and prolific display of art, he had no occasion to remember that he also had contributed his share towards its development. Nor did he need any solace for the painful rebuff he had met with nine years previously in this very place. Was this not after all a world of his own creation, the accomplishment of his own daring essays? He was now no doubt an old man, no longer capable of entering into rivalry with those men of genius; but he was noble-minded enough not to allow any envious feelings to mingle with his inward sense of rapture at sight of all these glories. Vasari says expressly: "This sin could not in truth be laid to the charge of Luca of Cortona, who ever loved his fellow-artists, and was ever willing to instruct those who were anxious to learn, whenever by so doing he could hope to be at all of any use to Art itself."

Signorelli's practical career offers a marked contrast to his artistic turn of mind. Whilst a gloomy and violent spirit often pervades his works, Vasari assures us that he was himself a man of a cheerful disposition, "who led a moral life, was open and affectionate towards his friends, gentle and kindly in his bearing towards every one. He lived sumptuously and always wore silks." In this he differed widely from the democratic and somewhat sturdy kindred spirit, Donatello, who on receiving from Cosimo de' Medici the present of a red cloak and a gala robe in the style of the great world, would not wear it because it seemed too effeminate ("perche gli pareva essere delicato").

Signorelli's courteous behaviour was one reason why he was so universally esteemed. On one occasion, returning in his old age from Arezzo whither he had gone to hang a picture he had painted, "he was accompanied some distance on the way back to Cortona by many friends and relatives, an honour well suited to the taste of this master, who had always led the life rather of a nobleman than of an artist." Thus speaks Vasari, who was himself present at the time in Arezzo.

In the portrait of himself introduced by him into the Orvieto series of frescoes, and here reproduced at page 450, we see an honest, resolute man with a frank expression, a massive forehead, and fair hair like a Teuton.

One passage alone in Vasari's biography gives us a deeper insight into his inward being. He relates on hearsay that Luca having lost a son killed at Cortona "of great personal beauty and much beloved by him, in his heart-rending grief he caused him to be stripped, and with great firmness and without shedding a tear painted a likeness of him, so as by the work of his own hand to be able at his pleasure to gaze upon what nature had given him and an unfriendly fate had deprived him of."

Signorelli never ceased painting even in his last years, "for being accustomed to work he could not remain idle," until death put a limit to his labours towards the end of the year 1523.

No mention is made of any pupils of this master, in the strict sense of the word. He never needed more than occasional assistance, and such he seems to have received from his nephew Francesco Signorelli, Masso Papacello, and Turpino Zaccagna. At least their paintings in Cortona show his influence, though otherwise very indifferent compositions.

Don Bartolommeo della Gatta (about 1408—1491), probably a Florentine and originally a miniature painter, was occupied jointly with Signorelli and Perugino in the Sixtine Chapel. Much that is foreign to the style of the last two in these frescoes is probably to be attributed to his hand. His later works show the prevailing influence of both these masters. But the placid, easy-going and ornamental tendencies of this painter were little calculated to succeed in any attempt to imitate the style of Signorelli.

Girolamo Genga of Urbino (1476—1551), who had assisted Signorelli in Orvieto, does not seem to have retained any lasting influence from him. In the Brera painting at Milan ("Group of Saints") he shows himself to be a crude mannerist.

Signorelli's artistic personality was altogether so decided and predominant that in spite of his kindly natural disposition it is difficult to imagine he can have devoted himself seriously to the creation of a school. His genius aimed directly and successfully at grand effects.

His style presents a more marked dualism than that of his contemporaries

on two essentially distinct points, corresponding to the difference then existing between the two main fields of art, and to the technical expedients associated with them. He appears in one light in his devotional subjects, in the typical representation of religious characters, such as was in vogue especially



Altarpiece. (The Academy of Florence.)

in tempera altarpieces, and in quite another in the treatment of the heroic, whether mytho-allegorical or historical, which was generally executed *al fresco* on large wall surfaces.

The devotional piece, in which there is the least display of action, gives

the artist an opportunity of showing whether he is capable of representing the sentiment of a typical, religious situation. This taxes the full extent of his powers, his skill in the treatment of the minute as well as of the grand, the thoroughness of his modelling, the splendour of his draperies, the unison of the groups, the solemn glow of the colouring, in the consistent, inspired, and yet sharply defined and life-like expression of the individual. But the impassioned, restless, and impulsive fancy of Signorelli, which ever aimed at illustrating the glory of the human form in all its nervous action and without the disguise of dress, could scarcely feel itself so entirely at home in this province, although called upon to devote himself to it by the requirements of the ecclesiastical world and by the prevailing taste of the times. Nevertheless he possessed such a good foundation for such subjects in the plastic models of Pietro, not to speak of the inspiration of Perugino's devotion and sweetness, that he seldom failed to do full justice to his theme, treating it with a genuine and original depth of feeling.

A characteristic example of his altarpieces is that numbered 54, in the Sala dei Quadri grandi of the Florentine Academy; the Virgin holding the naked Infant on her lap, in a cautious and almost timid attitude; at her feet are St. Augustine writing and St. Athanasius reading; on her right Michael the Archangel, armed and holding the scales of Justice, on her left the Archangel Gabriel with the lily, marked by a serious, downcast expression. Most of the heads have a Peruginesque air, without any maudling sentimentality and losing nothing of their strength and unity. The powerful figure of the St. Athanasius, with its simple and grand drapery, its lofty yet modest composure, presents a vivid illustration of the peculiar Art with which Signorelli handles such themes. In the colouring this painting is somewhat brilliant, but unfinished and almost discordant, while the outlines are handled in a broad spirit, though with harsh transitions, giving it, so to say, a certain crude grandeur. The most effective figure is that of St. Athanasius, remarkable especially for the expression of inward feeling in the upward cast of the countenance.

His Madonnas on a smaller scale, especially those in Florence, show that the bold, far-reaching mind of this master was, as a rule, little in accordance with such formal restrictions. Yet the restraint thereby imposed upon him has at times resulted in a better treatment of the colouring. The effect of the warm and clear brown and yellow passing into dark tints, which often prevails in works of this sort, is all the more forcibly felt the less one expects any inner warmth from such strong, rough groundworks. The most important of these is the round picture of the "Holy Family" in the Uffizi (No. 1291). Signorelli seldom displays such sobriety, such economy and happy arrangement in the composition, such a skill of colouring, and we scarcely meet with such a nobly formed female head in his works as in this pale Madonna in the act of reading.

It is the spiritual precursor of similar works by Michael Angelo, and even by Raphael.

He seems to feel himself considerably more in his element when movement and action enter into the composition of his religious pieces. This is clearly shown, especially in his representations of the "Flagellation," where the ruthless action of the naked executioners affords full scope for the display of all his powers. In fact, both here and in his treatment of the "Descent from the Cross" his works have become prototypes for his successors.

But his "Pietà," in the Cathedral of Cortona, also shows his capacity for describing inward dramatic force in a masterly manner. Here the expression of anguish in the women is extremely intense and chaste. On a hill in the background we see a crowd of people, and grotesque, quaint-looking soldiery grouped round the cross. The daring harmony of the composition, and the ruddy, warm tints, falling like a light haze with softening effect over the sharp outlines, seem in this instance to be, as it were, the immediate consequence of the situation.

About the same time Signorelli painted the same subject *al fresco*, in the Cathedral of Orvieto. The composition is here the same as in the "Pietà" of Cortona, but simpler and more in relief. The stiff, athletic body of Christ, in both paintings almost identical, with the perceptible inclination of the head, is a perfect example of realistic painting, worthy of the highest admiration.

It is also well worth while to give a passing glance at similar representations in miniature form on his "predelle," where he is enabled to indulge in the vigorous display of violent action. He seems to take special delight in such display in altarpieces containing a single representation of religious characters.

But it is after all a strange, pagan heart that beats so violently in the breast of these Christian figures. Hence we may easily fancy how much our master must have felt at home when treating classical subjects for Petrucci and Lorenzo il Magnifico, subjects in which he was able for the first time to give natural scope to his fondness for the nude. And yet in the so-called "School of Pan" (probably the work mentioned by Vasari as painted for Lorenzo, and now in the Berlin Museum), he still fully adheres to the style of composition of his ordinary church pieces.

In the midst of the group is Pan with the cloven foot, his head inclined to one side, in the stereotyped manner of this master's Madonnas; on either side of him two shepherds, in the foreground a nymph to the left, and an old man to the right, and at his feet a reclining satyr. The chief difference between this and his religious works consists in the almost total absence of drapery from all the figures. The characteristics of the Umbrian School are here also apparent in the elegiac spirit by which it is animated, a spirit peculiar to the old bucolic poets, and which seems to have inspired the artist in its composition. At the

same time the mutual relation of the different figures does not appear to have been expressed with sufficient clearness, each seeming to form almost a scene by itself. But what a scene! The full and fragrant freshness of the human figure, once more released from its fetters, hovers over them.

A similar although a much weaker reminiscence of his typical altarpieces is the fresco of "The Ransom of the Captives" (Academy of Siena, No. 220), one of the Petrucci series, and painted by Signorelli probably with the assistance of Girolamo Genga. The principal figure alone, that of the chief, seated



"School of Pan." (Berlin Museum.)

in the centre, is here by way of distinction represented in profile. In the background, instead of saints and angels, we have Saracens on horseback; to the left, the enemy fixing the ransom of the naked captives on the right.

Figures with tight-fitting garments afford him another opportunity of indulging in his favourite taste. This is apparent in the two strongly marked and splendidly executed figures of youths in his fresco in the Sistine Chapel, and more particularly in the two martial characters in the Mont' Oliveto frescoes, representing scenes from the life of St. Benedict, as well as in several

figures in the first two frescoes of the great Orvieto series—"Preaching and Overthrow of Antichrist and the Wicked." Here, however, these are but preparatory studies for the nude itself, which finds full scope in the delineation of the bodies rising from the dead, both those of the saved and the lost.

In truth all this has no slight significance for Signorelli. It is the form in which he seeks to give embodiment to the highest dramatic conceptions, the sublimest and most awful scenes affecting our final destinies. This, in a word, is the way in which he endeavours to reveal his full artistic powers.

In this spirit he treats the "Last Judgment," its approach and its immediate consequences. The subject is distributed over four large wall paintings, and



"Two Soldiers of Totila." (Mont' Oliveto.)

four smaller ones contracted in their dimensions by the doorway and by the altar and window. In the first we have the "Preaching and Overthrow of Antichrist." In the background to the right, Antichrist himself stands on a pedestal preaching, the devil close behind prompting him, in front such alluring proofs of his power as jewels, precious stones, goblets, and such-like valuables, heaped up in great profusion, a restless crowd round about, partly listening to his words and partly engaged in a brisk trade. Farther to the left, in the midst of a number of his victims already slaughtered, is a martyr in the act of being strangled by the executioner. In the middle distance a group of parsons disputing, and not far off a sick saint surrounded by a number of sympathetic votaries. In the left section of the picture we see the Nemesis already breaking

in. Antichrist falls headlong from heaven, pursued by an angel with a drawn sword, while the sun sends forth deadly rays on those beneath. To the extreme left is the portrait of the artist, the monk standing close by representing his predecessor Fiesole, according to the general tradition.

On the wall divided by the main entrance are described the first signs and portents of Doomsday—temples falling with a crash, dreadful sights in the heavens, anxious and terrified men mingled with the trustful and the resigned. Then on the left the fall of the wicked, dragged down partly by blood-red rays shooting out of the sky, and partly by devils hurled down along with them.

In the next fresco we see the Resurrection of the Dead, some still struggling out of the ground, but the majority already risen, embracing each other in their joy at meeting again, gazing in fear or cheerfully heavenwards, where are seen two mighty winged angels trumpeting the last hour. There follows the fall of the damned, and their reception by the demons in the bottomless pit (see engraving at page 463). Above, in presence of the archangels, armed and keeping guard, are some isolated figures tumbling down in boldly conceived attitudes. In the centre a demon is flying with a shrieking female figure astride on his back. Beneath, a frightful turmoil and commotion, the demons fully occupied in binding, gagging, and carrying off their wretched victims, the Herculean frames of these monsters reflected in a foul murky play of colouring with their shaggy loins, and some with vampire wings.

On the adjoining wall, cut off by the altar and the window, is depicted a scene of Hell in the narrow segment to the right—Charon in his ferry-boat, plying on the sad waters of Acheron, groups of the damned running in despair to and fro along its banks, with a scene of torture in the foreground. In the open space above hover the two archangels, as inexorable sentinels, though not without a sense of pity. Opposite the fresco representing the fall of the wicked is another devoted to the hosts of the elect—ardent spirits gazing upwards, above them mild and delicate angels, some playing, others strewing flowers and placing crowns on their heads, and one on the right pointing the way towards heaven. On the left segment of the wall by the window, their upward flight to the celestial abode.

Around these wall frescoes are entwined rich fantastic grotesques on a golden ground. All the available space is covered with them. Here also are spirited sketches in grisaille of scenes from Virgil and Dante, and on medallions the portraits of distinguished persons, unfortunately for the most part painted over.

Of the six compartments on the ceiling Fiesole had painted two only, one containing Christ as Judge of the World, the other sixteen prophets. The four remaining spaces Signorelli filled in with powerful figures of saints enthroned.

When we look back on the earlier methods of handling this subject, we find that Signorelli essayed to represent it in a totally new manner. There is first of all the simple principle of subdivision, whereby was rendered possible the development of so many really picturesque and vigorous motives. He thus for the first time clearly applied to the "Last Judgment" the cyclical or graduated arrangement, which had hitherto been restricted to the pictorial illustration of religious legends and even here not very consistently carried out. The method had already been suggested by the actual conditions of the available wall surfaces. But the true motor was no other than Dante himself with his poetical prototypes. Signorelli also wished to produce a poem, a poem even of a dramatic nature with its clearly defined acts. He was doubtless unable, like the poet, to make the same characters pass visibly from scene to scene, from one event to another; but he could still paint a series of pictures connected together by a unity of sentiment and meaning. And he thus obtained for each a fixed and well-defined particular theme, whose sense and outward form were undisturbed by the immediate and unlimited contact of any others. A slight trace, however, of the earlier method of simultaneous treatment is still perceptible in the picture of the "Reign of Antichrist," whom we see depicted preaching, ruling, and hurled from heaven all within the same compartment.

Nor could this remnant of the old manner be easily dispensed with. It forms a substantial element in the peculiar charm of this painting, because the inward contrast of this simultaneous treatment is here handled with consummate artistic effect. The composition especially is excellent, perhaps about the very freest ever executed by him. More than in any other he here penetrates into the depths of space, and so secures room for the manifold and spirited development of the various groups.

The manner in which he disposes the figures in the "Resurrection of the Dead," and in "The Hosts of the Elect," appears quite archaic when contrasted with this—a formal row of figures standing together, bent down by the limited space in the background. Each of these figures seems to represent a scene of itself, though rather suggested than actually realised, and hence not obtruding jarringly on the rest. The want of connection between the individual characters is here rendered intelligible, and to a certain extent justified by the nature of the situation.

In these firm primeval types of manhood the mingling of Umbrian and Florentine influences is thoroughly balanced by a sort of chemical fusion resulting in something quite distinct from either. In the features alone there is perceptible a certain Peruginesque manner. The sublimest ever painted by this master are perhaps the two angels trumpeting the last hour. These heavenly heroes, who tread the welkin with their firm step, as if they

were the pillars of the universe, may be taken as the most worthy heralds of his greatness.

On the other hand, the group of angels of bliss ("Choir of the Elect") in the upper compartment is too symmetrically disposed, in the lower too confused, with the marked exception of the two hovering in the centre, though even these are rather sketchily worked out. One of them in his graceful outlines betrays the influence of Botticelli, a master much affected by Signorelli in the treatment of quick and graceful action. The relation of the angels to the elect awaiting the summons to everlasting bliss is not very clear, and is even somewhat awkwardly handled, such hazy topics being but little suited to Signorelli's genius.

The excellent figures of the elect, however, are more fully and anatomically handled, and have less the stamp of formal study than the others of the series. This anatomical laying bare of the muscles, a feature also met with in Michael Angelo, is to be explained as much by his fundamental love of such subjects as by the instinctive requirements of his vigorous fancy.

This taste receives its fullest scope in "The Casting-out of the Damned," reproduced at page 463. This fresco is in every respect the most remarkable achievement of our master. Nowhere else is he so concentrated and so untrammelled both in the grouping and in giving expression to the action. All the ideal wrath that smouldered in his soul here finds the fullest and most magnificent play. And yet here more than in any other of the series, he adheres more closely to the exigencies of the round wall space. The figures in the aerial regions, with all their independence, form a sort of secondary arch round about the winged demon carrying off the woman in the centre. The masses on the ground, no longer arranged in horizontal lines, as in an earlier stage of the Art, seem to swell up in violent motion towards the figures above. And although these seething masses present such a checkered intertwining of human bodies, such as no work of the Quattro-cento period approached in its boldness, still the whole is pervaded by a fundamental harmony.

It is with a feeling of indescribable emotion that we withdraw from the contemplation of these terrible frescoes. How charming and childlike the peaceful works of a Fiesole now meet our gaze, and yet side by side with him there arises a Titanic spirit who has resolved to achieve his true glory only by straining all his energies in hitherto unheard-of struggles. After Giacomo della Quercia and Donatello, Signorelli is certainly the most prophetic precursor of the Promethean ideal that is embodied in the works of Michael Angelo. There is something restless and violent even about his technique. The placid smile of blessedness has been denied him by nature. In his most devout altarpieces the features retain an expression of harsh reserve. His genius is cast in the heroic mould. He may bring himself to

bend before the Lord, but he feels his full vigour only where he has to deal



"The Casting-out of the Danned." (Orvieto Series.)

with the foe. But he is always grand, whether he stands before us in solemn earnestness in the heavy priestly robe, or as a mighty man of war armed with

his halberd, or naked as the avenging demon of hell, with uplifted club ready to strike low all wickedness.

Besides those mentioned in the text the following works of Signorelli are also deserving of special consideration :—

I.—ALTARPIECES.

I. *Representations of the Madonna with Saints* : 1. In the Cathedral of Perugia (1484). 2. In the Museum of Volterra (1491). 3. In the Uffizi at Florence (No. 36), originally in the Villa Medici at Castello. 4. In the Berlin Museum, the volets of the lost altarpiece of St. Augustine's in Siena (1498). 5. In St. Metardo at Arcevia, the great altarpiece (1506), sold since the year 1857; cf. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iv. p. 28, where the purchaser is not mentioned. 6. In the Museum at Arezzo, originally in San Girolamo. Signorelli came expressly from Cortona to set up this painting, as above stated (1520).

II. *Representations of the Holy Family* : 1. In the Ginori Galleri at Florence, two round pictures. 2. In the Dresden Museum, No. 21. 3. In the Rospigliosi Gallery at Rome.

III. The "Birth of Mary," in the Louvre, No. 402.

IV. The "Annunciation," in the Sacristy of the Cathedral at Volterra (1491).

V. The "Birth of Christ," in the possession of Signor Mancini in Città di Castello.

VI. The "Circumcision," in the Duke of Hamilton's near Glasgow (about 1491; but painted over by Soddoma).

VII. The "Supper at the House of the Pharisee" (owned by Captain Stirling, Scotland).

VIII. The "Flagellation:" 1. In the Brera at Milan. 2. In the Pohlhof at Altenburg (No. 112). 3. In Sta. Margherita at Cortona, under the painting of the "Pietà" (1502). 4. In the Academy at Florence (Sala dei Quadri piccoli, No. 1).

IX. The "Crucifixion:" 1. In Sto. Spirito at Urbino, church banner (on back of which the outpouring of the Holy Ghost (1494). 2. In the Pohlhof at Altenburg (No. 113). 3. In the Compagnia di Sant' Antonio Abbate at Borgo San Sepolcro, church banner, on the back saints.

X. "Christ on the Cross with Magdalene," in the Florentine Academy, (Galleria dei Quadri antichi, No. 6).

XI. The "Descent from the Cross:" 1. In the Compagnia della Sta. Croce at La Fratta (1513). 2. In the Cappella del Sacramento at Castiglione Fiorentino.

XII. The "Pietà:" 1. In possession of W. Stirling of Keir. 2. In the

Compagnia di San Niccolo at Cortona, the body of Christ at the grave worshipped by an angel and a saint.

XIII. The "Martyrdom of St. Catherine," owned by Lord Taunton, London.

II.—ALLEGORICAL, MYTHICAL, AND HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.

1. In the London National Gallery two frescoes, the "Triumph of Love" and "Coriolanus," from the series painted for Petrucci's Palace about 1498, as above. 2. In possession of Signor C. Tomasi at Florence, the "Crowning of Wealth."

III.—PORTRAITS.

1. In the Torrigiani Gallery at Florence, "Man with a Red Cap." 2. In the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto, bust of himself and of Niccolo di Francesco, 1503. The rest of his works are catalogued by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, iv., pp. 1—55, who also at p. 38 give the works mentioned by Vasari, but now lost.



"A Demon." (After a Sketch in the Louvre.)

GIOVANNI ANTONIO DE' BAZZI.

CALLED IL SODDOMA.

(Born about 1477, in Vercelli; died 1549, in Siena.)

BY ROBERT VISCHER.

THE star that rules over the destinies of Art delights at times personally to illustrate in two distinct individuals the double form of the ideal, whose divorce and reconciliation can always be more or less clearly distinguished in every work of Art, the expression, that is to say, of a beauty still struggling into existence and of a beauty serene and placid in its final triumph over difficulties. In this sense are to be compared a Michael Angelo with a Raphael, a Poussin with a Claude, a Beethoven with a Mozart. The antithesis presented by the style of Signorelli to that of Fiesole in Orvieto is so far defective that the latter belongs to an earlier period, and occupies himself exclusively with the glorification of the ecclesiastical ideal of godly devotion and bliss.

On the other hand we place Soddoma at once and instinctively in direct contrast with Signorelli. They are both very nearly contemporaries, and their frescoes in Mont' Oliveto are in immediate proximity to each other. Bazzi doubtless is somewhat the younger of the two, and already half a child of the Renaissance at its most flourishing point. But precocious and a rapid worker as he is, he does not bear out the promise of his early years, and thus remains, so to say, with one foot still lingering on the threshold on which the aged Signorelli has already taken his stand.

Bazzi seems to create without effort. There is something unlaboured, though often something trite, about the winning beauty of his figures. In Signorelli there is at work a volcanic determination to overcome the hardest obstacles; he seldom quite gets the better of them, but even so never fails to receive the tribute of our admiration. Soddoma's technique is pliant and agreeable, his colouring warm and well harmonized. In Signorelli's touch there is something cold and dogged, while his colouring is often dry and harsh. He frequently paints hastily, but is never slovenly like Soddoma. The former is sublime, the latter lovable. The one lives a sober, well-regulated life, worldly wise, holding his ground firmly, frank, confident in himself, and hence his last years are peaceful, bright, and full of honours. The other on the

contrary a *bon vivant*, given to all sorts of senseless jocular pastimes, a hot, capricious, and covetous, though talented vapourer, yielding with reckless indifference of self-respect to his shameful propensities, and rewarded at last with a dreary barren old age for his utter lack of serious purpose and principle throughout life.

The ill repute which attaches to his name in Vasari's biography is no doubt to a large extent based upon foregone conclusions. Recently, however, he



Portrait of Soddoma, by himself. (Mont' Oliveto.)

would if possible have been vindicated from such charges, for he has ever been the favourite of Art-historians, especially the Italians. This seems partly due to a certain prejudice for the "*soave grazia*," for those light, seductive, and honey-sweet charms from which even the modern Art-world has not yet quite emancipated itself, least of all in the country of a Canova.

Art-literature has of late years been busily occupied with him. Amongst other works the following deserve special mention: 1. Luigi Bruzza, "*Notizie intorno alla patria e ai primi studj del pittore G. A. Bazzi, detto il Soddoma*,"

1862. 2. Albert Jansen, "Leben und Werke des Malers Giovannantonio Bazzi von Vercelli," Stuttgart, 1870. 3. Gustavo Frizzoni's essay: "G. A. de' Bazzi," in the *Nuova Antologia*, Florence, August 1871.

Bazzi was born probably in the year 1477, at Vercelli, in Piedmont, on the high-road between Milan and Turin. His father, Giacomo di Antonio de' Bazzi, was a shoemaker, and he first studied under a certain Martino de' Spanzotis, of whom there are no known works extant. He entered this artist's studio in his thirteenth year, and remained there for the space of six years. Then he forsook his native place, and though it cannot be proved with absolute certainty, still it scarcely admits of doubt that he now made his way to Milan, where he became a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, or at least closely studied that master's style in his works. We are driven to this conclusion by the decided Leonardesque style peculiar to him in common with Bernardino Luini, Andrea Solari, and Cesare da Sesto. However, his residence in Milan with its attendant beneficial consequences was not of long duration: we already, in 1501, find traces of his presence in Siena, whither he was invited, according to Vasari, "by several merchants, agents of the Spannochi."

With Bazzi's arrival in Siena the local school of Art, at that time in a very languishing state, begins once more to bloom. The transitory visits both of Signorelli (1502—1507) and of Pinturicchio had no doubt left behind them noteworthy examples of the Renaissance. But all this was of but little moment when compared with the industry and influence of Bazzi after he had permanently settled here. We now become once more justified in speaking of a Sienese school, although in quite a different sense from the old Gothic one. If it lay within the province of that style, while still restricted to an almost Byzantine mannerism, to impart a certain mysterious and awe-inspiring expression to the deep and inner sense of life, the other on the contrary now reveals itself as the frank, open-hearted, wanton, and laughter-loving child of earth. In this sense may we partly at least explain the well-known words of Lanzi: "Lieta scuola fra lieto popolo" ("a merry school amongst a merry people"), words which are otherwise not at all applicable to the old masters.

Vasari writes: "During the first years of his residence in Siena he painted many likenesses from nature in the glowing colouring that he had acquired in Lombardy, and he formed many friendships, more because the natives of that place are very partial to strangers than through his merits as a painter." Of these portraits not one is now to be met with either in Siena or elsewhere. The portrait of himself in the Uffizi, now much darkened by time, belongs to his maturer years.

In his younger period Bazzi remained tolerably true to the Milanese manner, showing but slight influences of that of Tuscany and Umbria. Leonardo, certainly himself a Tuscan, now appears in the light of his good

genius. So long as he adheres to this master, he shares in his solid, yet fine and delicate sense of form; but the moment he loses sight of him, in order freely to unfold his true bent, he begins to become frivolous.

The Milanese stamp in the strict sense is clearly perceptible in the panel painting of the "Descent from the Cross," originally in the Church of St. Francis, and now in the public gallery at Siena (No. 377). It is altogether his best work. He never afterwards succeeded in grouping so severely and at the same time so naturally together a greater number of figures. The great variety in the expression of grief and of deep earnestness which pervades it is deserving of genuine admiration. The figure especially of the Madonna broken down with sorrow is full of real greatness. Another excellent feature of this work is its careful plastic modelling. Unfortunately it is no longer possible to pronounce an opinion on the colouring, which has become deadened, while the prevailing yellow brown tone has now a dirty appearance.

In the year 1503 he was commissioned to adorn with frescoes the refectory of the Convent of Sta. Anna, at Creta, near Pienza. This was doubtless his first great attempt in this technique; for he appears hitherto, like a genuine Lombard, to have occupied himself mainly with works on panel. It is possible, as Jansen suggests in his treatise on Bazzi, that he may have acquired some knowledge of fresco painting from Pinturicchio, who began to paint in the cathedral library, probably in the year 1503. There are even reminiscences of this artist in the decorative parts of those works, while the figures remind us on the other hand chiefly of his Lombard fellow-countryman, Luini.

The subject, common enough in refectories, is the miracle of the loaves and fishes. It is somewhat crude in the composition, the best portion of which is the centre group, where a little angel is handing a basket of bread to Christ, for which see the coloured transcript of the Arundel Society. Portions of the other parts are quite spoiled, though much of it is still remarkable for its life-like effect and warm colouring.

Much more independent, both in the good and the bad sense of the word, are his wall paintings in the Convent of Mont' Oliveto Maggiore, near Buonconvento. Vasari writes: "When visiting the Lombard Fra Domenico da Secco, who had been elected head of the friars there, Soddoma contrived to obtain from him the commission to finish the paintings from the life of St. Benedict, part of which L. Signorelli had begun on one of the walls. He undertook the work for a small remuneration. But the monks amused themselves so much with him as not to be described, and on account of his fooleries they called him Mattaccio, that is, the scatter-brained. As for the work itself, he executed some parts with a ready hand, but without painstaking, and when the prior expostulated with him, he declared that he worked as the whim took him and that his brush danced to the chink of the gold. Thereupon the

prior promised him henceforth a higher recompense, and so he painted three still faulty pictures in the corners, though certainly with the care and study that was wanting in the first, so that they proved considerably more beautiful."

Fully justified is this opinion of Vasari, whose manner of expressing himself implies quite a special knowledge of the circumstances. Most of these frescoes betray a certain careless facility and poverty of expression. Their figurative treatment is somewhat tamely developed, while the disposition is poor and spiritless. Nor is there any lack of meaningless heads, often precisely where we look for most animation. For the rest we meet with all manner of faults, which ill become such an enlightened and unembarrassed firstling of the high Renaissance. The perspective and foreshortening, as well as the proportions of the figures, are often defective, while the draperies fare even worse still. Everywhere capricious inequalities, colour, and draughtsmanship well conceived, the fugitive and the carefully executed, formal decorative and naturalistic types side by side in the harshest contrast. And yet it is in the study of these half-tentative and irresolute, half-aspiring, and yet again clumsily executed frescoes of his early period that we light upon the first traces of the "Sienese Raphael."

Vasari describes the better pictures "in the corners" correctly. They are more solid, more carefully drawn, and of deeper colouring than the others. Two of them show to some extent the influence of Signorelli, especially in the representation of the soldiery. This was, however, a subject which must have at that time excited and claimed the attention of more than one pictorial artist. The sprawling and strutting military figures painted by Gaudenzio Ferrari (1484—1550) in the Cappella dei R^e Magi, at Varallo, are not unlike those in question. But as Mündler remarks with reference to the already mentioned "Descent from the Cross," Gaudenzio recalls Bazzi in other points also, especially in his inclination for barocco and fanciful accessories. Gaudenzio often introduces a *crétin* afflicted with *gottre*. Bazzi on the other hand in these frescoes is fond of giving an exaggerated chin, or an abnormally long and thick nose to one or another of the Benedictine monks. This also may possibly be due to the influence of Leonardo, amongst whose drawings we often enough meet with monstrous and grotesque heads. Had the spirit of the times at all called for such subjects, a genuine school of caricature painting might have well been developed out of these symptoms and tendencies.

Amongst the best of this series is the "Temptation of the Monks," according to Vasari the last executed, in which he already displays his great love of womanly grace, and also "St. Benedict taking the Habit" (here reproduced at p. 472), whose glowing boyish beauty is quite enchanting. There are also other charming youthful figures, already in their purity and loveliness approaching the Raphael standard, though in comparison with it they may seem somewhat conventional, feeble, and insipid. It is even quite possible that Bazzi may

have already picked up some ideas from Raphael in the cathedral library of Siena, when there working under Pinturicchio, before again making his acquaintance as a fully ripened genius in Rome.

There is much deserving of praise in the details, as in the graceful arabesques and picturesque backgrounds. The technical skill of this master may always be best appreciated where he is enabled to be sketchy without being faulty, and especially where he is uncontrolled by the exigencies and importance of the subject itself. Yet even this free, soft, and spirited touch may be enjoyed in his grand and monumental works, most of all in his "Christ bearing the Cross," on a pillar of the convent court, opposite a smaller and earlier executed "Flagellation." This is the most important fresco painted by him in Mont' Oliveto. In the presence of this profoundly expressive head, criticism is disarmed of its censures for other faulty points of detail, and bows in homage as before every other masterpiece of classic art.

Vasari writes: "Whilst Mattaccio was engaged on these works at Mont' Oliveto, it happened that a Milanese nobleman came and took the habit in this very place. He wore a yellow cap trimmed with black lace, as was the fashion of the time. When he had become a monk, the prior gave the cap to Mattaccio, who introduced himself with it into the painting in which St. Benedict, still almost a child, miraculously repairs the holy-water pot that he had broken. At his feet he painted his raven, a monkey, and others of his animals." This excellent likeness (see transcript at page 467) is still pretty well preserved, and gives us a personal picture of him in strict accordance with our preconceived ideas regarding his character as a man and an artist. It is a genuine, talented, and at the same time somewhat frivolous artist's head, effeminate, susceptible, with sensuous lips and roguish eyes.

His love of dumb creatures is significative of his fanciful, sportive disposition. He seems to have been particularly fond of horses, and took great delight in racing. Vasari relates that on one occasion he was engaged before the Porta San Fiano, at Florence, on some wall painting, on which he bestowed so little care and attention as to draw down upon himself some sharp reproof. So off he goes with a pure barb he had brought with him to Florence, enters it for the St. Bernaba races, and with his usual good luck carries off the first prize. But this time it had well-nigh proved a fatal triumph, for when the name of the winner was heralded with the usual flourish of trumpets through the streets, such an outcry was raised against him that Bazzi himself, his horse, and pet monkey perched behind him on the pillion, narrowly escaped being stoned by the populace.

During the course of many years he accumulated a large number of such prizes, consisting mostly of robes and stuffs of costly material. These he was not a little proud of, never failed to produce them at every visit, and would

often even display them before his window to the admiring gaze of the public.

The raven Vasari describes as a highly accomplished bird, which had been taught by its master to imitate his voice with such perfection that, especially when it answered a neighbour knocking at the door, "it sounded exactly as if



"St. Benedict taking the Habit." (Mont' Oliveto.)

Giovannantonio himself had called out, as is well known to all Siena. The other animals also were so tame that they always lived with him in the house, where they carried on the strangest freaks and indulged without restraint in the wildest tricks and gambols. In short, his house was a regular Noah's Ark." A document has been preserved of him, in which, when called upon by the authorities in common with the other householders to send in a return of

all his effects, he makes express mention of his pets. It dates from the year 1531, and is so racily characteristic as to be entitled here to be given verbatim :—

"Be it herewith known and notified to you, my honourable fellow-townsmen, by me, Master John Soddoma, in respect of my possessions as under :—

"First then, I have a garden by the new fountain, where I sow, and other folk reap.

"Then in Vallerozzi a house as my residence, not to mention a law-suit with one Niccolo de' Libri.

In my stable eight horses, which they call my lambs and myself their bell-wether.

"Further, I have a monkey; moreover a raven which can talk, and which I keep by me in order that he may teach from his cage a theological jackass also to speak.

"Item : an owl to frighten the witches, two peacocks, two dogs, two cats, a sparrow-hawk and other birds of prey, six fowls, eighteen chicks, two moor-fowl, and many other birds, to name all of which would only cause confusion.

"I have besides three more abominably wicked beasts, to wit, my three women.

"Lastly, I have thirty grown-up children, and so far as this burden is concerned, your Excellencies will doubtless admit that I am a proprietor in a large way. Now whoso is father of twelve children is legally exempt from being summoned before the commune. And so I commend you to God's mercy. Farewell!

"Sodoma, Sodoma derivatum M. Sodoma."

In 1507 or 1508 he was induced by the wealthy Agostino Chigi to go to Rome, where he was engaged by Pope Julius II., together with others, to paint the Vatican apartments. What remains of his work in the Camera della Segnatura shows but little study. He was obliged to give place to Raphael, which Vasari says was his own fault, "because this animal (*questo animale*) frittered away much time with his beasts and fooleries, and so neglected his work."

To the same date perhaps belongs a work in the Borghese Gallery (No. 7, Room I.)—a very impressive "Pietà," justly claimed for Bazzi by G. Frizzoni, and the drawing of which is in the Uffizi at Florence. If the "Leda" in the same room (No. 56) is also by him, as J. Lermolieff maintains, it must belong to a considerably earlier period, both subject and manner of treatment still forcibly recalling the Milanese master. Ever since his first Roman impressions, Bazzi departs more and more from the Leonardesque style. He develops and conforms his manner to the modern spirit on the model of Raphael. By this means he arrives at a free disclosure of his true genius, which skims along, full of warmth and grace, carelessly and playfully over the waters of the conventional world, until his wings at last grow wearied and powerless.

Still the first impulse to this transformation must not be ascribed exclusively to Raphael's influence. Vasari informs us that in Siena he copied the works of Giacomo della Quercia (1371—1438), at that time held in high favour. He is also known to have possessed a collection of statues, and to have applied himself to the study of the plastic art. He was certainly to some extent influenced by the antique, especially by the spirit of sculpture, and Frizzoni associates with this the natural fulness and round outlines of his figures.

How long he remained in Rome on this first occasion is not known; we do

know, however, that in 1510 he married Beatrice, daughter of Luca de' Galli, landlord of the "Crown," in Siena. She is described as a damsel born of excellent people ("una fanciulla nata di buonissime genti"). It may be presumed that he now remained four or five years in Siena, and to this period must be referred the origin of his by-name, which does not occur in any documents previous to the year 1513.

The fresco of the "Flagellation" (No. 205 in the Siena Gallery and origi-



"Head of Roxana." (Farnesina, in Rome.)

nally in San Francesco) was also produced probably before his second visit to Rome. It is a work of rare inspiration, though still defective in the treatment of parts, especially the impressive features of the Saviour. The bare breast, on the other hand, is free from this charge, its warm and fleshly modelling eliciting the highest praise.

His second visit to Rome took place in the year 1513. About the same time the scholar Pietro Aretino also paid a visit to his friend Agostino Chigi there, and both he and Bazzi lived on very familiar terms with him. It was

now that he produced his greatest work in Chigi's Villa Farnesina—the "Marriage of Alexander and Roxana," which, though certainly not the most important in an artistic sense, yet on account of its general æsthetic beauty and pleasing effect, earned him the greatest fame. It is based upon Lucian's account of a painting by the master Ætion. "It represents a wondrously beautiful chamber with the nuptial couch. Roxana, an indescribably charming figure, is seated in maidenly modesty with downcast eyes in presence of Alexander, who stands before her. The couple are surrounded by laughing *amorini*, one of whom is behind lifting the bridal veil from her head, and showing her features to the bridegroom. Another is busily engaged in removing the sandals from her feet before lying down. A third has taken hold of Alexander's mantle, and is dragging him might and main to Roxana. The king himself is presenting her with a crown. Hephæstion, as groomsman, stands by with a burning torch in his hand, and leaning on a very tender and blooming youth—Hymenæus, as I conjecture, for the name is not there given. In other parts of the painting *amorini* are playing with Alexander's arms," &c. Bazzi keeps pretty closely to this description, whilst still in other respects, and especially as regards the *amorini*, drawing largely on his own poetic fancy. These little imps of the bedchamber were particularly at this period much in vogue, as may be seen from the numerous representations of birth scenes of the saints; but the richest example of the kind is decidedly this work of Bazzi in the Farnesina. The merry little rogues form a lively and spirited orchestra to the performance, a paraphrastic symbolism of the most ingenious nature. In their gambols with the curtain on the canopy they mirror the various stages and humours of love, its coquetry, coyness, yearnings, mysteries, and final triumph.

Unfortunately, the figure of Roxana is again defective. The head, a real masterpiece of delicate, charming conception, still retains much of the peculiarly Romanesque in Leonardo's ideal of beauty (see the reproduction at page 474). One degree more independent is the face of the naked Hymen, which seems transfigured as if by the dew of heaven, and is altogether the most lovely type of youthful beauty ever realised by this master. The attitude, however, of this Apollo-like figure is somewhat undecided. The noble figure of Alexander, worthy of all admiration in spite of the rather unskilful handling of the drapery, seems to betray the influence of Raphael. It bears an unmistakable resemblance to the glorious figure of the guiding angel in his "Liberation of Peter," painted between 1513 and 1514. It might also be pointed out that in the "Apollo and Marsyas," belonging to Mr. Morris Moore, and attributed by some to Raphael, by others to Timoteo della Vite, the nude Apollo, apart from the Peruginesque modelling, also corresponds closely with this Hymen. The face in particular recalls Bazzi's types.

The work as a whole is in any case a highly important production of his



"Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana." (Vatican Museums, Rome.)

still fresh and matured period. Here he seems perfectly at his ease, and in truth his thoroughly exotic nature must have felt quite at home in the treatment of such a subject. It is a tendency which he seldom altogether renounces. Its symptoms reappear constantly in his wanton tournares, in the glowing softness of the limbs, in the rosy, dissipated laughter of the characters. In course of time he becomes in fact more and more emasculated and unnerved by this partly disguised and partly unveiled effeminacy. His art grows feeble, dull, and heartless. The consequences of this lack of moral energy are apparent even in his best youthful productions; nor would it be difficult to point out a number of æsthetic shortcomings in the "Marriage of Alexander" itself. But the tendency breaks out much more glaringly in his second Farnesina fresco—the "Family of Darius in presence of Alexander." Here the greater part is crudely smeared on by a thoroughly reckless dauber. One only of the female figures, the one with the ear of barley in her hair, beams again with a mild elegiac beauty that enables us to forget all the rest. The type of her features reminds us strikingly of Raphael's "Madonna di Fuligno" (1511), but still more of the "Comitas" (Stanza del Constantino), executed in oil after Raphael's cartoon either by G. Romano or F. Penni, the resemblance here extending to the whole figure. And although this work is more recent, all three may possibly be based upon one original.

In this chamber Bazzi also painted a "Vulcan forging Darts," which, according to Vasari, "was at that time praised and esteemed." In speaking of it, the same writer breaks out into the following perhaps too severe remarks:—"Nay, if Mattaccio, who had no lack of excellent fancies, and who was well gifted by Nature, had but devoted himself to study, he would have greatly profited thereby. But his mind was always turning on some folly or other; he worked as the whim took him, thought of nothing so much as his fine clothes, wore brocaded doublets, little mantles trimmed all over with gold, costly head-dresses, chains, and other gewgaws, good for mountebanks and ballad-singers, certainly to the great delight of Agostino (Chigi), who was much amused at such fancies." He further relates of Bazzi that he was made a cavalier by Pope Leo X., who had been well pleased with a "Lucretia" painted by him. This is probably the same "Lucretia" that is now in the Kestner Collection in Hanover.

Out of the brilliant Roman society Bazzi again withdrew to his more peaceful Siena in the year 1515. The most important work produced by him during the ensuing years is the painting of the Oratory of San Bernardino there. He worked at it very intermittently, and did not complete it till the year 1532. During the interval between 1518 and 1525 all the accounts concerning him leave us in total ignorance as to his movements. Possibly he again paid a more protracted visit to Florence, and there is much to be said for

the surmise that he at some time or other must have come in contact with the works of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto. He even occupies a similar, although by no means as imposing a position in Siena as those two masters do in Florence.

The paintings in San Bernardino are again very unequal, some of the figures very beautiful, but the disposition mostly poor and informal. The best and apparently the earliest of the series is the representation of "Mary in the Temple," a maidenly figure conceived with rare delicacy, to the left of a group of simple and graceful female friends. It may be pronounced the most beautiful female figure he ever painted in fresco.

Amongst the best of the series is also the "Coronation of Mary,"—the grouping fairly well disposed, and the noble figure of John the Baptist remarkable for its warmth of expression and colouring. The "Visitation" and the "Assumption of Mary," on the other hand, are decidedly amongst the most fugitive of his productions. In the latter the most satisfactory features are the charming little angels.

Besides these there are also three noble figures of saints by his hand, amongst which the head of St. Francis, justly praised by Vasari. The remaining frescoes of the series, executed by Pacchia and Beccafumi, bear the unmistakable traces of the influence of Bazzi on these artists.

In the year 1525 was produced the noble picture of St. Sebastian, on a church banner, originally painted for the Compagnia di San Bastiano in Camollia, and now framed in the Uffizi. This delicate and most lovingly treated youthful figure, together with the more decoratively handled Sebastian in fresco in Sto. Spirito in Siena (1530), as J. Burckhardt justly says, is "perhaps the most beautiful in existence, especially when compared with the more studied and ostentatious display of later schools. Here we have genuine, noble suffering expressed in the most wonderful form."

About this time also he began to work at his famous frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine in the Dominican church at Siena. The most remarkable of these is that which represents the saint sinking in a swoon into the arms of her sister nuns, painted in 1527, and reproduced in colour by the Arundel Society. B. Peruzzi, who, as a painter, was himself not a little indebted to Bazzi, used to say in reference to it that he knew of no one who could paint fainting figures better than Giovannantonio. The whole group is moreover pervaded by a noble harmony in the composition, by which this master is elsewhere seldom distinguished. On the other hand, the figure of Christ hovering over them is poor and awkward, Bazzi being as a rule not happy in his attempts at hovering figures, though he succeeds occasionally with his *amorini*.

With this painting, which is to the left of a marble tabernacle by Giovanni di Stefano (1466), there corresponds on the right the picture of an angel

presenting the consecrated bread to the saint, as she kneels transfigured and gazing upwards. Close by him another little angel appears to her with a cross in his hand (see woodcut at page 485); above these, God the Father, Mary with the Child, and the Holy Ghost, all somewhat trite, and introduced with but little delicacy of sentiment.

The grotesques on the ornamental side-pillars of both these paintings again forcibly recall those of Raphael, and indirectly the antiques of the *Thermæ of Titus*. On a side wall is painted the beheading of a criminal, whose stubborn spirit is wafted heavenwards in virtue of the intercession of St. Catherine. Vasari justly finds fault with the frivolous conception and execution of this fresco—an overcrowded composition in which the figures stand in each other's way. It swarms before our gaze, and when we look into it more closely it swarms also with defects. The headless trunk is turned with fanciful foreshortening towards the observer. A soldier standing by makes an equivocal motion of the leg, which looks as if he were uncertain whether to reel back or step forward.

By the side of this prominent treatment of the ghastly, genuinely Romanesque in its way, and at the same time characteristic of the now developed Renaissance, Bazzi introduces a number of trite ornaments, a lavish display of gestures and attitudes, which, owing partly to their superficial treatment and partly to their inconsistency with the subject, produce a decidedly discordant effect. On the extreme left Catherine kneels in prayer, her ardent features again finely expressed; but still more remarkable are the figure and features of a maiden kneeling in the foreground to the right, with her hands crossed on her breast, and breathing an intensity of passion and a perfection of grace that again suggests the influence of Raphael. In her face more especially we see that noble inspiration at times peculiar to this artist in his purer moments.

The chapel is moreover decorated with a wealth of architectural ornamentation, including a liberal supply of pretty little cherubs, and in the hances of the chancel the figure of St. Matthew the Evangelist is remarkable for its Michael-Angelesque touch. Here also the picturesque background of the first-mentioned fresco, as on so many of Bazzi's paintings, is very noteworthy. J. Lermolieff (*"Zeitschr. für b. K.,"* ix., 178 and 251) speaks of the resemblance his landscapes bear to those of Giampietrino and of Cesare da Sesto, and he suggests that all three may have studied this feature of Art under the Milanese, C. Bernazzano. But Bazzi here resembles Luini also, as well as the three others, whilst he, more than any other, reminds us in his landscapes of the antique wall-paintings. The careless manner in which he handles the perspective, thrusting the background upwards, the peculiar way in which he brings the objects together, his ornamental treatment of the little horses, swine, and dogs in the distance, his

choice of colours, and the general decorative effect, produce the impression of



"San Vittorio." (Town Hall of Siena.)

some such remarkable relationship, whether this be the result of a revived

tradition or merely a coincidence. But apart from the question of any actual historical connection with the past, these adjuncts themselves are particularly charming, bright, and genuinely idyllic. Those of the Mont' Oliveto frescoes are especially remarkable. In the "Marriage of Alexander" also he opens up a sentimental view of the Aventine and the Tiber to the right, which in fact are seen through the window of the bridal chamber.

In the year 1527 he fell ill, and, notwithstanding his knightly dignity, was removed to the public hospital of Siena. Two years thereafter he began the painting of the Sala del Mappamondo, in the town hall of that place, but did not finish it till 1534. These frescoes have the advantage of representing isolated figures exclusively. Hence both these and the individual figures of saints in San Bernardino avoid the jarring effect elsewhere produced in his larger compositions by the inharmonious crowding together of the groups. The most excellent of those in the town hall is the "San Vittorio" (1529), a figure marked by the elevation of a Raphael, though somewhat distorted in the legs (see page 480). The little *amorino* to the right, decked with flowers and holding the town arms and laurel branch, recalls the *amorini* with festoons by the side of the prophet Isaiah, painted by Raphael in Sant' Agostino in 1512. Here again the hatching produces a very mild and pleasing effect. The ruddy, dim ground tone is but slightly chilled by a quiet, plum-coloured greyish blue, to which Bazzi is very partial, and which is perhaps to be traced to the influence of Fra Filippo. In his best compositions this tone blends very harmoniously with the Lombard glow of colour, and this "San Vittorio" itself is scarcely surpassed in these respects by any other fresco painting.

In the inner chapel of the town hall there is also a perfect gem by his hand—a panel painting of the "Holy Family," originally painted for the cathedral. This serious study, with its still, pure attitude, its broad and thorough handling of the masses of light and shade, belongs beyond doubt to his good ripe period, and is one of the best illustrations of his skill at chiaroscuro, and at a natural adjustment of the transitions whereby he had already distinguished himself on his first appearance in Tuscany. In this work the Lombard manner is almost entirely laid aside, and in place of it we detect a slight leaning towards Andrea del Sarto.

Lastly, there remains to be mentioned his panel piece the "Adoration of the Magi" in Sant' Agostino, painted in 1536, and in spite of the crowded composition one of his most successful productions. The loving care with which it is painted, and especially the great attention paid to the modelling, makes it seem to belong to a much earlier period than the already mentioned work in the town hall. Vasari also speaks of it with admiration, and one sees that he had here girded himself up perhaps for a final effort. Henceforth both his art and his repute go headlong downhill to ruin.

No doubt he now offended and estranged the Sienese, more even by his indolence and dilatory execution of the works intrusted to him than by their feebleness and other shortcomings. But his worst escapade was in connection with the wretched fresco in the market chapel, which he had undertaken to finish in the year 1537. He began it, but soon laid aside his brush, betook himself to the court of Giacomo V., Prince of Piombino, there painted some few pictures, for which he was handsomely rewarded by the prince, laden with every mark of friendship, presented by him with a number of "small deer" from the island of Elba—in a word he made himself very comfortable and thought no more of the market chapel. At last, after waiting for a twelvemonth, the Signoria of Siena sends him an expostulatory letter, the prince intercedes on his behalf and asks them for another month's delay. The month has long transpired, but Bazzi still fails to make his appearance. The Signoria writes him again in peremptory terms, and at the same time sends an urgent appeal to the prince, but receives no answer. At last, four months after their first letter, and after they had again appealed to the honour of the prince, Bazzi presents himself with a soothing letter from his patron and finishes off the sorry painting in reckless haste. This occurrence was unquestionably of great detriment to him, and doubtless was one of the principal causes that led to his being supplanted in the public favour by Beccafumi, who already affected his style, and was moreover painstaking and trustworthy.

And so he soon went his solitary way not at all rejoicing. In 1540 he tarried for a while with Lorenzo di Galeotti di Medici in Volterra, where he painted a few indifferent pictures, proceeding thence to Pisa, where he received some more important commissions from Bastiano, the architect of the cathedral. Lastly he executed one more fresco in Lucca in the convent of San Ponziano, whose abbot was a friend of his. Thence he returned in 1543 to Siena, where he survived a few years longer, and died in 1549.

His last tolerably good work is an altarpiece painted by him during his stay in Pisa for the little church of Sta. Maria della Spina, and now in the public gallery there. But speaking generally the style of his later years is dull and flimsy. His Art, like the man himself, lacks the pith necessary to recover and adorn itself with fresh triumphs. In his old age, which ill became him, he painted himself out.

Bazzi founded no school of any consequence. For such a purpose he lacked the necessary firmness of purpose. His pupils, Girolamo, named *Giorno del Sodoma*, Lorenzo Brazzi, "*il Rustico*," and Bartolommeo Neroni, "*il Riccio*," are very second-rate artists. Still it is undeniable that Girolamo del Pacchia (1477 till about 1540), Baldassare Peruzzi (1481—1537), and Domenico Beccafumi (1484—1549), were decidedly influenced by him, if by no means exclusively by him.

A word in conclusion touching Bazzi's "feeling for the beautiful," which is in general and with so much admiration ascribed to him. It is true that he possesses it in a restricted sense, that is, as regards the individual figures of the painting, but not at all so certainly in the general sense, that is, as regards the work as a whole. His colouring also may be called "beautiful" where he is in his element, and the same may be said of his exposition as such. Still his manner of composition is not beautiful; his draperies are generally ungainly, slovenly, and murky; but especially jarring and repulsive are his constant laxity in carrying out the ideal present to his mind, and the manifold faults and irregularities of his draughtsmanship. With regard to the ideal itself, such as that of his lovely women and pretty little *amorini*, it is to be observed that we should not be nearly so much taken with them but for a certain modern air about them.

Bazzi has at all events introduced one new type, whose expression lies in a pure, human, worldly pleasure, in the *abandon*, the faculty of enjoyment, the glow of feeling in human existence. But this type fosters from the first within itself a conventional germ. It is often too lovely, too sweet. It lacks an inward contrast, it has no "backbone." And even soft beauty can be brought out by force of contrast, without which it becomes mere yeast.

But it is not so much a question of the choice of a type, as of the manner in which it is represented. Apart altogether from occasional frivolities, there is already from the very first a tendency in his style towards the superficial, an inborn disposition towards showy unreality. And even this weaker soul within him does not religiously respect the full rights of nature, which yet ever and relentlessly calls us back to her steadfast laws, to her fixed and strictly organic outward forms, developed as they are out of independent and self-acting energies. He forgets the respect due to essentially individual features and to the spiritual and sensitive properties of the object, dealing with everything in a summary and wholesale sort of way, and aiming henceforth at mere show and effect. He may thus no doubt attain to a certain conventional beauty, which however will never succeed in dazzling the eye of the judicious observer.

And all this points directly at a lack of genuine manhood. Precisely because the prevailing bent of his mind is too effeminate to penetrate seriously into the heart of his subject, he often suggests those trite and commonplace manufacturers of beauty, that well-known class of artists, with whom our lyric poetry, and still more our formative Art, but most of all the Italian Opera, have made us familiar.

All this is at the same time in a special manner associated with the dark side of fresco painting, in which most of his works were executed. This technique deals with the grand, hence has produced much that is really grand, and it has given greater scope to our artist. But it was also injurious to him, owing to

its rapidity of execution, superinducing a certain off-hand and perfunctory treatment. This must have been not a little demoralising especially to such a ready artist as Bazzi, who thought out his design right off while the wall was still wet, and in his wanton exuberance did not so much as keep to the forecast outlines. Indeed, it is really surprising that he did no worse, and that in spite of everything he finished many works with a love that cannot fail to elicit our warmest admiration. Such frescoes and panel pieces as these must always retain their true worth, a constant source of delight to the observer, and ever challenging from the Art-critic a full and worthy appreciation of their universal and historical significance.

Besides those described in the text the following works by this artist are also worthy of being mentioned.

PERIOD OF HIS YOUTH.

In the possession of G. Morelli in Bergamo, a little painting of the "Virgin with the Child," encircled by three heads of angels, apparently by him.

Round painting of the "Nativity," in the Siena Gallery (No. 58).

The "Ascension," in the Church of Castel Trequanda in Valdichiana.

PERIOD OF HIS MANHOOD.

Altarpiece with saints in the Turin Gallery (No. 5, Room II.), originally in Colle di Val d' Elsa (about the year 1513).

In the Compagnia Laicale di SS. Giovanni e Gennaro at Siena, two pair of ornamental coffin pieces, containing two Madonnas, a dead Christ and a crucifix surmounting a death's head and cross bones, and the portrait of one of the confraternity in the foreground (1527).

In the Cappella degli Spagnuoli in Sto. Spirito at Siena, a panel painting of "SS. Domenick and Michael," in the semi-circular space above "Mary and St. Alfonso," "SS. Catherine and Lucia." On the wall enclosing the altar frescoes—above "St. James of Compostella riding to battle," to the left by the altar "St. Sebastian," to the right "Sant' Antonio Abbate" (1530).

Frescoes in the streets of Siena: in a corner of the Piazza Tolomei the "Madonna," of the Shoemakers' Guild; at the Porta San Viene a "Nativity" (1530, 1531).

Frescoes painted for the Compagnia di Sta. Croce of Siena, of which three now in the Convent of Sant' Eugenio, two (the best) in the public gallery (Nos. 341 and 342) representing "Christ on the Mount of Olives" (flighty), and "Christ in Hell." The latter everywhere rather poor except in the charming figure of Eve. The type of her features, as of many youthful

choristers in the "Mont' Oliveto" frescoes, recalls that peculiar to Francesco Francia.

Panel piece of the "Resurrection," in the Pinakotheca at Naples (1535).

Fresco of the "Resurrection," in the Siena Town Hall (about 1535).

PERIOD OF HIS OLD AGE.

In the Cathedral of Pisa the "Offering up of Isaac," and a "Burial of Christ" (1541).



"Amorino." (San Domenico, Siena.)

THE EARLY FRENCH MASTERS.

NICHOLAS POUSSIN.

(Born in Villiers, near Great Andely, 1594 (?) ; died in Rome, 1665.)

By C. A. REGNET.

JEAN POUSSIN, formerly an officer in the service of Henry IV., took up his residence at Andely, in Upper Normandy, in the year 1590. Instead of laurels and wealth, the wars had brought upon him, as upon so many others, nothing but poverty. However, his determination to quit the service was soon rewarded with the hand of Procurator Lemoine's relict, Marie, *née* Delaisement. Of this marriage Nicholas was the issue, but while the hamlet of Villiers, near Andely, has been ascertained to have been his birth-place, the day and even the year of that event still remain to be settled. It is referred by some to June, 1594, by others to 1593, and in the fragmentary state of the local parish records of the year 1594 the point is likely to remain undecided. In those of the previous year his name does not occur, but the certificate of his death on November 19th, 1665, states his age at seventy-two, while on a portrait finished in the beginning of 1649, he describes himself as fifty-five, and on one executed the following year as fifty-six years old.

The young Poussin was to have received a sound education, and that his schooldays were not quite wasted, is shown on the one hand by the choice and conception of the materials in his late works, on the other by his somewhat widespread correspondence. Still his inclinations turned from the first more towards artistic than scientific and learned pursuits.

Amidst the religious convulsions of the sixteenth century a taste for æsthetics had spread far beyond Italy, though the works then produced could not fail to reflect somewhat of the feverish spirit of the times. The most opposite religious principles were now arrayed in two hostile camps, both intruding on the domain of Art to the partial exclusion of the individual element. On the one hand the intrinsic hollowness of the old superstition was

becoming daily more manifest, whilst on the other Protestantism was still too young to attempt an outward transformation of life. Hence is easily explained the contrast between undeniable insubstantiality and unwarrantable pretensions conspicuous in most of the works of the period. Still even in this transition era there is no lack of decided artistic talents, which, unaffected by the general tendency towards mannerism, remained faithful to the pure inspirations of nature.

With the opening of the seventeenth century the spiritual life of the nations of Central Europe began to be agitated by a new and mighty impulse, that



Nicholas Poussin.

gave for the time free bridle to the human passions. These made themselves felt in the Art-world also, and to them must be referred the concurrent naturalistic treatment of form, while the same overwrought spirit also shows itself in a more intellectual conception of artistic subjects. This is moreover the chief reason why painting was now raised above the other arts, and especially above the colder art of the statuary. And while artists yielded to a more unrestrained and freer conception of nature, breaking once for all with the last remnants of the typical, they also imparted greater dignity to genre,

still life, and landscape painting, branches that had heretofore occupied but a subordinate position in relation to the grand historic style.

The early years of Nicholas Poussin are coincident with this fresh impulse given to Art, though the French art of the period was far too eclectic to be considered in any sense national.

The older French painters had formed themselves on Florentine, Roman, and Venetian models, and had been little more than mere imitators. They had on the whole scarcely got beyond the limits of a respectable mediocrity, and the first germs of a genuine national French School were laid by Italians. Francis I., whose fostering care of the arts and sciences had earned for him the high-flown title of the "Father of Letters," with his characteristic love of splendour turned his sympathies more in the direction of architecture. During his reign, tossed as it was by the storms of disastrous wars, there arose the châteaux and palaces of the Louvre, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau, Boulogne, and Chambord near Blois. In order to decorate Fontainebleau, he invited to his court Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, Rosso del Rosso, Master Roux de Roux, as the French call him, and who was formed on Michael Angelo and Parmegianino, besides Giulio Romano's assistant, Francesco Primaticcio from Bologna, as well as his associate and successor Niccolo dell' Abbate from Modena. Thus arose the School of Fontainebleau, which in its time enjoyed a high repute, and which reached its greatest splendour in the reign of Henry II.

But by this time the School of Fontainebleau had disappeared, and the whole intellectual life of France was pervaded by a spirit of formal correctness and carefully trained method. This first became conspicuous in literature, but soon invaded the domain of Art, and here as there with an undeniable nobility and grandeur of conception there was associated a certain studied coldness overshadowing all genuine inspiration.

But the most striking feature of this new phase of thought was its complete development on the foundation of the naturalistic spirit mainly represented by Simon Vouet. Vouet, who had taken Caravaggio and the Venetians as his models, stood alone amongst the artists of his country. Nevertheless he must be regarded as the true founder of the genuine French School, for out of his studio came many of the most famous painters in France, Eustache Lesueur, Pierre Mignard, Charles Lebrun, and others. Still there was no lack of captious and dissentient voices, foremost amongst whom was Jacquot Callot, the Rabelais of formative art. In his caustic etchings especially, he vigorously lashes the affectation inherent in the empty pathos of the whole school.

Poussin's parents would not hear of his devoting himself to Art, which seemed to be but a precarious calling at best. However, he continued to practise drawing, according to some receiving his first lessons in it from Noël Jouvenet,

grandfather of Jean Jouvenet, living in Rouen as a teacher of painting. But it seems more probable that his first master was Quentin Varin, who was at



"Picture of Human Life," by Nicholas Poussin.

that time engaged on a couple of paintings for the Church of Great Andely.*

* Andely consists properly of two distinct towns, Great Andely and Little Andely. It is situate on the Seine, some twenty miles from Evreux.—ED.

Varin's work was finished in 1612, and the same year Poussin, now in his eighteenth year, left his home and went to Paris, whether weary of his parents' opposition, or because he hoped to find in the capital opportunities of study and employment he could scarcely expect to meet with in the provinces. In Paris, where he had arrived destitute of means, he found shelter and support from a certain courtier, said to have been a Chevalier Avicé of Poitou.

His first teacher's name in Paris has not transpired; but he soon left him for the portrait painter Ferdinand Elle of Mechlin. Nor with him did he remain very long, being anxious to become something more than a mere portraitist. Equally brief was his sojourn with Lallemand of Lorraine, so that all the hopes he had set on Paris seemed about to be dashed when a new star appeared on the horizon. In the house of the mathematician Courtois, a warm friend of Art and a member of the king's household, Poussin saw a valuable collection of copperplates by Marc Antonio, after Raphael and Giulio Romano, and obtained the owner's permission to study them. And now was revealed to him a world in which he became for the time all absorbed. "He seems," writes his biographer Belloni, "formed in the school of Raphael, from which he certainly drew the milk and the life of Art."

About this time circumstances obliged Poussin's young patron to return to Poitou. On withdrawing from court he invited Poussin to accompany him to his château, expressing a wish to have it adorned with works by the young artist's hand. Poussin accepted the invitation, but only to meet with a bitter disappointment. All domestic arrangements were regulated by his patron's mother, a lady void of all artistic feeling, who looked on the painter as an ordinary craftsman. Hence, in spite of his utter destitution, Poussin soon returned to Paris, where he had a very hard time of it, his health giving way at last under his constant privations. There was therefore nothing for it but to return to Andely, where he found that his flight had long ago been forgiven.

He was now twenty years of age, and remained a twelvemonth at home, his youthful energies soon recovering through the loving care of his mother and under the influence of his native air. But with the revival there came also a yearning to visit Italy.

He went first to Paris in the hope of there earning enough to carry out this project, which he was at last able to do, seemingly in the year 1620. However, he got no farther than Florence, thence returning for some unascertained reason. Two years later on he again set out from Paris, but he seemed to be still pursued by his old ill-luck, and in Lyons a merchant, his creditor, threatened to have him arrested. On satisfying his claim Poussin found he had still one gulden to the good. The same evening this found its way into the pocket of the host, with whom the light-hearted artist had invited a

couple of boon companions to share his hospitality, an incident he was wont years after to laugh over with his friends.

On his return to Paris he found employment in the Collège de Laon, where he met Philippe de Champagne, a former fellow-worker in Lallemand's studio. Poussin was then twenty-seven years of age, and eight years Champagne's senior, yet these two young men seemed made one for the other, and in the happiest manner supplemented each the other's good qualities. Champagne was still working under Lallemand, but on his friend's advice now left him, and both for a time found employment with Duchesne, who had been commissioned by Queen Mary de' Medici to decorate the Luxembourg with paintings. Thereafter Champagne returned to Brussels, and Poussin remained in Paris, still occupied with the thought of visiting Italy.

The Jesuits were at this time (1623) celebrating with great splendour the canonization of Ignatius Loyola, founder of their order, and of Francis Xavier. Several artists were engaged on paintings for the occasion, and Poussin amongst others received orders to execute six. These he punctually delivered notwithstanding the short time allowed to finish them in. They met with universal approval, and he thus achieved a first step towards success in his career.

Amongst the countrymen of the Queen-Regent settled in Paris, was the poet Giovanni Battista Marino, by the French generally known as the Chevalier Marin. Political intrigues in which he and his family had been involved having obliged him to withdraw from Naples, his native place, he occupied himself with various literary speculations, and after spending some time at the petty Italian courts, at last accepted Mary's invitation to remove to Paris. Marino was not only a warm friend of Art, but also an intelligent connoisseur. From the paintings executed for the Jesuits he detected Poussin's rare parts, sought out the rising artist, and received him into his household, where he had every opportunity of working after his own inclination.

Notwithstanding the extreme contrast in their tempers, both soon became knitted together in the closest friendship, the earnest mood of the painter acquiring such a deep influence on the poet's susceptible nature that it cannot fail to be recognised in many even of his later poems. Poussin on his part was so taken with his friend's wearisome "Adonis" that he illustrated it, but whether commissioned or not is uncertain. In any case he was indebted to Marino for his increased love of historical materials and for his poetic manner of conceiving them.

However, they did not continue to reside long together. Towards the end of 1623 the Italian returned to Rome, where the friend of his youth, Maffeo Barberini, had succeeded to the papacy under the name of Urban VIII. Poussin would have gladly accompanied Marino, but was first obliged to

finish a "Death of the Virgin," commissioned by the Paris Goldsmiths' Guild for a chapel in Notre-Dame, and when he was at last able to leave for Rome he found the state of affairs there much less favourable than he could have wished. The new pope's friendship for Marino had cooled down, and though his nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini gave the artist a gracious reception, all that Poussin could at first obtain was the permission to study in the Barberini Museum. Moreover, soon after his arrival Marino withdrew to Naples, where he died in 1625; and when the cardinal himself went as legate to Paris, Poussin, now a stranger to every one, was for a time compelled to keep body and soul together by slaving for a wretched pittance. He is known at this period, that is, when thirty years old, to have given away paintings of an average size for twenty shillings or so.

Still his spirits never flagged, but he devoted himself with fresh vigour especially to the study of the antique, in company with the Brussels statuary Francis Duquesnoy, "*il Fiamingo*," and the sculptor and architect Alessandro Algardi, who later on passed for the greatest plastic artist after Michael Angelo. Nor was he satisfied merely with pen-and-pencil drawings, but also made castings in plaster. The three friends even modelled a group in relief of children at play, after a painting by Titian in the Villa Ludovici; besides which Poussin was indefatigable in making drawings after Raphael, Giulio Romano, and other great masters. According to a well-known tradition he at this time, jointly with Duquesnoy, determined the proportions of the human figure by accurate measurements of the Antinous and other antiques.

He also sought in other directions to enlarge the circle of his knowledge, zealously continuing the study of anatomy already begun in Paris under Nicholas Larcher, although, as we are assured by Passeri, the artistic tendencies of the time set less value on such knowledge than on superficial execution.

To the study of nature he also devoted himself with indescribable earnestness. For days together he would linger amidst the ruins of the city; he drew the grand outlines of the Campagna with a firm hand, and did not scorn to copy the humblest flowerets and plants, so that when later on asked how he had become such a great painter, he could justly answer "by overlooking nothing." His sketchbook was ever at hand in order on the spot to jot down whatever seemed worthy of attention, whether human beings or animals, buildings or landscape elements.

The Roman Art-world was now centred in Guido Reni, Domenichino, and the school of Caravaggio. Without despising the others Poussin gave the preference to Domenichino, although his star was then setting; his sympathies were enlisted by the depth of thought, the severe draughtsmanship, and the thoroughness peculiar to this artist.

Domenichino had jointly with his rival Guido Reni been commissioned to adorn with frescoes a chapel in San Gregorio on Monte Celio. The young artists flocked round Guido's "St. Andrew's Adoration of the Cross," Poussin



"Ecstasy of St. Paul," by Poussin.

alone applying himself to the study of Domenichino's "Flagellation," of which he made a copy. This procured him the master's acquaintance and access to his studio, where he drew from living models.

Domenichino having soon after fallen a victim to the implacable revenge of Ribera and Lanfranco in Naples, Poussin betook himself to the studio of Andrea Sacchi, who had acquired great repute by his unusual care in the choice of his figures, by skilful treatment of the draperies, and especially the freshness and harmonious effect of his colouring, though in other respects a pedant by nature, imposing needless restrictions on his otherwise dull and sickly fancy. Poussin, however, evidently succeeded in acquiring many of Sacchi's above-mentioned good qualities.

Meantime his circumstances had undergone no improvement. But Cardinal Francesco Barberini now returning to Rome gave him a commission for three oil paintings, leaving to the artist the choice of the subjects. With these, the "Death of Germanicus," of which he had to make a duplicate, and the "Taking of Jerusalem," Poussin for the first time really took his place amongst the great masters; nor was this at all too soon, for he was now thirty-four years old, while his health was far from satisfactory. This of course affected the state of his finances, as appears from a letter to his patron, the Commendatore Cassiano del Pozzo, in which he writes: "I am nearly always laid up, and have no other source of income except from the work of my hands."

But this very illness, the germs of which he had brought from France, but of the nature of which information is wanting, was destined to bring about an important turn in his career. Amongst his fellow-countrymen whose acquaintance he had made in Rome was a certain Jacques Dughet. When Poussin fell ill, Dughet and his wife nursed him with the greatest self-denial, and on recovering the artist thought he could give his friends no more appropriate proof of his thankfulness than to propose for their eldest daughter, Anne-Marie. The offer was gladly accepted, and Bouchitté gives October 18th, 1629, as the wedding day. Gandar, however, refers to an entry in the marriage registry of San Lorenzo in Lucina, according to which the event was not solemnized till August 9th, 1630. The Dughet family had long been settled in Rome, seemingly in a good position, for their daughter's dowry enabled Poussin to purchase a house, the first in the Via Sistina, close to the Church of Trinità dei Monti, and in the immediate vicinity of the residences of Claude Lorraine and Salvator Rosa.

Next to Jacques Dughet, Poussin entertained the most hearty friendship for Cassiano del Pozzo, a friendship which lasted to his death in 1657. To him amongst other favours he was indebted for the order he received to paint a "Martyrdom of St. Erasmus," which was intended to be copied in mosaics for St. Peter's. It was the only commission he ever got from the Papal court, and this remained unpaid for, as Passeri states on the assurance of the artist himself. Strange to say, it is also the only work to which he attached his

signature, though whether, as Graham says, on the ground lest his weak performance might be classified with the surrounding masterpieces, cannot now be determined.

During the first decade after his marriage, which remained without issue, he produced a series of works, including some of his most important ones, such as the "Philistines smitten with Emerods," the "Rape of the Sabines," the "Raining of Manna," "Moses smiting the Rock for water," the first portion of the "Seven Sacraments" for Commendatore del Pozzo; also his "Pan and the nymph Syrinx," his "Abduction of Armida by Rinaldo," and four Bacchanals for the all-powerful Cardinal Richelieu. It was the same Cardinal that gave £150 for the "Manna" piece, which had passed through several hands after Poussin had disposed of it for £4 10s. The circumstance is mentioned by Félibien, who two years after the artist's death wrote for the Academy of Painters a treatise on this work full of excessive praise. Of the miracle of the rock Poussin must have made several replicas, though each time introducing more or less serious modifications. The "Hercules and Deianira" was also produced during this period.

Several of his works had now found their way to France, and the attention of the court had been drawn especially to the "Bacchanals" of Richelieu, and to a "Triumph of Neptune." Hence it was but natural that Sublet de Noyers, the newly appointed superintendent of the court buildings, should signalise his tenure of office by writing Poussin to return to France. But the painter had his Art more at heart than the favour of princes, and he showed so little disposition to be directed in his career by the wishes of the great, that he was not induced to obey the summons until he received an autograph letter from the king, dated January 18th, 1639.

Nevertheless the negotiations between him and the king's special commissioner, De Chantelou, lasted two years longer. He was promised 3,000 livres for his travelling expenses, the same amount of yearly allowance, free quarters in the Tuileries, and the title of "First Painter to His Majesty." It was further stipulated that for the next five years he should not be required to paint ceilings or wall paintings, while engaging on his part not to undertake any private orders without the permission of the Director of the Royal Works.

It went hard with Poussin to tear himself from Rome, and could he have honourably procured a release from his engagement, he would have remained there, all the more that he had again fallen ill. At last, however, in the latter part of December, 1640, he set out in company with the brothers Paul and Roland Chantelou, re-entering Paris during the first days of the following year.

Notwithstanding the still feeble state of his health, he forthwith set to work again; first of all with a couple of title-pages for editions of Virgil and the Bible issued from the Royal Printing Office; then cartoons for some

high-warp tapestries for the king's apartments, two altarpieces for the chapels of the palaces of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Fontainebleau, several pictures for Richelieu, the "Extreme Unction" for Cassiano del Pozzo, and many others.

Still the artist, whom the quiet pursuit of his profession in Rome agreed with so well, could find no rest in the gay and restless court of Paris. One order succeeded another without intermission, each essentially different in its nature, and he was called upon at one time to supply title-pages and bindings for books, at another ornaments for fire-places, ceilings and walls, and scores of such trifles, and all, so to say, to be supplied on the instant, for the courtlings soon found out what a quick worker Poussin was. His correspondence soon begins to breathe dissatisfaction at this condition of things.

Meanwhile he felt that he had not been summoned to Paris to design a thousand trifles or even to paint altarpieces. Something greater, something really important must be taken in hand. Henry IV. had undertaken to connect the Tuileries and the Louvre by means of a gallery. After his death the work was suspended, but had been resumed by Lemercier, when commissioned to complete and at the same time enlarge the Louvre. But his decoration of the gallery had met with little approval, in consequence of which it was intended to give Poussin a commission similar to that already carried out by Rosso Rossi and Primaticcio at Fontainebleau.

He was accordingly called upon to decorate this gallery, the only one then standing, with his own compositions, and for this purpose all that had been previously executed there by other artists was demolished. Now when he depicted above the labours of Hercules to serve as a setting for the wars and heroic deeds of the king below, the idea so fully corresponded on the one hand with the current views on the monarchy, and on the other with the prevailing tastes, that there is little need to suppose this thought to have been inspired by a third party. Especially for the side space lighted from the street and the great court he gave full scope to his fancy, and planned a decorative work richer in thought and form than any the world had yet seen. Unfortunately he scarcely finished the tenth part of the project, partly because still continually interrupted by fresh orders of the nature above described, partly because this work and his very residence at the court were otherwise interfered with by the intrigues of such artists as felt themselves injured by his presence there.

The situation became altogether so uncongenial, that after less than two years' residence in Paris he resolved again to turn his back on France. Under various pleas he obtained leave to absent himself for a time, and withdrew never to return. Not without influence on his resolution was the circumstance that the endless orders of all sorts pouring upon him prevented him from executing commissions for several friends, who had left to him the choice of

the subject. Accompanied by the already famous young artist, Charles Lebrun, he again entered Rome on November 5th, 1642.

In his house on Trinità dei Monti, whence his gaze swept far over the Eternal City, he led a life of quiet seclusion. In the morning he would take a stroll on Monte Pincio, or through the city; the day was spent at his easel, receptions being the exception, and the evening was devoted either to his family or to animated conversation on the terraces with friendly artists, men of letters, and poets. On such occasions he was wont to bear the burden of the entertainment, ever expounding his views with the greatest clearness. At times however he would, sketch-book in hand, wander alone in the neighbourhood of Rome, collecting rich materials for study. He lived a simple life, knowing but few wants, to satisfy which was all the easier as he continued to draw his pension from the French court, and had no lack of commissions. Hence there is no foundation for the statement occasionally met with that Poussin lived in poverty and died in want.

Unfortunately his life was by no means exempt from troubles; both he and his wife were constant sufferers, to which at one time was added a good deal of anxiety about his projects for the Louvre Gallery, which he feared might have to be set aside. But in spite of his failing health he devoted much of his strength to this and other national works, not only continuing the designs for the Louvre, but also superintending a series of copies of the first masterpieces in Rome for France, besides encouraging with advice and substantial aid the young French artists residing there, so that he must be regarded as the precursor of the directors of the French Academy opened in Rome one year after his death. Of far-reaching importance was the influence exercised by him, more especially on Lebrun, Sebastian Bourdon, Pierre Mignard, and others, as will be seen more in detail further on.

His own genius also now began to develop itself in a high degree; the circle of his thoughts and mental powers yearly acquired fresh depth and intensity, and for a period of nearly twenty years no traces are anywhere visible of mental decay or of any falling off in his art.

In the beginning of November, 1664, he consigned to her last resting-place his dearly-loved and well-tried companion in life. She was buried in the same church where they had been joined in wedlock, and his letter to Chantelou on the occasion shows how deeply he was bowed down by the loss. In June of the following year he writes to Félibien that he has long laid aside his brush, and given himself up entirely to preparing for his end, which he feels is fast approaching. Feeble hands, failing sight, great susceptibility to change of weather, combined with violent headaches he had been subject to for years, and a lameness had gradually been superadded, which at length rendered him quite incapable of walking. And so he passed away as the clock struck twelve

at noon on November 19th, 1665, falling at last a victim to inflammation of the bowels, when 71 years five months of age. The next day his remains were borne



"The Holy Family," by N. Poussin.

to the parish church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and attended to the grave by all the members of the Academy of San Luca.

According to Passeri, Poussin was a man of stately carriage and handsome

figure, of severe rather than friendly mien, though ever kindly disposed to others, a description accurately corresponding to the portrait of the artist painted by himself. Félibien thus describes him: "Il me semble que je le vois encore: il avait la couleur du visage tirant sur l'olivâtre, et ses cheveux noirs commençaient à blanchir quand nous étions à Rome. Ses yeux étaient vifs et bien fendus, le nez grand et bien fait, le front spacieux et la mine résolue."

In society he showed the same clear understanding that is conspicuous in all his paintings, combined with a certain dignified manner, softened by his natural kindliness. In conversation he was not free from a certain sententious tone, somewhat recalling Corneille's style of address. This tendency, however, never rendered him strained or affected, but seemed merely the natural result of his intensity of feeling, his love of retirement, and extensive learning. In this respect he far outstripped most artists, being as familiar with the principles of anatomy, perspective, and architecture, as with history, the manners and customs of the more distinguished nations, the poetry of all periods, and with classic lore in all its details.

To this exceptional erudition, combined with his unimpeachable honour and artistic genius, Poussin was indebted for the great esteem and respect he was held in by all who knew him best.

Poussin's life is mirrored with rare fidelity in his works. In both we have the same nobility of thought and sentiment, the same clearness and idealism, and even the traces of his hard struggles with the malice of his enemies and the ignorance of the times may be detected in his undying productions.

He not only followed the classic tendencies of Art with an iron energy, but must be reckoned amongst its most radical reformers. The disciple of a school in which execution was more valued than the spiritual essence of Art, he had the courage and the strength of mind to break with its traditions and to open up new paths for himself. Yet many artists not to be compared with Poussin, by pursuing the course marked out by him, could boast of far more advantageous results. Whoever is acquainted with the history of Art knows that painters who had nothing to show except the novelty of their tendencies, became founders of widely influential schools. Great epochs of culture are wont to be followed by intervening periods characterized by bad taste and mannerism, exercising an unbounded sway when accompanied by indolence and indifference. These are the halcyon days of mediocrity.

When Poussin appeared in the midst of a swarm of devout worshippers of the Caracci, he stood alone amongst them. It would almost even appear as if the influence of the artists of this period of decay to a certain extent clashed with his own. His French successors almost without exception followed the Italian tendencies. Even with Lebrun, although a thorough student of

Poussin and largely imbued by his severe style, the Academic element is strikingly conspicuous, through him exercising the greatest influence over the next ensuing generation of French artists.

It has been seen above that soon after his arrival in Rome Poussin was much occupied with the study of the antique, even carefully modelling after it. We again draw attention to this circumstance, because it seems to explain a certain crudity in many of his figures, and to account for the want of connection with others. Especially in the works of this period do we meet with this dryness and isolation, this want of genuine harmony, as is notably the case with his "Philistines."

He early acquired a great readiness of execution, and this he succeeded in doing at a time when his outward circumstances were far from favourable. This facility, however, was in his case accompanied with the greatest thoroughness, as seen in the care and neatness of the sketches drawn by him for his paintings. But when once satisfied as to the subject and the manner of its treatment, he displayed amazing boldness and freedom in its execution, and it was this very apparent recklessness and neglect that gave occasion to Raphael Mengs' well-known remark that Poussin's pictures are properly mere sketches or fugitive drafts.

If we further remember that when he appeared it was precisely the execution that claimed most attention, we shall easily understand that his simplicity of expression, and still more of his materials, was little calculated to secure the consideration of his fellow-artists or the favour of the public, ever a blind votary of fashion.

At that time the painter most in favour was Guido Reni, and both Italian and foreign artists rivalled each other in the worship of this most gifted of the Caracci's pupils, who presented the most marked contrast to Poussin. The golden age of Art had passed and was now succeeded by the silver.

The sixteenth century had seen every variety of talent and every style of Art developed to the highest degree. Once the period of its infancy had been passed, men of the deepest feeling had given new laws to Art, laws little affected by tradition, but deduced wholly from its very essence itself. But other times had necessarily supervened. The world wearies at last even of the beautiful, and yearns for a change, though it be for the worst. Hence the number of great artists became fewer and fewer, while that of their votaries suffered no diminution. The judges of Art became at last more exacting, remaining no longer satisfied with unstudied grace and liveliness of sentiment. Still all was not yet lost; a remnant had survived of that mental fecundity which for a whole century had excited the admiration of the world; and the Caracci, inspired by their devotion for their predecessors, and especially for Raphael, had introduced into Art many elements that may have in fact been

considered as new, though they were themselves very far from enlarging the domain of Art. They fancied they had achieved the utmost of which it was capable when they succeeded in supplementing grace and beauty of invention by an intensified material imitation. They thought that those inaccuracies and shortcomings seldom absent from works in which inventiveness predominates might be avoided by means of a more thorough study of nature. In a word, they put reflection in the place of sentiment. They thus became the founders of the academic school with its necessary issues. Living nature, so enrapturing in all its freedom and many-sidedness, in the controlling hand of the artist and in the light of the studio, lost all its charm. Raphael had availed himself of such models as were patent to the world, only for the purpose of forming his sublimest types after them; now, however, the model itself became the centre-point on which the whole composition turned and by which it was mainly governed.

The exaggerated prominence thus given to reality necessarily resulted in a style of Art in which all freedom and pliability were extinguished, and found its most unreserved expression in the works of the Caracci, of Caravaggio, Spagnoletto, and the marvellous Guercino, that most pathetic of all anti-idealists.

Yet side by side with these there arose other talents also, versatile and not deficient in grace. They imparted to the realistic school an undeniable charm, based as much on the softness of touch as on the choice of fine and elegant models. At their head stand Albano, and especially Guido Reni, whose sway continued till the close of the last century. Out of the same tendency was developed the truly original genius of Domenichino, in whom we again meet with all the noble simplicity of the masters of the sixteenth century, though lacking in the ease and brilliancy of his rivals.

In order to do anything like justice to these eminent artists, we must above all bear in mind the influence exercised by them on the development of other great masters, and especially of Poussin. It will then be seen how much he owed to the advice of Domenichino, and how much he gained in firmness and solidity by following his instructions and those of the other artists of this school.

We often hear it stated somewhat dogmatically that Poussin was not capable of composing and executing works on a large and comprehensive scale. But no sufficient grounds can be fairly urged in support of such a charge beyond the fact that his largest works are not his best, and that after all the excellence of a painting is not measured by its size. His fancy was sufficiently quickened and his taste cultivated enough to hit the mark in this respect also, especially when there was question of introducing those rich architectural surroundings and those elegant accessories so peculiar to him. In this last direction he broke fresh ground, no less important than that which a hundred years

previously had been opened up by Jean Goujon, Germain Pilou, and Philibert Delorme, in their perfectly independent treatment of the forms of the Renaissance.

Poussin was not one of those who are ever impatient to rest on their laurels. On his return to Rome he wrote, "Plus je me sens avancer en âge, plus je suis enflammé du désir de me surpasser et de me rapprocher le plus possible de la perfection;" and he was often heard to say that the talents poured out by nature in her works are scattered to and fro, shining forth in different men and in divers places; that the gift of discipline is never restricted to any one individual, and that the union of all should be the object of study and the aim of perfection.

There can be no doubt that repeated visits to the magnificent villas in the neighbourhood of Rome imparted their peculiar character to his landscapes. His susceptible spirit could not fail to be impressed by the stately buildings, the glorious timber, and the attractive prospects over the waving lines of the Campagna to the sharp yet pleasantly traced outlines of the encircling hills. Hence arose those grandly conceived landscapes pervaded by a profound sadness in which he stands alone and unrivalled.

Here the aged and gnarled trunks twine their boughs into a mighty overshadowing arch, beneath which two poor slaves are bearing the dead body of the virtuous Phokion to the grave, while the glance sweeps over the smiling plains of Athens, his ungrateful country, that has handed him the poisoned cup. Elsewhere the marvellous landscape in which the divine singer Orpheus twangs the strings of his lyre amidst the nymphs and shepherds, whilst Eurydice, turning deadly pale at the snake's envenomed bite, lets the flowers fall from her basket. Never were the eternal contrasts between joy and pain more strikingly depicted on the same canvas. And in the background rise the towers of a fair city, and happy mortals in gaily decked barks glide down the gently flowing stream or disport themselves in its crystal waters.

The Italians of those times gave more prominence to the merits of their brilliant technique, attaching less importance to sentiment. Poussin on the contrary was not so anxious to show the world how skilful he was; he sacrificed nothing for the technique, his guiding stars ever being understanding and fancy, and, notwithstanding his avowed partiality for Italy, he may almost be said to have taken its Art for his model less than any other contemporary painter.

We see that artists even of the Titian stamp occasionally attend more to the pictorial effect than to the leading thought, never hesitating to place side by side objects otherwise in no way connected together. Here it may suffice to mention Titian's charming Antiope, lying naked in a Venetian landscape, while country folk and sportsmen are passing to and fro, showing clearly that the

master's only object was to display the beauty of the naked form, the landscape and other figures being introduced so to say merely for the optical effect.

In this respect Poussin, therefore, appears as a reformer in the fullest sense of the term. With all his exuberance of fancy he still never overlooks the artistic unity of the conception, and with all his wealth of figures and ornamental details he is still always the clear, sharp thinker. He never becomes trite, never repeats himself, and as he never calls in foreign aid in the execution of his works, doing everything with his own hand, he nowhere attaches more importance to an object than is naturally due to it, least of all to the technique, which he ever keeps subordinate to the main idea.

We have seen in what high esteem he held the great masters, and we know with what veneration he contemplated the works of classic times. But even there he did not imitate, at least in the way other artists did. The purely external forms of dress, buildings, arms, and other apparatus, had very properly in his eyes merely an archæological value, and he accordingly left such things to the antiquarian. He looked rather to the spirit of antiquity, and to the manner in which it conceived the human figure and passions, and artistically represented them.

Doubtless at the present day there will be many to dissent from this; for are there not those who even now fancy they can revive the antique by reproducing details of this sort with the most scrupulous accuracy? And this is the case not only in painting, but in the other formative Arts also. And yet such people think themselves justified in shrugging their shoulders at Raphael Mengs! Verily one might do worse than he did when, in his pedantic way, he hummed a Lydian air in order to catch the inspiration for a painting of the Madonna.

It may be said without exaggeration that a glance at Poussin's features is enough to perceive that he was rather a man of intellect than of feeling. As such he also decidedly shows himself in his Art, as well in the choice of his subjects as even more obviously in their treatment. His materials, once chosen, he was wont to examine from every point of view, subjecting them to a searching criticism, endeavouring to seize their most characteristic aspects, and delighting, so to say, in submitting them to a thorough physiological dissection. But all this he did, because he had most at heart how best to give the clearest and most intelligible expression to his thoughts. Hence with an almost painful care he avoided whatever might disturb the unity of the conception or impair the harmony of the general effect. Hence also he introduced no sort of secondary action in his compositions, scorning to dazzle or blind the eye with meretricious accessories.

He shows the same conscientiousness in his efforts to probe the depths of Art after his thoughtful manner, as is especially seen in his letter to Chantelou,

dated November 24th, 1647, where he has a searching inquiry into the music of the ancients. Bellori has also preserved a series of reflections by him on the nature of painting, touching on the example of good masters, the limits of drawing and colouring, and other interesting matters, which cannot unfortunately here further detain us. The same is true of his intelligent remarks on subjects suitable for artistic treatment, on the idea of the beautiful, on the composition, the style, the charm of colour, and so on, and we may here quote a few words of his on painting, in their concise brevity more pregnant with thought than a whole treatise. In a letter to De Chambray he writes:—

“Après avoir considéré la division que fait le seigneur François Junius des parties de ce bel Art, j’ay osé mettre icy brièvement ce que j’en ay appris. Il est nécessaire premièrement de savoir ce que c’est que sorte d’imitation, et de la définir.

“DEFINITION.—C’est (la peinture) une imitation faite avec lignes et couleurs en quelque superficie, de tout ce qui se voit sous le soleil. Sa fin est la délectation.

“PRINCIPES QUE TOUT HOMME CAPABLE DE RAISON PEUT APPRENDRE.—Il ne se donne point de visible sans lumière, sans forme, sans couleur, sans distance, sans instrument.

“CHOSSES QUI NE S’APPRENNENT POINT ET QUI FONT PARTIES ESSENTIELLES À LA PEINTURE.—Premièrement, pour ce qui est de la matière, elle doit être noble, qui n’ait reçu aucune qualité de l’ouvrier, et pour donner lieu au peintre de montrer son industrie, il faut la rendre capable de recevoir la plus excellente forme. Il faut commencer par la disposition, puis par l’ornement, le décor, la beauté, la grâce, la vivacité, le costume, la vraisemblance et le jugement partout. Ces dernières parties sont du peintre et ne se peuvent enseigner ; c’est le rameau d’or de Virgile, que nul ne peut trouver ni cueillir, s’il n’a été conduit par le destin. Ces neuf parties contiennent plusieurs choses dignes d’être écrites par de bonnes et savantes mains.”

So far Poussin has been considered mainly as a man of intellect, but in his works we also see him as a man of deep feeling, and a most life-like limner, so that it would be a great mistake to suppose that he attached little importance to these qualities. It was precisely because he fully recognised their significance for the artist and for Art that he was so anxious to regulate their flights by the laws of reason. And if he looks on pleasure and delight as the ultimate object of painting, this proceeds from his kindly nature, and he at all events considers dignified and weighty subjects alone really fit to delight the human heart. For the rest, there were but few artists who, like Poussin, were able to treat exclusively such subjects as corresponded to their own inward feeling. His vivid fancy moreover enabled him to grasp the whole situation at

a glance, his clear intellect at once perceiving the discordant element, or detecting the characteristic and essential amidst all the secondary and therefore superfluous surroundings.

In the composition he held the unity of thought as all-important, giving it all due prominence in the most agreeable and effective manner, and next to it he most valued a happy disposition of the groups and a beautiful flow of outline. In all this his chief model was the great master of Urbino, who rarely fails in such qualities, whereas in most of the so-called pre-Raphaelite masters we not unfrequently miss the expression of the inward relations between the chief and secondary figures, in a way tending materially to detract from our enjoyment of their works. During his first stay in Paris Poussin had made the acquaintance of Raphael's productions from Marc Antonio's engravings in the possession of Courtois, from his method of composition appropriating what corresponded with his own nature; and if second to that master in the inventive faculty, he at least often equals him in depth of thought, though even here not free from a certain studied purpose.

In the expression of the passions also and of the other emotions he follows Raphael and the antique, whose unsurpassed excellence he on more than one occasion modestly acknowledges.

Our ever-thoughtful master attached great value to the proportions, consequently also to his figures. It was in the nature of plastic monumental art as well as of painting to conform in this respect also to the spirit of architecture, in which they found their chief mainstay. From this it naturally followed that their proportions either grew into the colossal or under certain conditions sank far below the natural size. Instances are Michael Angelo's compositions in the Sistine Chapel, and Raphael's mural paintings in the Camera della Segnatura. In the former we see figures from ten to twenty, in the latter scarcely five feet high. Here, therefore, Poussin, relying on a principle based on experience, according to which in galleries pictures are generally viewed at a distance of twenty-four to thirty feet, arrived at the conclusion that it is inadvisable to make a painting more than twelve feet high or long. This principle he mostly adhered to in practice, and as he always adapted his figures to the size of the canvas, he thereby at the same time succeeded in giving them an extremely natural appearance.

The result of his anatomical studies in France and Rome, already referred to, are naturally very plainly seen in his works, and in his drawings he evidently aims at the greatest possible fidelity to nature. But he shows quite a special fondness for the figures of children and women, to which he contrives to impart a degree of grace and loveliness far beyond the usual. Hence it was so far fortunate that he showed such partiality for classical and mythological subjects, which afforded him exceptional opportunities for doing full justice to

the human figure in general, and more particularly to those of women and children. Whatever value he attached to the graceful fall of the draperies, yet as they always more or less concealed the still more beautiful forms of the body, he never failed to lay them aside whenever the nature of the subject at



"Heroic Landscape," by N. Poussin.

all allowed of his doing so. Nowhere, however, does he aim at pandering to the senses, treating the nude with great delicacy, and exclusively for the sake of its inherent beauty, so that scarcely any other painter can be found that handled it so chastely as he did. His female figures especially display the greatest

elegance with all the fulness of their fleshliness, and even when draped the play of every lovely form is seen in the folds of the dress. In this respect he certainly falls short of his great prototype, Raphael, still he cannot be denied the praise of earnestness, grandeur, nobility, and in some cases a certain grace also. For us his treatment of the draperies has doubtless become somewhat commonplace, owing to the endless imitations we meet of it, but we should still remember that it is the result of the most careful study of the antique.

It was the high opinion in which he held Art that prevented Poussin from becoming a great colourist. In colour he saw something subordinate, calculated unfairly to divert the observer's attention from the main point. During his first stay in Rome he studied the works of Titian, and doubtless with the best results, as seen in his "Jupiter disguised as Diana carrying off the nymph Kalisto;" but after that he turned deliberately from the colouristic element. Still it is scarcely any longer possible to form a just estimate of his colouring, his works having more or less severely suffered from the way in which the red ground has worn through. The judgment of his contemporaries, however, is on this point far from unfavourable.

During his long career Poussin painted three portraits only—his own once for his friend Chantelou, again for a certain Pointel, and lastly the likeness of Cardinal Rospigliosi. And here it may be mentioned that of all contemporary artists then residing in Rome he considered Nicholas Mignard alone as a master in this department.

Amongst his religious pieces, which are by far the most numerous, there are some that would alone suffice to secure him one of the foremost places in the history of Art. And in connection with this it is highly interesting to observe how deeply he has probed the spirit as well of the Jewish as of the Christian world, and how he contrives to bring them both into the clearest light in the most trifling no less than the most important matters. His God the Father is entirely the stern, pitiless, and jealous Jehovah of the Jews, visiting the sins of the father upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, and exacting eye for eye, tooth for tooth. About the brow of his Moses, striking the water from the rock, or with a motion of his wand overwhelming the hosts of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, there hovers a glory as of a mighty ruler of the people. His "Rebecca at the Well" is an embodiment of marvellous depth of feeling, a national type of truth and beauty, such as could alone arise in the soul of an artist that possessed an eye at once open and schooled to the peculiarities of national types and of special epochs of culture.

And how unspeakably sublime appears his Christ in the various situations of his hallowed life! Here riding upon the ass and entering Jerusalem in triumph; there dropping words of heavenly pity and forgiveness to the woman taken in sin; elsewhere breathing godlike utterances surrounded by his followers

at the Last Supper. And what a blending of divine majesty and human lowliness in the Christ of his Passion pieces! What gracious kindness in the Christ of his "Samaritan at the Well," and in "The Healer of the Blind," and lastly, what awe-inspiring earnestness in the glorified Redeemer intrusting the keys to Peter!

Amongst the limited number of his illustrations of profane history, the most noteworthy are the "Rape of the Sabines," the "Death of Germanicus," the "Flood," "Diogenes," "Coriolanus," "Theseus discovering his Parentage," the "Philistines smitten by the Emerods," and "Romulus and Remus discovered by the Shepherds." But in none of these works is there exhibited such a deep insight into the spirit of classic times as in the "Testament of Eudamidas;" while his "Taking of Jerusalem" gives him a further opportunity of turning to account his extensive archæological lore in other directions.

For after the subjects from the New Testament, those suggested by mythology possessed the greatest attraction for Poussin. His first works were exclusively devoted to this world of thought, his fondness for which was necessarily fostered by the immortal creations of antiquity everywhere meeting his gaze in Italy. Besides, the great masters of the Renaissance, with Raphael at their head, had given embodiment to the classic legends; the whole culture of the time being so rooted in that of antiquity that no one saw any inconsistency in the princes of the church themselves embellishing their palaces with bacchanalian scenes and the loves of gods and goddesses, fauns, and nymphs. Now-a-days we have grown if not more virtuous, at all events more prudish. In dealing with such topics, however, Poussin never transgressed the limits of contemporary decorum, and by this standard alone can we judge his compositions of this class, more particularly his "Mars and Venus," and his Bacchanals.

On the other hand, in these mythological compositions he developed a grace and loveliness scarcely to be expected in such a severe and earnest temperament. Instances are his "Triumph of Flora," his "Triumph of Neptune," and his "Birth of Bacchus," besides numerous smaller works, such as the just-mentioned "Mars and Venus," the "Nymphs bathing," "Apollo and Daphne," "Venus and Adonis," "Mars and Rhea Sylvia," and others. It was especially these and similar compositions that gave him the opportunity of introducing a whole series of charming little children, such as have been equalled by but few others, and surpassed by none, and which, at least according to modern ideas, help somewhat to tone down the rather venturesome character of his love scenes.

At the head of his more serious compositions of this class stand his "Parnassus," with its astonishing wealth of animated details and its overflow of genuine poetry, and his "Arcadian Shepherds." Here all breathes a more than earthly stillness, while the noble simplicity in the expression of the men, one of

whom has knelt down to decipher the weather-worn inscription on the tombstone, and the elegance and dignity of the young woman in a light and graceful attitude leaning on her husband, tend with the no less unstudied than grand outlines of the picturesque surroundings to produce a thoroughly poetic whole, in the words of the inscription: "And I also was in Arcadia," breathing an unmistakeable spirit of resignation.

Allegory was popular in Poussin's days, and with his love of philosophic revery our master could scarcely fail to yield to this feature of the times. Still his natural disposition inclined him to cultivate allegory less for its own sake than as a means of setting forth the leading thought of greater compositions. Hence with him it is rarely the end, in most cases the means to the end. Such, for instance, is the animated composition the "Picture of Human Life," in which lovely women are dancing to the music of a lyre touched by the hand of an aged figure representing Kronos or Time, while the chariot of the Sun-God accompanied by the Hours rushes through the heavens, and numerous other emblems of the fleeting nature of time and of the transient character of life, help to further develop the thought (page 489).

The history of Herakles also was availed of by him to give deep expression to his thoughts on life by the medium of his Art.

His declining years were almost exclusively devoted to landscape painting, as if to the last clinging to nature, which everywhere unfolded its highest charms to his view. He was the real creator of the heroic style of landscape, which Claude Lorraine in his turn again toned down with the new element of harmony. Allusion has already been made to the influence exercised on Poussin's views of nature by the grand surroundings of the Eternal City, which served him as his chief model, not only in the landscapes of his historical and mythological pieces, but also and more particularly in his landscapes proper, which are unfortunately less numerous than could be wished considering their great merits. And though he may not approach Claude in the luminosity of his colouring and the seductive clearness and truth of his light and aerial effects, he at least equals him in the harmony of the whole, while unquestionably surpassing him in intrinsic grandeur of conception. Yet landscape painting was not after all his proper domain.

With regard to his technique, it may be said to vary with the different stages of his development far less than is observed in the case of many other artists. Apart in this respect from the necessary consequences of his above-mentioned neglect of the colouristic element, we may definitely conclude that in his case there can be no question of mannerism in the proper sense, but that he rather went on turning to account a mass of gradually accumulated technical experiences.

Poussin formed no school, as the term is usually understood. The daily and

animated association with a number of young men would have been too much opposed to the temperament of a man naturally inclined to a contemplative life and accordingly ever fond of seclusion. In his later years there was superadded a feeble state of health still further estranging him from society. Hence it is that our master left not more than two pupils in the strict sense of the word—his brother-in-law, the copperplate engraver Jean Dughet, and the landscape painter Gaspard Dughet, known as Le Guaspre, and still more commonly as Gaspard Poussin, owing to his adoption of his revered master's family name.

Jean Dughet, feeling his incapacity for painting, had taken to the graver, and under Poussin's guidance engraved his master's "Seven Sacraments," the "Birth of Bacchus," and the "Assumption of the Virgin." Gaspard on the contrary raised himself to the position of one of the most renowned landscape painters of all times. Like his teacher he aimed at a grand conception of nature in her noblest and most sublime phenomena, and more particularly acquired a rare mastery in the representation of nature in her wildest and most savage moods. But he could also admirably depict her in her calmer moments, such pictures often breathing a deeply earnest, often even a profoundly sad harmony of a lovely and genial, at times even of a sublime character.

But notwithstanding his usually extremely retired habits, Poussin could not refuse himself the pleasure of associating on the most friendly terms with such men as Charles Lebrun, Pierre Letellier, Jean Baptiste de Champagne and Antoine Bonzonnet, who afterwards adopted the name of his uncle Jacques Stella. Bonzonnet even resided under Poussin's roof, and all this may have induced some to look on Poussin as the head of the French School in Rome. This, however, can be allowed only in the sense that, while in his whole artistic development belonging to the Roman School, he still retained his national sympathies, thereby becoming the intellectual centre of his fellow-countrymen devoting themselves to the study of Art in Rome.



CHARLES LEBRUN.

(Born 1619; died 1690.)

BY C. A. REGNET.

ACCORDING to Dezallier, Lebrun's father came of a distinguished Scottish family, which, however, must have been reduced in circumstances, as he was himself nothing but a somewhat indifferent statuary. Charles, who was born in 1619, seems to have soon lost his mother, as his father was accustomed to take the lad with him when engaged away from home. On such occasions, while his father was at work Charles was wont to amuse himself after his own fashion by taking sketches of all the objects of Art that came in his way, and there is a tradition that when but three years old he bescrewled the walls with pieces of charcoal snatched from the fireplace. His in any case early displayed talent found a sympathetic patron in one of his father's employers, the chancellor Séguier, who from time to time interested himself in the lad's essays and otherwise helped to further his studies.

Charles made such astonishing progress that the chancellor recommended

him to Vouet, at that time at the summit of his fame and just then engaged on a series of wall paintings in the Hôtel Séguier. Vouet also was surprised at the young Lebrun's precocity, readily admitting him amongst his pupils, though still apparently little over twelve years of age. Unfortunately it is impossible to fix the exact time more definitely, though it may be roughly conjectured from the statement of De Piles that in his fifteenth year Charles painted a likeness of his grandfather, and a Herakles stealing the mares of Diomedé, which attracted a good deal of attention. De Piles further remarks: "Il n'amusa point le public par des commencements louables, qui fissent seulement présumer ce qu'il devait être un jour. Il fit comme le figuier qui, au contraire des autres arbres, commence par produire des fruits, sans les faire précéder des fleurs qui en font les espérances."

In those days Fontainebleau possessed attractions for French artists second only to those of Rome itself, and it was Séguier again that enabled the young Lebrun to proceed thither, where he availed himself of the opportunity to make careful copies of old masterpieces. He on that occasion made amongst others the copy of the "Holy Family" after Raphael, now in the Louvre, and widely known through the excellent engraving of Edelinck. With the view of promoting his further development, Séguier now granted him an allowance to enable him to visit Rome, whither he went in 1642, not as Dezallier states in 1643, as he could not have in this case met Nicholas Poussin in Lyons, as he did on that master's return journey from Paris to Rome. This meeting had the happiest consequences for Lebrun. Poussin not only freely communicated to the young artist all his own rich stores of knowledge and experience, but also contracted with him a genuine friendship, ending only with death.

Lebrun was thus enabled to enter on his Roman studies under the guidance of the older and more experienced artist. Everything enlisted his attention, not only the narrower limits of his Art, but the manners and usages of all races, plastic works of every style and age, and everywhere Poussin stood by him with advice and practical aid. In his "Vies des premiers peintres du roi," Desportes gives a charming picture of the intimacy existing between them, and remarks in reference to Lebrun that "il s'attachait sur l'avis du Poussin à bien observer dans les monuments de l'antiquité les différents usages et les habillements des anciens, leurs exercices de paix et de guerre, leurs spectacles, leurs combats, leurs triomphes, sans oublier leurs édifices et les règles de leur architecture. Enfin, il étudiait d'après le Poussin lui-même, et il fit des morceaux qui, dans une exposition publique, furent attribués à ce fameux peintre, par exemple le tableau d'Horatius Coclès, celui de Mutius Scaevola et un crucifix destiné au grand-maître de Malta. Il en envoya aussi plusieurs au chancelier (Séguier) pour lui montrer en même temps et sa reconnaissance et l'usage qu'il faisait de ses bienfaits."

Lebrun also sought to become a learned as well as an artistic historic painter. A letter addressed to his patron Séguier, recently discovered in the Paris National Library, and published in the "*Archives de l'Art Français*," in which Lebrun sends the chancellor a number of studies after the antique, even leaves room to conjecture that the artist had a deeper insight into the archæological importance than the ideal beauty of the masterpieces of ancient sculpture. At all events, he made drawings of the most famous antiques in the Roman museums, but it cannot be denied that he was at least as fully interested in, and inspired by the rich historic materials he also met with there, as appears from the extraordinary number of arms, costumes, and objects of every sort with rare intelligence drawn by him.

After a residence of seven years in Rome he returned to France rich in experiences of all kinds, with a well-stocked portfolio and in the full consciousness of his own powers.

Of all the talented artists then in Rome he considered but few equal and none superior to himself, with the single exception of Nicholas Poussin. In Paris he found Eustache Lesueur most in favour. This artist, only two years Lebrun's senior, had also been formed in Vouet's School, and afterwards more especially on the works of Raphael as engraved by Marc Antonio, and had established his reputation by the series of twenty-two paintings illustrating the principal events in the life of St. Bruno, and executed for the Convent of the Carthusians in Paris. In spite of his partiality for Raphael he had succeeded in fully preserving his own style, not only in outward forms, but also in the general character of the composition.

On his arrival in Paris Lebrun exhibited a number of works, amongst which a "*Crucifixion of St. Andrew*," that had been procured for Notre-Dame, a "*Moses striking Water from the Rock*," and the draught of the "*Brazen Serpent*," which he later on executed for the refectory in the Convent of the Barefooted Friars, besides several pictures for Séguier. From their number they would all seem to have been either painted or at least prepared in Rome. It is at least highly probable that he availed himself of this exhibition as a preparatory step for an undertaking which, with the help of his patron, he began to moot the very year of his return to Paris. This was the establishment of a Painter's Academy, in which, as in the famous Academy of San Luca, twelve painters and sculptors, whose number was subsequently increased, were enrolled, and gave instructions in drawing after nature. Besides Pierre Mignard, who on his part stood at the head of the Paris branch of the San Luca Academy, the institution included amongst its members Lesueur and nearly all the other most distinguished contemporary French artists. Lebrun, to whom the first place was unanimously awarded, procured the royal approval of this academy in 1649. Elected by lot, on May 7th, 1667, he opened the

course of studies suggested by himself, and at the same time endowed the academy with a rich collection of drawings after the old masters, besides several valuable plastic works. From this day dates the decided influence of the artist in the institution, an influence which soon grew into an exclusive absolutism.

His ambition soon found fresh fuel in the commission he received jointly with Lesueur from the President Lambert de Thorigny, to adorn with paintings his still-existing Hôtel. Lebrun painted the history of Herakles, Lesueur that of Cupid, soon after completing which this artist died, in May, 1655. His rival had lost no opportunity to mortify him. While they were working in the Hôtel Lambert the papal nuncio came to inspect the paintings, when Lebrun, who did the honours on the occasion, quickened his steps when they came to Lesueur's works, until arrested by the nuncio's words: "What fine paintings are these!" Several of Lesueur's works in the Carthusian monastery are also known to have been maliciously damaged to such an extent that it was found necessary to protect them by folding doors. But after his death Lebrun seemed only anxious to extol his artistic excellence.

Fouquet, Minister of Finance, engaged Lebrun to decorate his Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte with allegorical wall-paintings, besides a handsome honorarium allowing him a yearly pension of £1,800. While occupied with these works he got introduced to Mazarin, who, at sight of his cartoon for the "Triumph of Constantine," suggested his painting the "Battle of Constantine" also. Fouquet adopted the idea, and ordered the work of Lebrun; who, however, long declined to enter the lists with Raphael, but whether through genuine conviction or assumed modesty must remain undetermined. Anyhow the cartoon alone was finished, Fouquet having been meanwhile superseded in consequence of the famous garden entertainment he gave the King and the Lavallière in Vaux-le-Vicomte, and the arrangements for which were carried out by Lebrun jointly with Molière, Torelly, Lutry, and Benserade.

In the interval between the monumental works in the Hôtel Lambert and the Château Vaux-le-Vicomte, were produced several other paintings, such as the "Martyrdom of St. Stephen," for the Paris Goldsmiths' Guild, known from Gérard Audran's engraving; a "Presentation in the Temple," for the Chancellor Séguier; the "Holy Family," for St. Paul's, known under the name of the "Benedicite," and so admirably engraved by Edelinck; the "St. James the Elder," for St. Germain-l'Auxerrois; "St. John writing the Apocalypse," for the Convent-church of Beauvais; "Christ crowned with Roses," for the Carmelite Church in the Rue St. Jacques, embodying a vision of Queen Anne of Austria; a "Magdalene and the Pharisee," for the same church; a "Massacre of the Innocents," also commissioned by the Queen for a certain Dumetz, and others.



“The Battle of the Granicus” (unfinished), by Charles Lebrun.

Colbert held Lebrun in no less esteem than his predecessor Fouquet had done, and to him the artist was indebted for the honour of being named the first painter to his Majesty, and for the title of nobility conferred on him in 1662. He also enjoyed the favour of the King to the highest extent, having been summoned to Fontainebleau in order, under the eyes of Louis, to paint one of his greatest works, the "Family of Darius," for which purpose a studio was fitted up for him near the royal apartments.

Louis daily passed an hour or two with him, which caused him to become the object of the flattery of all the courtlings, and he was himself too much of a courtier to lose the opportunity of alluding in his "Alexander" to his royal patron. Nor was the allusion thrown away on the King, who added to his other marks of favour a yearly pension of 12,000 livres, the order of St. Michael, a highly complimentary coat-of-arms, and his likeness set in brilliants, besides appointing him curator of his collection of paintings, drawings and copper-plates, and director of the Gobelins manufactory, and ordering all works connected with the formative Arts to be placed under his control.

Edelinck has engraved the "Darius" in a masterly manner, by his spirited touches concealing the colouristic shortcomings of the original.

From this period Lebrun displayed an unheard-of industry. Whilst himself engaged upon a series of more or less extensive works, he inspired Noël Coypel and Nicholas Loir with ideas for their paintings in the Tuileries, drew the sketches for the works with which the statuarys Balthasar and Gaspard de Marsy embellished the royal château and gardens, modelled with his own hand in clay and wax, and set his stamp upon all and everything at that time produced in the province of Art. While furnishing materials in his compositions to engravers of the first rank, such as the Audrans, De Poilly, Sebastian Leclerc, Edelinck and Picard, he took the graver in hand himself, engraving in the manner of G. Audran a number of effective and spirited plates. And in the midst of all this he still found time to arrange the details of festivities such as those in honour of the King's marriage, to draw the designs for triumphal arches and other decorative works, as well as grand fountains intended to embellish the city, to say nothing of the hundreds and hundreds of drawings furnished by him for the Gobelins tapestries, furniture, mosaics, fireworks, and embroidery.

At Lebrun's suggestion the funds of the Academy were considerably increased, and its statutes modified accordingly. Moreover, in the year 1666, on the basis of a memorial drawn up by him, there was founded in Rome a French Academy, with a director at its head, whose business it was to see that the young artists sent to Rome by the King were duly educated for his service in matters of painting, architecture, and the plastic art.

The scientific speeches and discussions held in the academy, and in which

Lebrun, Philippe de Champagne, Sebastian Bourdon, Nicholas Mignard, Van Obstal, and Nocret took an active part, induced Lebrun to trespass upon the domain of letters, without, however, thereby adding much to his reputation. Having on one occasion read a paper on the art of giving artistic expression to the emotions, Colbert commissioned him to develop his thoughts in a work, for which Bernard Picard engraved the illustrations. He also wrote on the resemblance between the human and animal features, but the manuscript has disappeared, its main outlines alone being preserved by Nivelon, one of his pupils. In the first-mentioned work, however, he only succeeded in proving that a great artist may be but an indifferent philosopher.

The domain once entered on in his "Family of Darius," our master cultivated in other works also. The battles of the Granicus and of Arbela, with the overthrow of the Indian King Porus on the Hydaspes, afforded him ample opportunity of giving the fullest scope to his powers of representing serious and exciting events. They at the same time enabled him to utilise his extensive archæological knowledge and yield to the current of realistic tendencies, which had been further strengthened by his studies of the Caracci. Nor did he remain satisfied with the varied treasures collected in his sketch-book, but extended his studies to the smallest details, going so far as to have some Persian horses drawn from nature in Aleppo, for the sake of their peculiar bridles and trappings.

In his "Battle of the Granicus," Alexander, who has been one of the first to cross the river, is represented in the thickest of the battle fighting like an ordinary trooper for life and victory. In the "Battle of Arbela" again he combines the marvellous with the real, depicting an eagle hovering over the head of the young conqueror of the world. And at the "Hydaspes" we see the King on horseback towering above the rest with the calmness of a demi-god, confronting the enemy in the midst of the murderous fight, while elephants lashed to frenzy are breaking through his Macedonian phalanxes. These paintings have found a worthy place in the old hall of the Conseil d'Etat in Paris, and have been made widely known by Gérard Audran's excellent engravings.

In 1672 Lebrun lost his old friend and patron, the chancellor and protector of the Academy, Séguier. The artist paid him the last honours on the occasion of his solemn funeral in the Church of the Rue Saint-Honoré, as we gather from Leclerc's engraving and a letter of Madame de Sévigné.

It is impossible to enumerate all the works of this fruitful artist, and our account must therefore be limited to the better known and more accessible of them. Over the high altar of the church of the Sorbonne is a God the Father surrounded by angels; in Notre-Dame the already-mentioned "Martyrdom of St. Stephen and St. Andrew;" in the Carmelite convent, Faubourg Saint-Jacques, the also

above-mentioned "Magdalene at the Feet of the Saviour in the House of the Pharisee," also a Christ in the wilderness, with angels ministering to him, a Penitent Magdalene, and a St. Geneviève; in St. Paul's the well-known "Benedicite;" in the Mortuary Chapel a votive altarpiece presented by Colbert, the "Resurrection," with the donor's portrait; in the church of the Capuchins, Faubourg Saint-Jacques, a Presentation in the Temple, an Annunciation, and an Assumption of the Virgin; in the chapel of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, an Assumption with the Fathers of the Church and angels (on the ceiling); in the same place the "Descent of the Holy Ghost" (an altarpiece); in St. Germain-l'Auxerrois a St. James; in the chapel of the Collège de Beauvais the above-mentioned "St. John at Patmos;" in the church of the Barefooted Friars the "Brazen Serpent" also already referred to, and others.

But foremost amongst his works in Paris are the paintings on the ceiling of the Apollo Gallery in the old Louvre: the "Triumph of Neptune and Thetis," "Apollo in the Chariot of the Sun," the "Four Hours," and "Earth awakening." His frescoes in Colbert's château at Sceaux also deserve special mention.

Lebrun was naturally employed on the decorations of the newly built palace at Versailles, for no one was able to give more flattering artistic expression to the hollow pathos characteristic of the times, though doubtless more to the advantage of the artist than of Art. But he was not only an indefatigable worker himself, but also unerringly picked out the best hands whenever he stood in need of assistance. Claude Audran, nephew of Gérard, who had already been actively engaged jointly with Lebrun in the Gobelins manufactory, Noël Coypel, René Antoine Houasse, Jouvenet, Lafosse, François Verdier, and others worked under his energetic direction in the spacious apartments of the palace, while he reserved to himself the Great Gallery, the Salons de la Guerre et de la Paix, and the Ambassadors' Staircase.

For the ceiling of the gallery painted in oil on canvas, he chose the allegorical representation of the history of the King, from the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) to that of Nimeguen (1678), set forth in nine large and eighteen small pictures. Of these some are painted in grisaille, in the manner of stone reliefs, others in oval form, between architectural adornments and panel-work of gilt bronze. Near the four approaches to the royal apartments terminating in the just-mentioned salons, he represented a corresponding number of open galleries, the balustrades of which seemed hung with rich tapestry, and through which strangers from the four quarters of the globe pressed forward, visibly bewildered by the dazzling splendour of the surroundings—a palpable flattery quite in the taste of the times. These paintings were in fresco, and have since perished; but engravings of them have been preserved. The Ambassadors' Staircase he embellished on the ceiling with a fresco of the Muses doing homage to the King, covering the walls with richly figured

gold tapestry, painted in a masterly manner, and representing four of Van der Meulen's great works: the sieges of Valenciennes, of Cambrai, and of Saint-Omer, and the battle of Cassel. He was altogether engaged fourteen years on these works in the palace of Versailles.



“Apotheosis of Louis XIV.,” by Charles Lebrun.

He was now at the summit of his fame and fortune. To his other above-mentioned functions there had been added that of First President of the Royal Academy, while the Academy of San Luca had against all precedent elected him

its first director, an office filled by him for two consecutive years. The dissensions with the Academy in connection with Charles Errard, first director of the French Academy in Rome, had been settled with Lebrun's usual conciliatory tact, and his income of 50,000 livres enabled him to live in princely style.

But he also was fated to feel the fickleness of fortune. Colbert's successor, Louvois, entertained hostile sentiments towards him and his favourites, and accordingly in the quarrel between Lebrun and Pierre Mignard (see *Life of Mignard*) he took part against the former, being in this upheld by the ladies of the Court. The King alone remained constant in his friendship for Lebrun. But under the pressure of these worries our master thought it prudent to restrict himself to religious subjects, for which he was least adapted by nature and inclination. Nevertheless one of these works, his "*Ascent of the Cross*," procured him yet another unexpected triumph in 1685. In order to view it, the King pointedly left the Ministerial Council, and invited his niece, who would have passed it by unnoticed, to join him in singing its praises. And after remarking that artists seldom receive full justice till after their death, he added, turning with a smile to Lebrun, "But you must not on that account be in a hurry to die!"

He survived this event but a few years, dying on February 12th, 1690, in his residence at the Gobelins. His remains were buried in a chapel of the Church of St. Nicholas du Chardonnet, which he had long before purchased, and for the altar of which he had painted his patron saint, St. Charles, adorning the ceiling with a guardian angel.

Amongst his numerous pupils were his brother Gabriel, Claude Audran, François Verdier, Houasse, Vernansal, Lefèvre, and Viviani, all doubtless well-trained and talented artists, but none of them supremely eminent.

Lebrun drew much with the pencil and ruddle, shading with light hatchings from right to left, and here and there introducing light effects with white chalk. He occasionally also made experiments with China ink or bistre, heightening the effect with a vigorous use of the crayon. Still his touch is always at once unusually light and firm, so that drawings by his hand are not readily mistaken for those of any other artist.

In order to form a fair estimate of Lebrun, who brought an industrious life to a close towards the end of the seventeenth century, we must go back to the beginning of that period.

The religious clouds growing out of the Reformation soon overcast the political horizon, accumulating a vast quantity of combustible materials, that exploded in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The passions let loose, and fomented by thirty years of a sanguinary yet indecisive warfare, were reflected in the artistic productions of this and the following generation. They

found vent in a method of treatment which aimed at the utmost truth to nature. At the same time, however, the religious feeling, that during the struggle had nearly everywhere necessarily yielded to the political interests of the moment, was now again revived, at least in those lands that had remained Catholic, and the Art world was animated by it through the study of the great masters that had flourished in Italy during the fifteenth century.

Thus it was that in Italy itself, which in matters of Art gave the tone to other countries, there arose the two eclectic and naturalistic schools of that period. At bottom neither of them got beyond mere imitation, the eclectics taking as their models the great masters, and the naturalists nature itself, though, as might be expected, we meet with frequent transitions from one to the other, and blendings of both elements together. The importance of Ludovico Caracci in this respect has been already referred to. The tendency was pushed still further by his nephew Annibale, who developed an astonishing activity, accompanied everywhere by a rare faculty for grasping the subject, enabling him directly to realise the spirit of nature as readily as that of the older masters and of the antique. One of his most important works, the famous frescoes in the Farnese Palace in Rome, was constantly under the eyes of Lebrun for six years, and must have made a deep impression on the kindred temperament of the French artist, as well by their drawing as their harmonious colouring; qualities little, if at all, impaired by their otherwise decidedly academic character.

His contemporaries Nicholas Poussin and Eustache Lesueur had begun their studies in Italy a short time before Lebrun, the former modelling himself mainly on the antique, the latter on Raphael's works, each herein following his own natural bent. For Poussin was more a man of reflection and understanding, Lesueur of warm and sensitive feeling. Hence Poussin's works appealed more to the intellect, while Lesueur's were characterized by the expression of a mild and genuinely lovable harmonious spirit, associated not so much with any striking vigour of treatment as with an unstudied nobility of form. This was precisely the reason why Lesueur was less understood and appreciated than his more fortunate rival Lebrun, who in his temperament and tendencies appears as the most perfect representative of the times, as well as of the superficial and characteristically unintellectual views of Art then current. He accordingly becomes the undisputed ruler in the Art world, under the splendid but really shallow reign of Louis XIV.

Posterity has learned to form a more correct judgment of Lebrun. While far from refusing him the credit of distinguished and highly estimable talents, it cannot shut its eyes to the fact that in following the general spirit of the times, and perhaps yielding also to the promptings of ambition, he applied those natural gifts to give artistic expression to that theatrical parade, that hollow

pathos, which constituted the fundamental feature of the epoch of Louis XIV., and to which he imparted such groundless pretensions.

Lebrun possessed vast productive powers, enabling him with rare facility to give embodiment to the visions of a vivid and versatile imagination. To this was added an undeniable refinement of conception and a certain delicate sense of grandeur in the disposition, imparting an imposing character to his compositions. Naturally energetic, and keeping his ultimate end ever in view, more deliberative and studied than thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his subject, he was at the same time able to give utterance to his thoughts with a vigour that could not fail to produce a deep impression on his fellow-countrymen, with all their keen susceptibility to show and effect, and this of itself will easily account for his triumphs over his rivals Lesueur and Pierre Mignard.

He embraced a wider field of knowledge than was usually at the command of artists, in this respect being equalled by Poussin alone amongst his contemporaries. But he was less profound than this master, dwelling more on the outward aspect of the composition, and consciously parading his learning on the surface, while Poussin worked it more thoroughly up with the subject. One is tempted to say that Poussin prosecuted his archæological and historical studies rather to satisfy his own thirst of knowledge, unconsciously utilising it in his Art; Lebrun, on the contrary, in order to shine and dazzle the eyes of the world. His "Battles of Alexander" alone will suffice to confirm this view.

Still he was of a reflecting nature, whence his relation to Allegory. This style has, in latter times, fallen into undue discredit, for in certain cases it is quite indispensable to the artist. Nay, all Art seems in some respect to be essentially allegorical in so far as it gives material embodiment to the ideal conception of the mind. Art is thus akin to symbolism, being unable to express the range of its thoughts as such, but only through the medium of a definite and perceptible representation. But whereas the symbolical presents itself to us from without as something mysterious and inscrutable, and therefore all the more impressive, Allegory springs not only from within, but through ourselves; it is the product of our own reflection. Symbolism takes its rise with the dawn of all culture, with all peoples constituting the first element of Art; Allegory does not appear until culture has reached, if not overstepped, the highest point of its development. It forms the most marked contrast to that artlessness which is the distinctive feature of the childhood of the human race.

It is remarkable that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with all their realistic tendencies, was the period that showed the most decided preference for allegory. This appeared first in poetry, which was now deeply rooted in antiquity, and which, by the study of the classic poets, gradually became so imbued with their spirit, as to end by exclusively adopting it, so far at least as was at all possible in the altered circumstances of the times. On the other

hand, the new generation of poets still lived in the midst of the people, and as a necessary consequence of their natural influence, rendered society the more predisposed to a similar manner and style of contemplation and sentiment. How lasting this influence was we may gather from the fact that it needed such a mighty genius as Göthe to bring about a successful reaction against the decay that had meanwhile set in. Göthe is entitled to the great and still far from being fully appreciated merit of having swept aside all mythologico-allegorical motives; thus preparing the way for a better taste, at a time when German no less than French poets were wont with a love ditty to set all Olympus astir. Hence the inward and outward reality and truth of thought nowhere asserts itself more pregnantly and more irresistibly than in his writings.

The poets of the new era were followed by the formative artist, to whom had been revealed the beauty of classic Art. And so mightily did this work, that the sanctuary itself could no longer hold aloof from the contagion, raising no admonishing voice even against the representation of its own thoughts and subjects in forms inspired by the spirit of antiquity. All the more readily did profane Art revive, not the old forms alone, but the old ideas themselves, peopling the mansions of the great with all the Olympian gods and personifying their virtues.

The literature and the Art of the seventeenth century continued to be swayed by these traditions; hence it would be unfair to reproach Lebrun with still adhering to them in common with others. Rubens, at all events, in his series of paintings illustrating the life of Mary de' Medici, pushed allegory quite as far as Lebrun did in his pictures from the life of Louis XIV. What he really is to blame for is his constant yearning after the novel and the surprising, not resting satisfied with the rich stock of allegorical commonplaces that had already, so to say, acquired the right of citizenship, but inventing a number of new and obscure symbols, not unfrequently rendering his works thereby utterly unintelligible.

Another of his peculiarities consisted, notwithstanding his realistic treatment, in yielding to his love of reflection, so far as often to idealise his subject, thereby becoming untrue to nature, precisely because this idealism was not in unison with the subject itself.

He was as little deficient as his contemporary of kindred temperament, Pietro da Cortona, in earnestness and depth, nor are his works at all lacking in thoughtful grasp of the subject. But it can scarcely be denied that, at least in his larger works, he aimed at a more dazzling general effect by a surprising wealth of composition, by an unusual variety of situations and groups, and through effective contrasts of great masses.

His drawing is generally broad, free, and firm, while his characters, with all the animation of the emotions, suffer from a certain monotony of expression.

Under similar circumstances the same faces constantly occur, imparting to the pictures a trite appearance, though each of itself may correspond with the actual



"The Magdalene," by Charles Lebrun.

situation and the intended expression of feeling. We feel that, probably in consequence of his immense productiveness, the artist departs more and more

from nature, sinking into a mannerism which disregards the endless variety of the human features. And on this account Lebrun, who would seem to have formed for himself a certain scheme of types built on reflection, stands far below Poussin, whose very elegance prevents him from becoming monotonous. Elegant Lebrun can in no sense be called, his drawing being far too bold, and his figures too heavy and solid, to lay claim to this epithet.

What has been said of his features is equally true of his gestures and attitudes. Here also we frequently miss the infinite diversity of nature, its place being supplied by an uniformity, an inward emptiness, a hollow declamation and theatrical exaggeration, the prototypes of which the artist found in the frivolous court of his vainglorious sovereign.

His draperies are as a rule well disposed, allowing the outlines of the figure to be easily traced. Here also, with his usual conscientiousness especially in details, he takes into the consideration the nature of the fabric, though still inferior to Poussin, both in the nobility and variety of his forms.

His weakest side is colour. In the presence of his pictures we involuntarily recall the words of De Piles: "*Les jeunes peintres qui reviennent de Rome, passent ordinairement à Venise pour prendre au moins quelque teinture du bon colorit : mais Lebrun n'eut cette curiosité.*" He suffered accordingly, though such a clear thinker as he was cannot possibly have had any doubt as to the importance of this element. He must have been aware that it constitutes with composition and draughtsmanship an essential ingredient of his Art. He had, moreover, too thoroughly studied Annibale Caracci to be ignorant of the great results for which that master was indebted to the harmony of his colouring. Hence it is somewhat enigmatic that, with all his opportunities, he never felt any desire to study on the spot the magnificent colourists of the Venetian School. In consequence of this neglect the secrets of chiaroscuro remained for him a sealed book, and yet without the charm imparted by it, the most gifted artist will in vain endeavour to give his work thorough finish and freedom in the details, clearness, order, and connection in all its parts.

Doubtless Lebrun far surpassed his teacher Vouet in this respect, in so far as he toned the colours and brought them much nearer to nature; still his warmest admirers must admit that he recklessly applied his principal colours side by side, without taste or discrimination; that even his local tones, both as regards the draperies and the carnations, are on the whole lacking in beauty and truth, that he applied them straight from the palette, and that he took too little pains to round off the objects with that art which produces on the observer the effect of truth to nature.

But all this is true mainly of his earlier works, and in his paintings from the life of Alexander a marked improvement is evident in this respect. He had by this time discovered that without a skilful employment of chiaroscuro

a more perfect pictorial effect is absolutely unattainable. But he was far advanced in years when he found this out, and no longer in a position to make good the neglect of former days. Hence it was that his works were decidedly improved by the spirited graver of a Gérard Audran, who removed numerous harsh touches and smoothed over many violent contrasts.

His versatile genius and his extensive artistic acquirements enabled Lebrun to cultivate all branches of painting with the exception of landscape, and the impartial critic must allow that, with all his shortcomings, he was still a great artist, of whom France may well be proud, though so largely contributing to the decline of Art that set in soon after his death.



From the *Petite Galerie*, by Pierre Mignard.

PIERRE MIGNARD.

(Born November, 1610; died May 31, 1695.)

BY C. A. REGNET.

FRANCE has produced greater artists than Pierre Mignard, but not one who through his relations with distinguished contemporaries became so thoroughly incorporated with the history of Art. Poussin proved himself a true friend to him; Lebrun justly looked on him as a dangerous rival; of the gifted poet Dufresnoy he was an inseparable companion in joy and sorrow, while the great lords and fair ladies of the period smiled on the happy artist, because it was then fashionable to be painted by him.

It is to him we owe the spirited likeness of Cardinal de Retz, one of the cleverest though at the same time most turbulent men of the times; that of the aristocratic demagogue who with De Condé was the soul of the Fronde, and who after fifteen months in the Bastille spent nearly as many years in wandering up and down Europe, in order after Mazarin's death to devote himself to learned pursuits in Paris, as a simple abbé of St. Denis. The same hand painted Mazarini, who from an obscure Sicilian nobleman became the ruler of France and its queen, and who craftily completed the fabric of despotism begun by his great predecessor Richelieu. Here also we have Bossuet, founder of the shortlived liberties of the Gallic Church; Boileau, for a whole century the lawgiver in all matters of taste for France, and who by his satires scared the dull poetasters of his time from Parnassus—a mild, dignified man, and as Madame Sévigné remarked, relentless in his verses only; Lafontaine, the greatest fable-writer in French literature; Racine, its greatest tragic poet and shrewdest prober of the female heart; Molière, its greatest comic poet and satirist; Chapelle, the spirited critic, and Scarron, of irrepressible humour. Lastly, fair and courtly dames, such as the never-changing, witty, and shrewd Ninon, the sentimental Lavallière, who in her thirtieth year took the veil to do penance for her sins; the shallow and disdainful Fontanges, the charming but ambitious Montespan, and the bigoted Maintenon, with all of whom our artist was on more or less friendly terms.

Mignard was formed by nature to move with ease and dignity in such society. Richly endowed with many varied qualities, of an active and enter-

prising spirit, lively fancy, shrewd and quick judgment, sure eye and intense devotion to his Art, he was an artist that seeks not merely to please our eye but also to elevate our soul, and who succeeds in doing so, for he is himself no stranger to the exalted and dignified, though his proper element be the graceful and charming.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there lived at Troyes one Pierre Mignard, a retired officer sprung from an English family that had settled in Champagne two generations previously. To him were born two sons, Nicholas and Pierre. The latter, five years his brother's junior, was born at Troyes in November, 1610. Both of them adopted painting as a profession, Nicholas at an early date acquiring a certain reputation in it. He was afterwards known as of Avignon from the town in which he resided, and was most distinguished as a portraitist, though also esteemed as a talented historic painter. He died in Paris, President of the Royal Academy of Painters and Sculptors there.

His father would have liked to see Pierre enter for the medical profession ; but he soon showed such a decided preference and taste for painting that when only eleven years old he drew from memory a portrait for his father, who thereupon readily gave up his plan, and next year sent him to a certain Jean Boucher at Bourges. Boucher had studied in Italy, though retaining the French style, and passing in the provinces as an excellent painter. Pierre however remained only one year in Bourges, then returning to Troyes, in order to learn drawing under the direction of the able statuary, François Gentil.

The importance of Fontainebleau for the development of French Art at that time had already made itself felt elsewhere. Nicholas Mignard had continued his studies there, where he made the acquaintance of the works of Freminet, Primaticcio, Rosso Rossi, and Nicola da Modena. Pierre now followed his brother thither, for it was the natural resort of many young artists who had not the means to visit the Eternal City. In order to supply them with all proper materials for their studies, Francis I. had in 1540 commissioned Primaticcio to bring to Fontainebleau no less than 124 casts, including the Venus de' Medici, the Laocoön, &c., besides a considerable number of excellent plaster busts.

After two years' diligent study here Pierre returned to Troyes, on his way through which place Marshal de Vitry had soon after an opportunity of inspecting the works of our artist, now in his fifteenth year. He was so astonished at them, that after consulting with the father, whose acquaintance he had made during the wars, he engaged Pierre to adorn with wall paintings the chapel of his château of Coubert-en-Brie, situated at a short distance from Paris.

The statement of Perrault must be accordingly taken with great reserve,

to the effect that while a medical student he took advantage of his master's visits in order to draw his patients and their attendants, and that he moreover drew excellent likenesses of this physician's wife and children, although then only twelve years old. At such an age it would have been even at that time scarcely possible to take practical lessons in medicine.

The marshal's commission was executed by Pierre to his entire satisfaction, and he was otherwise so well pleased with the bright young student that he took him to Paris and induced Vouet, first painter to the King, to make room for him in his studio. Thanks to his great application, the pupil soon came so near the excellence of the master that the works of both were not unfrequently mistaken for each other. In consequence of this remarkable progress Pierre was appointed drawing-master to Anne Marie Louise of Orleans, daughter of Gaston, only brother of Louis XIII., and to Marie de Bourbon, Duchess of Montpensier.

The proud Vouet on his part showed him no slight mark of consideration by offering him the hand of his daughter. But as it was accompanied with the condition that Pierre should settle permanently in Paris, the young man, with Italy ever present to his eyes, declined the honourable proposal, which seemed irreconcilable with the interests of his profession. According, however, to a statement of Monville's, this would seem not to have been the only motive of our artist, who had already conceived an affection for another lady. This may possibly have been Mademoiselle of Orleans herself, for Monville speaks expressly of one of Mignard's female pupils. If this was really the case Pierre may have thought it doubly desirable as soon as possible to quit so dangerous an atmosphere. His wish to visit Italy was further strengthened by the sight of a number of paintings of Italian masters brought by Marshal de Crequy from Rome in 1634. He accordingly set out in March, 1635, and in the beginning of April arrived in the Eternal City, where numerous French artists were at that time pursuing their studies, amongst them Poussin, Gaspard Dughet, Claude Lorraine, Sebastian Leclerc, Chapron, Gabriel Naudé, and others.

The first of his countrymen that he met in Rome was Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy, whom he had known as a fellow-student and warm friend in Vouet's studio, and who had also been intended for a physician and educated with a view to that profession. But he had poetry more at heart than medicine, and ultimately took to painting. Having disagreed with his father on this account, he came to Rome in 1633, where he was in a very reduced state when he met Mignard, who proved a true friend in his need. Henceforth both friends lived and studied together, and had but one purse and all else in common, so that they came to be known as the inseparable pair, as related by Félibien, who knew them in Rome. Their friendship was of mutual

service to them in their profession also. Dufresnoy possessed less technical experience, but more theoretical knowledge and finer thoughts, while Mignard had acquired a considerable amount of practical skill, and could not fail to profit by his intercourse with his well-informed friend.

We have seen that Mignard had been formed in the school of Vouet, who commonly passes for the artist who inspired the great movement that made an era in the French Art of the seventeenth century. When Vouet visited Italy, where the local art was already affected by the scholastic spirit, the naturalists and the idealists were opposed to each other in open warfare. Yet they had little right to reproach each other with aught, for both had equally abandoned nature, and while wrangling over secondary matters had lost sight of the true essence of Art.

Vouet himself lacked originality, but was versatile and easily susceptible to outward impressions. Hence Caravaggio could not fail to exercise the same definite influence on him in Rome that Veronese had done in Venice. Soon after he thought he saw the redemption of Art in the path opened up by Guido Reni, thus ultimately arriving at an eclecticism highly characteristic of his temperament, and borrowing from all three masters. But what he after all brought back with him to France was, strictly speaking, merely the result of the undeniable decay of Italian Art.

In Rome Mignard did not fail soon to perceive that he must unconditionally give up following in Vouet's footsteps. He turned instead to the antique and to higher models in the works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, the Caracci, and Titian, to whose study he almost exclusively devoted himself for the first nine years of his residence there. He soon received honourable engagements in portraiture, which he so ably fulfilled that he was mentioned amongst the first portraitists in Rome, while his friend Dufresnoy, besides his Art studies, wrote his famous Latin poem, "*De Arte graphica*," introduced Mignard to the poems of Anakreon, Horace, Virgil, and Homer, and made him acquainted with the beauties of Ariosto and Tasso.

In 1644 Cardinal Alphonse Louis du Plessis, elder brother of the all-powerful Richelieu, arrived in Rome, with Nicholas Mignard in his suite. His patron the Cardinal had commissioned him to copy all the wall paintings in the Farnese Gallery; but a violent passion soon drove him back to Avignon, the commission being transferred to his brother Pierre, who thereupon took up his abode in the same quarters of the Farnese palace formerly occupied by Annibale Caracci. Pierre set to work so zealously that he finished it all in eight months, though simultaneously engaged on several original works for the cardinal.

Amongst the portraits at this time painted by him that of Henry II. of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, deserves special mention. The duke was just then

occupied with the affair of his divorce from the widow of the Count de Bossut, when the news reached him of Masaniello's revolt in Naples. With the spirit of adventure by which he was characterized, Henry undertook to vindicate the rights of the house of Anjou in Naples, and forthwith invaded the country, but, forsaken by his followers, he soon fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His portrait by Mignard was the object of profound veneration in Naples, the women bending their knees before it, and many of them touching it with their rosaries, as if it were the image of a saint.

Mignard also painted Pope Innocent X., as well as the Signora Olimpia, who ruled him and through him Rome.

But our artist was not satisfied with portraiture. About that time was produced the "Madonna with the Child and John," engraved by Poilly and N. Bazie, which was afterwards frequently taken for a Raphael. A painting by some distinguished hand being now required for the high-altar of San Carlo dei Catenari, the church having already been decorated with masterpieces by such artists as Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Guido, it was put up to public competition, and every one expected that Mignard's magnificent work, "St. Charles Borromeo communicating the Plague-stricken," would carry the day. The judges, however, decided in favour of Pietro da Cortona, and Mignard's work has since disappeared, being now known only through Fr. Poillet's fine engraving of it. The same fate has overtaken his fresco of the "Annunciation," his "Holy Trinity," and a saint stated by the Abbé de Monville to have been painted by him in oil on the wall of San Carlino.

The just-mentioned altarpiece also gave occasion to the adventure our artist experienced in the adjoining convent of the Franciscans. In order to be as true to nature as possible, he by night prepared a study of death from a monk that had just died and was laid out in the church. As he sat alone by the body the bier on which it lay began to give way, the only light that was burning going out at the same time. In his first alarm the artist made off, but soon recovering himself, and procuring a fresh light, continued his work.

In the August of 1653 family circumstances obliged Dufresnoy to return to France. He set out alone, and took the road by Venice, where he spent eighteen months in order to study colour. Immediately on his arrival he wrote to Mignard, urging him also to visit Venice, where it was alone possible to learn the true nature of colouring. Mignard accordingly followed him thither towards the end of the next spring, accompanied by one of his pupils, who was obliged to make copies of the best paintings they met with on the way, which lay through Loretto and along the coast of the Adriatic. Our artist everywhere met with the most honourable reception. In Rimini he was entertained by Cardinal Sforza, and in Bologna spent six weeks with

Albani, now in his seventy-fifth year, during which period his pupil copied all the works of the Caracci in that place. Thence they passed through Modena and Parma to Mantua, where Mignard spent four weeks in order to study Giulio Romano, who revealed to him an entirely new aspect of Art.

Dufresnoy had meantime been daily impatiently expecting him, and when



"Mignard's Daughter," by Pierre Mignard.

he at last arrived they both devoted themselves to several months' study of Titian and Paul Veronese, those two great masters of colour, interrupted by Mignard only for ten days, in order to revisit Modena for the purpose of painting the duke's beautiful daughter Isabella and his sister Maria.

The benefit derived by him from his Venetian studies was evident in all the

works produced by him from this period. Honours were at the same time heaped upon him by the whole Art-loving aristocracy of the still powerful republic. Here also he painted the first of those Madonnas afterwards generally known as "Mignards."

After eight months of close companionship the friends again set out, Dufresnoy for France, Mignard returning through Bologna and Florence to Rome. So great was his reputation at this period that on his arrival he was at once summoned to the Vatican in order to paint the newly elected Pope Alexander VII., of the Chigi family. While engaged on this portrait of his Holiness our artist was obliged to remain kneeling, and on afterwards mentioning this circumstance to Cardinal Mazarin, whose likeness he had just painted, his Eminence remarked: "*Questo sa tirar la quintessenza del suo mestiere*" ("His Holiness knows how to drive a hard bargain").

And now came the year 1656, destined in two senses to prove exceptionally important for our master. Two decades had elapsed since his first arrival in Rome, and the poor and unknown young man who had often starved with his friend Dufresnoy, had now become rich and renowned, a welcome guest in the Vatican and in the palaces of the spiritual and temporal lords in Rome. Nevertheless, living for his Art and for friendship alone, he had hitherto neglected to form any serious attachment. Now, however, he took to wife Anna, the amiable and beautiful young daughter of the architect Juan Carlos Avolara, and her features henceforth formed the common type of his Madonnas. The affectionate husband and too prepossessed artist failed to see that a handsome and charming young woman was still not quite a Madonna, an oversight which could not fail to affect his Art, as will be seen further on.

The same year he received a flattering invitation from the King to return to Paris. This produced somewhat of a commotion in Rome, where it was supposed that in consequence of his protracted residence he had become formally naturalised. And even in his own country he had come to be known as the "Roman" in contradistinction to his brother "of Avignon."

Mignard, however, obeyed the summons, embarking on October 10th, 1657, but with so little intention of making a long stay in Paris that he left behind his beloved wife, whose confinement was then approaching, and who soon after presented him with a son. Under possible contingencies he thought that this might serve as an excuse to return. He landed at Marseilles, and during his stay of four weeks there was treated with great distinction by the local aristocracy. Thence he proceeded through Aix to Avignon, where he was met by his brother. "*Tous,*" writes the Abbé de Monville, "*semblèrent vouloir aider Mignard d'Avignon à faire les honneurs du Comtat à Mignard le Romain.*"

When on the point of continuing his journey to Paris, where he knew he was impatiently expected, he was seized with a severe illness, which detained

him for upwards of a year in Avignon. On somewhat recovering his strength, he took to his pencil and brush, not only taking sketches in the picturesque neighbourhood of the town, and especially in Vaucluse and Orange, but also painting a large altarpiece for the Church of Cavaillon, with the local patron-saint, the bishop Veran, and the Dragon, besides several other historical works for Avignon, Lyons, and other places.

Here also he met Molière, who had not yet been engaged by the King, but was going from town to town in the South with his troop. The two great artists now formed an intimate friendship that nothing could ever afterwards disturb. In Lyons our master was again besieged with commissions, and amongst other things painted the charming portrait of Madame de Pernon and her little daughter in the act of taking flowers from a table close at hand.

At last he received orders to hasten his journey to Fontainebleau, where the King was then keeping court. There he met Mazarin, who looked on him as half a fellow-countryman, and gave him the most hearty welcome. No less gracious were the young King and his mother, the latter going so far as to introduce him to the fairest ladies of the court, with the somewhat embarrassing question whether he had seen any fairer in Italy.

This was in September, 1658, when Louis XIV. was no more than twenty years of age. Without any great mental endowments, without heart or imagination, the young monarch still possessed an imposing figure, a certain natural dignity, and a captivating grace. Hence even from the artistic point the painting of his portrait was for Mignard an extremely grateful task, performed by him with his usual mastery. But in attributing the peace of the Pyrenees to the influence produced on the Infanta Maria Theresa by this portrait, painted as it was in three hours, and forwarded to Spain, the Abbé de Monville, and after him Charles Blanc, are guilty at once of the merest vulgar piece of flattery, and of the grossest injustice to the Prince de Condé, who had at the head of the French army obtained signal successes over Spain, as well as against Pimentel, who at this juncture had already all but concluded the negotiations for peace. At the same time it may still be allowed that the Infanta was captivated by the sight of her future consort's portrait.

To the same period belong the portraits of Cardinal Mazarin and of the Queen-dowager, Anne of Austria, with the crown on her head, engraved by Nanteuil, and in which Mignard paints the beautiful hand of the Queen with rare effect.

Mignard's ambition was uncontrollable, and it affected him not only in his profession, but also in his position in society. He possessed all the qualities of a man determined to make his fortune at court. Of noble figure, and even when advanced in years of handsome features, elegant and stylish in carriage and address, he had become a finished man of the world in the Roman salons,

and he now moved with equal freedom in the Louvre, a thorough courtier, while avoiding the appearance of aspiring to such a position.

As already stated, Dufresnoy had returned to France some two years before Mignard, and they now again continued to reside in Paris together, death alone ending their life-long friendship.

In Paris Mignard had also an opportunity to apply himself to fresco painting, in preparation for the great work he was presently called upon to undertake by the Duke d'Espernon, who engaged him to decorate with frescoes an apartment and a cabinet in his hôtel. The artist chose for the ceiling of the bedroom the myth of Aurora and Kephalos, executing it with a charm and grace that recalled the works of Albani. For this he received an honorarium of no less than 40,000 livres.

Mignard was now all the rage, and it was considered quite the correct thing to be painted by him. It followed as a matter of course that his colleagues, the Paris portrait-painters, maligned him in proportion as he was favoured by the court. They reproached the public with its bad taste, and with running after Mignard only because he hailed from Italy. Others again held that the public would weary of him in time, the historical painters clenching the matter by the complacent remark that he was after all a mere portrait-painter.

The Queen-mother, who had appointed Mignard her court painter, had a special fondness for the church of Val-de-Grâce built by her in the Rue Saint-Jacques, and she now thought it only required Mignard to paint its dome to make it perfect. In order to realise this wish he executed a fresco more comprehensive than any other in France, and at that time by every one regarded as a masterpiece, whereas it is now well-nigh forgotten. To this the circumstances contributed not a little, that in consequence of his imperfect knowledge of this Art the colours soon faded, and that of the injurious after-touches with the pastil crayon nothing is now visible.

Mignard somewhat boldly chose the heavenly sphere as the subject of a composition embracing more than two hundred figures. The centre is occupied by the Holy Trinity, seated on a throne in the welkin, surrounded by a refulgent glory, with thousands of cherubim and groups of seraphim. Lower down angels are bearing the cross in triumph, whilst below all is an angel opening the Book of the Seven Seals. By the cross is the Virgin kneeling on a cloud, with Mary Magdalene and other holy women behind her, and on the other side John the Baptist. Above are seen the Pascal Lamb and the seven-branch candlestick, on either side of the Lamb the four Latin Fathers, on the left of Gregory the Great and St. Augustin, St. Louis and the Queen-dowager, Anne of Austria, laying at the foot of the King of kings her crown and the model of the church built by her to His honour. Nor are the Apostles and

the confessors wanting, any more than are the martyrs and the founders of religious orders. In the distance appear Moses and Aaron, Joshua, Jonas, and others from the Old Testament, together with angels bearing the ark of the Covenant, and lastly hosts of holy Virgins and countless heavenly beings with palms and censers.

This happily disposed composition shows many traces of Michael Angelo's



"Madonna and Child," by Pierre Mignard.

"Last Judgment" in the Sixtine Chapel. But the mighty features of that work are here everywhere softened or replaced by the grace and charm corresponding to the temperament of our master, on this occasion obviously compelled to leave his own proper sphere. For this work he borrowed also from Raphael, Domenichino, Tintoretto, Guido Reni, and the Caracci, which, however, may well be overlooked considering the comprehensive nature of the undertaking

and when we remember that for many decades he had the masterpieces of those artists constantly before his eyes. And when he is reproached with the absence of powerful masses of light and shade, we seem to forget that the conditions are here entirely different from those of wall and easel paintings, and that here a confined light would be a defect. In the execution of this work he was assisted by his friend Dufresnoy. It was completed in 1663 in the space of one year, or according to others in eight months, and its praise was in all mouths. The occasion inspired his friend Molière with a fugitive piece, "*La Gloire du Val-de-Grâce*," which if not calculated to add to his fame as a poet, at least showed him in the new light of an able connoisseur in Art.

While in Avignon he had been joined by his wife, but had left her there when continuing his journey to Paris. Now, however, he hastened to bring hither all the household, which had meantime been increased by the birth of a daughter.

But in Paris circumstances had been considerably altered during his short absence. After setting the finances of the kingdom in order, Colbert had been appointed Minister of Public Works, in which capacity he had the control of all artistic matters, although his own knowledge of such things was extremely limited. He accordingly all the more gladly availed himself of Lebrun's advice, showing his gratitude by proposing him to the King as first Court painter, and procuring his nomination to many other lucrative positions, as mentioned in our life of that artist.

Mignard, however, was not the man to put up with a second place, and between the two great artists there soon arose serious conflicts, in which the Court and the Art-world took an active and sympathetic part. When Mignard was to be elected a member of Lebrun's Academy he declined the honour, and besides other artists, there were ranged on his side his old friend Dufresnoy and François Anguier, one of the most talented statuary of France in the seventeenth century. In this hot contest the Academy and its opponents became greatly embittered against each other. On the side of the former were the King and Colbert, while the latter were supported by the Queen-mother, Queen Maria Theresa, the Countess Palatine, the Countess de Brissac, the fair Lavallière, the Marchioness de Sévigné, with her daughter and all her circle, besides all the fair dames and the fine wits of the day, then known as the "*oiseaux des Tournelles*," with Ninon de l'Enclos, Scarron's wife (afterwards de Maintenon), Molière, Chapelle, Charlevat, Despréaux, and others at their head.

Colbert made every effort to bring about a mutual reconciliation, offering both to Mignard and his friend Dufresnoy the most honourable terms if they only consented to join the Academy. But in vain, and after seeing all his efforts at peace baffled, he at last sent to inform Mignard that in case he

continued contumacious, he would be escorted beyond the frontiers. Although Perrault, the bearer of the unpleasant message, communicated it with every consideration for Mignard's feelings, the proud artist at once interrupted him with the words: "Monsieur, le roi est le maître, et s'il m'ordonne de quitter le royaume, je suis prêt à partir. Mais sachez bien qu'avec ces cinq doigts il n'y a point de pays en Europe où je ne sois plus considéré et où je ne puisse faire une plus grande fortune qu'en France!" And so there was no more to be done.

Amongst Mignard's numerous patrons was the Duke d'Espernon, who also bore a grudge against the Court, and repeatedly proposed to the artist to leave Paris with him, and henceforth work for both alone. Unfortunately he died soon after, and his hôtel in the Rue Plâtière, now Rue Jean-Jacques Rousseau, came into the possession of d'Hervert, Controller of Finance, who engaged Mignard and Dufresnoy to embellish it with frescoes. The former painted the "Death of the Children of Niobe," the "Punishment of Marsyas," the "Judgment of Midas," the "Purification of the Temple of Apollo," "Minerva attended by Swans," and "Mercury with the Daughters of Pierus changed into Magpies." Dufresnoy, on his part, painted four landscapes, into which our artist introduced some figures.

Towards the end of the year 1665 this steadfast friend died, and his loss was bitterly regretted by Mignard. In a spirit of genuine devotion he soon after published Dufresnoy's Latin didactic poem on painting.

His popularity seemed to be increased by the quarrel with the Academy, and orders now poured in upon him in rapid succession. He executed frescoes in the Church of St. Eustache, in the Hôtel de Longueville, in St. Jean at Troyes, and in the Convent of Les Filles Sainte Marie at Orleans, besides a considerable number of easel-pieces, including an "Andromeda," to whose merits his rival Lebrun could not refuse the fullest justice.

About this time occurred the trick our master played upon Lebrun. Garrique, a well-known picture-dealer of the period, offered for sale a "Magdalene" he had procured from Italy, and on whose beauty artists and connoisseurs were lavish of their praise. It passed everywhere for a Guido Reni, an opinion to which Lebrun also gave expression; but soon after the Chevalier de Clairville had purchased it for two thousand livres it began to ooze out that it was a work of Mignard's. Still Lebrun, amongst others, adhered warmly to his view, at a dinner given by the Chevalier to which Mignard also had been invited, declaring that it was even a work belonging to Guido's best period. This Mignard questioned, offering to lay a heavy wager on the point, which Lebrun was about to accept, when he announced to the universal surprise that he had himself executed it on a canvas on which the portrait of a cardinal had previously been painted. Nor did he stop at assertions, but taking a brush

dipped in spirits of wine, he removed some of the hair of the "Magdalene," showing the red cap of the cardinal beneath. But De Clairville valued the picture so highly that he declined to accept the purchase money, which the artist offered to return.

Of the numerous portraits painted by him at this time, prominence is due to that of Marshal Turenne. He had sketched the head in 1675, and completed the work the next year from memory, when the news arrived of Turenne's death. Here he is represented in the open field, inspecting some fortifications, and riding the same horse from which he was struck dead by a random shot at Saltzbach.

On his return from the campaign in the Netherlands, in 1677, Monseigneur, the King's brother, engaged Mignard to execute numerous mural paintings in his Château at Saint-Cloud. For the Gallery the artist chose the History of Apollo with allegorical accessories, amongst which especially to be noted are the Seasons; for the Cabinet, the Legend of Diana, and for the Salon, Olympus. Like a finished courtier he gave the Sun-God the features of the King, and to various goddesses those of fair ladies of the Court, nor did he fail to yield to the wanton spirit of the times, especially in the painting on the ceiling of the Salon.

Monseigneur's impatience to see the Olympus finished inducing him to have some of the scaffolding removed, occasioned the artist a heavy fall from a considerable height, causing the work to be interrupted for six weeks. But soon after he was consoled by hearing the King declare, after inspecting the paintings, that he would be very glad should those Lebrun was then executing in the Versailles Gallery prove as beautiful as Mignard's. Even Colbert at sight of them became reconciled with the artist, who concluded the series in Saint-Cloud with his beautiful "Descent of the Cross" in the chapel.

Colbert died soon after, in the summer of 1683, and was succeeded by Mignard's devoted friend Louvois, formerly Minister of War. In the spring of the very next year Mignard took in hand for him the frescoes in the Little Gallery, and then in Monseigneur's Cabinet at Versailles; the latter of which are preserved in Gérard Audran's excellent engravings, the originals having disappeared when the Gallery was pulled down for some necessary repairs.

In 1687 a fresh distinction awaited our master, on whom the sun of the royal favour now shone once more with unsullied light. He was ennobled, and his old rival Lebrun dying (February, 1690) within three years of that event, Mignard's dearest wish was fulfilled. He was appointed not only first painter to his Majesty, but also director and general curator of the Royal Cabinet of Paintings and Drawings, director and chancellor of the Royal Academy of Painters, and director of the Gobelins, though his other multifarious duties rendered the last-mentioned office the merest sinecure.

Soon after entering on his new appointment, Mignard conferred the greatest

service on Art, by providing for the engraving of the principal works in the Versailles, Saint-Cloud, and other collections. He also drew for Louvois the



"St. Cecilia," by Pierre Mignard.

designs, mostly extant, for the frescoes with which the Dome of the Invalides was to have been decorated, but the execution of which was prevented by the master's death.

Amongst the most important of his last works, besides the portraits of the King and of Madame de Maintenon, were several large historical and religious pieces, such as: "The Bearing of the Cross," now in the Louvre; a "St. John in the Wilderness," painted for the King of Spain; the "Miracle of St. Denis;" a "Christ with the Reed," which gave occasion to a Latin poem by Santeuil; the "Family of Darius before Alexander," and the "Plague in Epirus," rich in figures.

Although his strength was gradually failing, he continued to handle the brush as long as he was able to hold it. But when he fell seriously ill, the King sent twice every day to inquire for him. He expired at last with full consciousness on the morning of May 31st, 1695, whereupon the King announced that an appointment which had been so honourably filled by men like Lebrun and Mignard should never again be held, and that he would have no more first painters to the Court.

Mignard left three sons and his daughter Margaret, in whose arms he expired. After his death she remained at Court, and in 1696 married Count Jules de Feuquières, Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Province of Toul. Her father painted her as Fame, holding his own effigy (see transcript at page 532), and frequently used her as a model in the same way that he had her mother at an earlier period, a circumstance which gave occasion to Lebrun's remark: "*Cet homme est bien heureux de trouver dans la maison des modèles plus beaux que les statues antiques.*"

Mignard displayed an astounding versatility, having painted not only portraits and historical works, but also animals, landscapes, and architecture. His cabinet pieces are no less meritorious than his mural and ceiling paintings. But he showed himself greatest in portraiture, in which he may be placed on a level with the best masters of all times. He laid great stress on correct drawing, on this point being no less exacting in his own case than in that of others, though still often defective in this respect.

At the time of his return from France he was in his forty-eighth year, and what he produced after this date is coincident with a period when his art had long been fully developed, a point that should be taken into account in forming an estimate of these productions.

His talents were not of as high an order as one might be induced to suppose from the idolatry in which he has been held by his fellow-countrymen; but they were still weighty enough to make him one of the most renowned of French artists. To this the fact contributed not a little that, in every respect a child of his time, he was shrewd enough to follow the general current of taste, which exacted less depth of thought than grace of expression. But this grace not unfrequently sinks to mawkishness, especially in his Madonnas, which are merely lovable and beautiful women, without a trace of that divinity that

dwells in those of Raphael. His works, both in their composition and colouring, are pervaded by a certain feminine cast, in this respect recalling Sassoferrato on the one hand and Carlo Dolci and Albani on the other. It was this sweetness that made him the darling of the women, who at that time gave the tone in Art as well as in other matters at the French Court. And if this gracefulness too often degenerated to mere daintiness, this affected the artist's reputation all the less injuriously at a time when all nature had vanished, and was replaced by the theatrical.

His colouring in its warmth, clearness, brilliancy, and enamel-like finish, though not seldom verging on the garish, still betrays an extensive study of the old masters.

But defects such as those referred to are not to be overbalanced by such good qualities as Mignard undoubtedly possessed, even when to these are added a delicate conception, and a loving, extremely careful, to some extent even a powerful execution, as seen especially in his portraits. He was also very happy in his treatment of the nude, which he reproduced with exceptional beauty, softness, and power.

After his death his praises were gradually sung in a less high strain than they had been by his contemporaries, especially by Molière, Scarron, La Bruyère, Madame de Sévigné, and others at once prejudiced in his favour and imbued with the spirit of the prevailing taste. But though modern critics feel little disposed to accord with their high-flown pæans, still they are impartial enough frankly to recognise his real merits. At the same time they are also unfortunately aware that he was not free from avarice, jealousy, and vanity; shown, for instance, on the occasion of his being appointed President of the Academy, when, against all precedent and good taste, he caused to be distributed, as the so-called "*tableau de réception*," not an engraving after some other great master, but after his own fresco in Val-de-Grâce.

It need scarcely be remarked that the best engravers of the time considered it an honour to engrave the works of an artist so distinguished at Court. Amongst them occur the names of Gérard and Benoît Audran, François, J. B. and Nicholas de Poilly, Gérard Edelinck, Daullé, Claude Duflos, François Chéreau, and others.

His drawings present comparatively but little interest for a master who had acquired such a reputation with the brush. They consist mostly of mere outlines drawn with the crayon, the shadings being only occasionally suggested. Others are sketched with the pen and with China-ink, or else powerfully hatched with bistre, while in some the strongest lights are indicated in white. His portraits executed with three chalks were at one time highly prized.



CLAUDE LORRAINE. (CLAUDE GELÉE.)

(Born in the Château Chamagne, 1600; died in Rome, 1682.)

By C. A. REGNET.

TWO centuries have not yet quite flown by since Claude Gelée's light-loving eye was dimmed for ever, and the legendary has already become interwoven in the picture of his life.

His career itself was one that had passed through trials and darkness into sunshine and repose.

"If ever any one from poor beginnings or scanty learning became so skilled in painting as to fill the world with his fame, this was surely our Claudius Gilli, universally known by the name of his native place, Lorraine. Of him wondrous things are told, that he was first sent to the school to learn his letters, but learned very little or nothing at all; that his parents bound him to a pastry-cook, and when he had become somewhat handy at this work that

with many others of his fellow-countrymen he went to Rome to follow his calling, because in that place there are always some hundred cooks and confectioners from Lorraine. But through his ignorance of the Italian tongue and of other accomplishments being unable to get good employment, he was taken up by a clever painter named Augustine Taso, who, though afflicted with podagra, was beloved on account of his merry humour, and who made many architectural designs and friezes and the like in the apartments of the cardinals, as ornaments over the tapestries, as well as perspectives and such-like, on account of which and of other occupations he was obliged often to ride out and to visit sundry places. And then Claude Gilli would on such occasions very cheerfully see to the cooking and all the household concerns, make everything tidy, and grind the colours for the painting and clean the palette and brush." So writes quaint old Sandrart in the "*Deutsche Akademi*," Nürnberg, 1675.

After the appearance of this work, which in its time attracted unusual attention, Claude Gelée lived seven years longer, and was moreover an intimate friend of the author, having for a long time resided with him in Rome. Hence we may well suppose that Claude was not ignorant of what his friend had written concerning him. And in other respects it is highly probable that Sandrart got his information about Claude's younger days direct from the artist himself, for "they were much attached to each other," and Gelée was "none of your grand courtiers, but good-natured and kindly."

It will therefore be well to bear this in mind, whenever the statements of other biographers touching this period of Gelée's life happen to be at variance with those of Sandrart.

Claude Gelée or Gille was born in 1600 at the Château Chamagne, or as others call it, Champagne, near the foot of the Vosges and on the banks of the Moselle, not far from Mirécourt and Epinal. Lorraine was at that time governed by Duke Charles II. the Great, who, like his son and successor Henry II. the Good, was a prince of the Germanic Empire. Charles III. also belonged to the same political system, until his beautiful country was conquered by France, twelve years before the death of our master. But even then the old relations of Lorraine to the empire still continued till the year 1766, when it was fully incorporated with the French monarchy. Hence the claim of France to Claude Gelée as a French artist may well be disputed.

His father John Gelée had five sons altogether, of whom Claude was the third. His mother's name was Anna Padose, and he lost both his parents while still only about twelve years of age. So the poor little orphan was fain to seek shelter with his elder brother John, who was a skilful form-cutter settled at Freiburg in the Breisgau. From him he received practical instructions in ornamental drawing. At least this is the account of his youth given

by Baldinucci, who adds: "In these circumstances, possessing a ready talent for drawing, he remained with his elder brother John, . . . occupying himself under his guidance for about a year with drawing all sorts of designs for scrolls and ornaments. Then, as luck would have it, one of his relations, a dealer in lace, having occasion to go to Rome, took the lad with him. There he took up his residence near the Pantheon, and with the little ready-money that had fallen to his share, and with the first rudiments of drawing acquired from his brother, he began to study as far as he could get on without further instruction." Pascoli and others simply follow Baldinucci so far.

But on the other hand there can be no question that Claude was an uneducated youth, who, being fit for nothing else, was bound to a pastrycook, and went off to Rome with others in the same position.

However, to decide where the truth lies we must examine the trustworthiness of the evidence.

Baldinucci mentions as his authority for his statements concerning Claude's youth, his nephew Joseph Gelée, then a divinity student in Rome, but who afterwards married there. Baldinucci does not himself seem to have come at all in contact with the artist, nor is it known whether this Joseph Gelée had any relations with him. We must, moreover, hesitate to assume so much unconditionally, as we know by experience that such relations between kinsfolk of different ages and pursuits, as was here the case, are usually rare enough. Our artist was at that time at the height of his fame and fortune, so that it is somewhat unlikely he would have entertained his nephew with an account of his early life, while he may very naturally be supposed to have done so with one of his own age, and at the same time his friend and associate, as we know that Sandrart was. By the words, "he was no grand courtier," this writer can have merely meant that Claude was a frank, upright character, who cared more for truth than social rank. And in speaking of him as "good-natured and kindly," he can have merely wished to imply that our artist made no secret of his lowly antecedents to his old friend Sandrart. In any case this author must be held to have been much better informed in everything touching Claude's youthful experiences than his brother's sons, residing at a distance, and enjoying but little access to their uncle now living as a great lord, until one of them was appointed his house-steward, and another of them after Claude's death went to Rome to share the inheritance with his brother.

If our master really studied ornamental drawing under his eldest brother at Freiburg, as Baldinucci states, it is to the last degree surprising that Sandrart should represent him after learning perspective as troubling himself with drawing, "for which he had no talent at all, for he was unable to acquire any manner of his own or any elegance" (so ihm aber gar nicht anständig war, dann er keine einige Manier noch Zierlichkeit annehmen

konnte"). If we rightly understand Sandrart's meaning, Claude was his own teacher in painting. At least thus alone can we explain the circumstance that he had no idea one could paint directly from Nature, until he one day saw Sandrart making studies from nature at the waterfall in Tivoli. Till then he had for many years rambled "daily into the fields, running all the way back again," in order to apply the colours there seen by him to the work he was engaged upon. He had doubtless resided in a painter's house, but had done nothing there except grind the colours, clean the palette and brush, and attend to the cooking.

When his nephews had become wealthy through his inheritance, they, like so many others sprung from nothing, may have thought fit to relate to the inquiring Italian a history true enough of many other artists. Hence we need not trouble ourselves to decide whether Claude's elder brother John really assisted him during the first period of his residence in Rome, or whether this was merely given out by the nephews in order to let the world see that he owed at least something to his family.

But even if he enjoyed such a resource it is easy to understand that it ceased with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Being accordingly unable to hold out any longer in Rome, he went to seek his fortune in Naples. That he really resided there for a couple of years, studying perspective, architecture, and landscape painting under the painter Gottfried Wals of Cologne, all his biographers are unanimously of accord, with the single exception of Sandrart, who makes not the slightest allusion to the circumstance. But whether the journey was undertaken before or after he had entered the service of Tassi is matter of dispute. Sandrart, without, as stated, at all referring to his countryman Wals—or, as Baldinucci and d'Argenville call him, Goffredi, from his Christian name *Gottfried*—speaks only of Tassi, and in a way to convey the impression that Claude entered his house soon after his arrival in Rome; and with this d'Argenville agrees. Pascoli, on the contrary, states that he was first with Wals in Naples, thereafter entering Tassi's school in Rome, a view also adopted by several more recent writers, such as A. W. Becker, Hyazinth Holland, and others.

All, however, speak of Wals as the artist who instructed him in perspective, d'Argenville not perhaps quite groundlessly adding that by this we are to understand aerial perspective, as, to judge from his works, he would not seem to have been quite so familiar with the laws of linear perspective. But the point in dispute must remain unsettled pending the discovery of further documents calculated to throw light on his early history.

Augustine Tassi (1565—1642) was on his part a pupil of the famous landscape painter Paul Bril. During a residence of upwards of forty years in Rome, whither he had been drawn by the success of his brother Matthew,

Bril had here acquired an influence of a decisive nature on the development of landscape painting for all time to come. He formed himself on the one hand on the beauty of the Italian climate, on the other after the landscape paintings of Titian and Annibale Caracci. His later works breathe a solemn, often a melancholy repose, a happy reproduction of the general aspect of nature in air and light, a great beauty of luminosity, a searching truth, a sharply-defined portrayal of the seasons and hours of the day, and an admirable grading of the tones, qualities that all of them are later on still more purely and more prominently expressed in Claude's works.

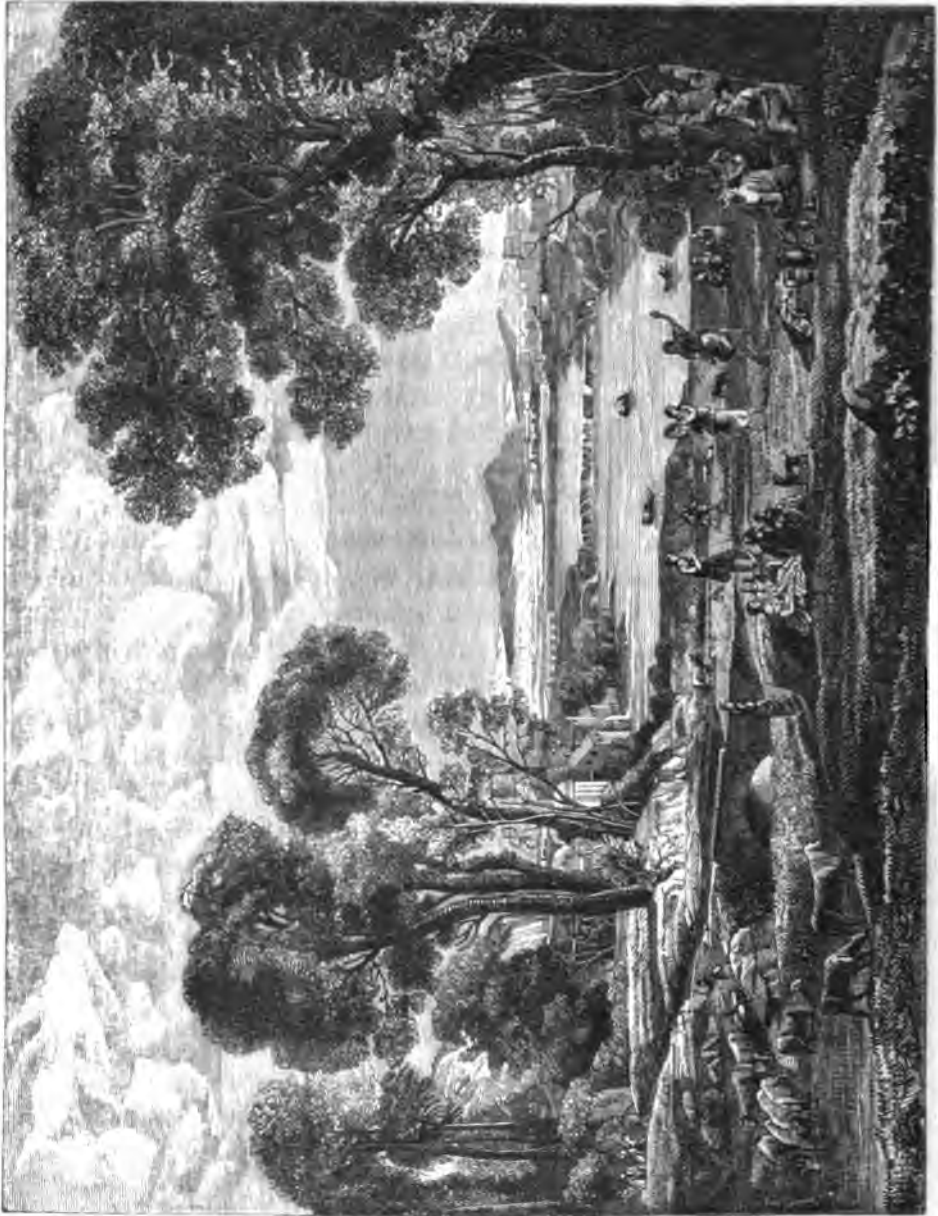
Concerning Tassi himself we learn little more from contemporary writers than we already know from Sandrart—that in spite of his gout he was always of a cheerful temperament, everywhere loved and welcomed as a witty and sociable person, and that he was on terms of close intimacy with the most distinguished members of Roman society, especially the cardinals, for whose conclave apartments in the Quirinal he painted decorative, marine, and landscape pieces. A residence and daily intercourse with such a gifted artist must needs have intensified Claude's delicate sense of the beautiful, while no less tending to supply the want of an earlier mental training. But how far Tassi's influence otherwise extended it is now no longer possible to determine. Baldinucci, however, is mistaken in stating that Claude joined him in his twenty-fifth year, when already pretty well instructed in the painting of landscapes, architecture, and small figures. At the time he could not have been more than twenty-three, for he remained two years with Tassi, returning home in 1625. At the same time the artistic accomplishments of which Baldinucci speaks would render it probable that Claude had already been studying under Wals in Naples.

It is not improbable that at this period Gelée came into direct contact with Paul Bril, for Bril undoubtedly continued his intercourse with Tassi long after the latter had ceased to study under him. Bril's artistic career in Rome can moreover be traced to the year 1624, while Claude did not leave the place till the next year. In any case a glance at his works will suffice to show that he was acquainted with those of Bril.

As to Gottfried Wals, we know too little of his life and works to be able to say what influence he may have left on Claude. In any case it can scarcely be gainsaid that the architectural scenery of our master's works does not reach the excellence of his strictly landscape pieces. Of this the artist himself was fully conscious, as shown by his frequent efforts to conceal his perspective lines by trees, moss, and the like.

Those who assume that he went from Naples to Tassi, make him resign this position in the spring of 1625, without specifying his reason for doing so. To the same date is referred his return home, the motive for which we

are also left in ignorance of. Nor can it be now ascertained whether he was at that time already an independent artist. This would, however, seem to be



"The Mill," by Claude Lorraine.

highly probable, from the statement of some of his biographers that he left Rome because he had failed to work into a good position there, and hoped to be able to do so in the capital of Lorraine.

He set out in April, 1625, passing by Loretto and Venice through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Swabia to the Rhine, and thence through Alsace to the banks of the Moselle.



"The Flight to Egypt," by Claude Lorraine.

Even this journey has been involved in the legendary atmosphere that envelops our artist's life. He is spoken of as almost belonging rather to pre-historic times than to the seventeenth century. In the first place tradition has got hold of his residence in the capital of the Bavarian electorate, repre-

senting it as the consequence of an illness with which he was there seized. Then he is supposed on this occasion to have erected and embellished with paintings a villa for the Elector Freiherr von Mayer at Harlaching, on the right bank of the Isar, above Munich. He is described as remaining here two years, occasionally visiting Maria Einsiedeln, a pleasant little shooting box on the opposite bank of the Isar, further delighting in the study of the clouds at the villa, and so on.

But even all this is not enough for the honest George Nagler, who, relying on another legend, makes the villa at Harlaching our artist's property, suggesting that with its rising ground and garden laid out on the brow of the hill, it may perhaps have been modelled on that built by him on the Janiculum in Rome.

Charles Blanc is in his turn able to tell us of two paintings from the neighbourhood of Munich, supposed to have been executed by Claude during his residence there. Possibly they are two of the three which Sandrart speaks of as in the possession of the Elector Freiherr von Mayer—a "Rising Sun," a "Setting Sun," and an "Afternoon Scene with Cattle crossing a stream," "in a lovely landscape with trees, ruins, and many vistas in field and hill, all extremely true to nature," and so on.

And if Claude owned a summer villa near Harlaching, what more natural than that he should also have a winter residence in Munich? Accordingly tradition chose for him a house in the Kaufinger Street there, quite a stately mansion too, the façade of which was till the present century covered all over with fine frescoes, and which really did belong to a fellow-countryman of his, Claude Cler, whose Christian name possibly gave rise to the legend.

Such then is the traditional account handed down to us of his stay in Munich, an account that the present generation has not neglected to perpetuate in a permanent manner.

King Louis I. had long determined to honour the great master with a memorial of some sort, choosing for the purpose the site of the former villa at Harlaching. The villa itself was doubtless burnt down by the French in 1796, no trace remaining of the beautiful pleasure grounds on the hill formerly resorted to by fair ladies and gallant gentlemen, though a botanist might occasionally come upon some choice plant not otherwise commonly met with on the green banks of the Isar. However, George Dillis, the talented landscape painter and director of the Munich Gallery, has left us a somewhat crude sketch of the villa executed in 1789, and engraved by Eugene Neurenther. On this spot accordingly a simple monument was erected to Claude, and solemnly unveiled in the presence of the enthusiastic artists of Munich on June 3rd, 1865.

But what has historical criticism to say to all this legendary matter?

There is no sufficient reason to question Gelée's presence in Munich, or that he may possibly have occupied the villa in question at least when passing through. For it is probable enough that the Art-loving Freiherr von Mayer may have entered into relations with Claude when our artist was returning from Italy, though not yet reckoned amongst the great masters.

On the other hand it must be taken for certain that he was not the owner of the villa. His means at that time were quite inadequate to make such a purchase, especially in a strange country offering no permanent prospects for his artistic career. Least of all can it have been a miniature copy of his house on the Janiculum, which was not erected till long after, when he had become very wealthy and the favourite of Urban VIII. and the Roman aristocracy.

His fabled visit to Maria Einsiedeln may perhaps be connected with the fact that the Munich painter Cosmas Asam later on possessed a little château there, which he adorned with frescoes, now half faded away.

His residence in Munich had long ago been called in question, some critics simply denying it altogether, and tracing the story to a cook, a namesake of our artist, attached to the Elector's Court at Munich in the seventeenth century. But nothing more was known of this person, even recently instituted inquiries in the royal household archives at Munich failing to throw any further light upon the point.

However, our own researches amongst the papers of the land register commission of the Munich municipal court have led to an interesting solution of the enigma.

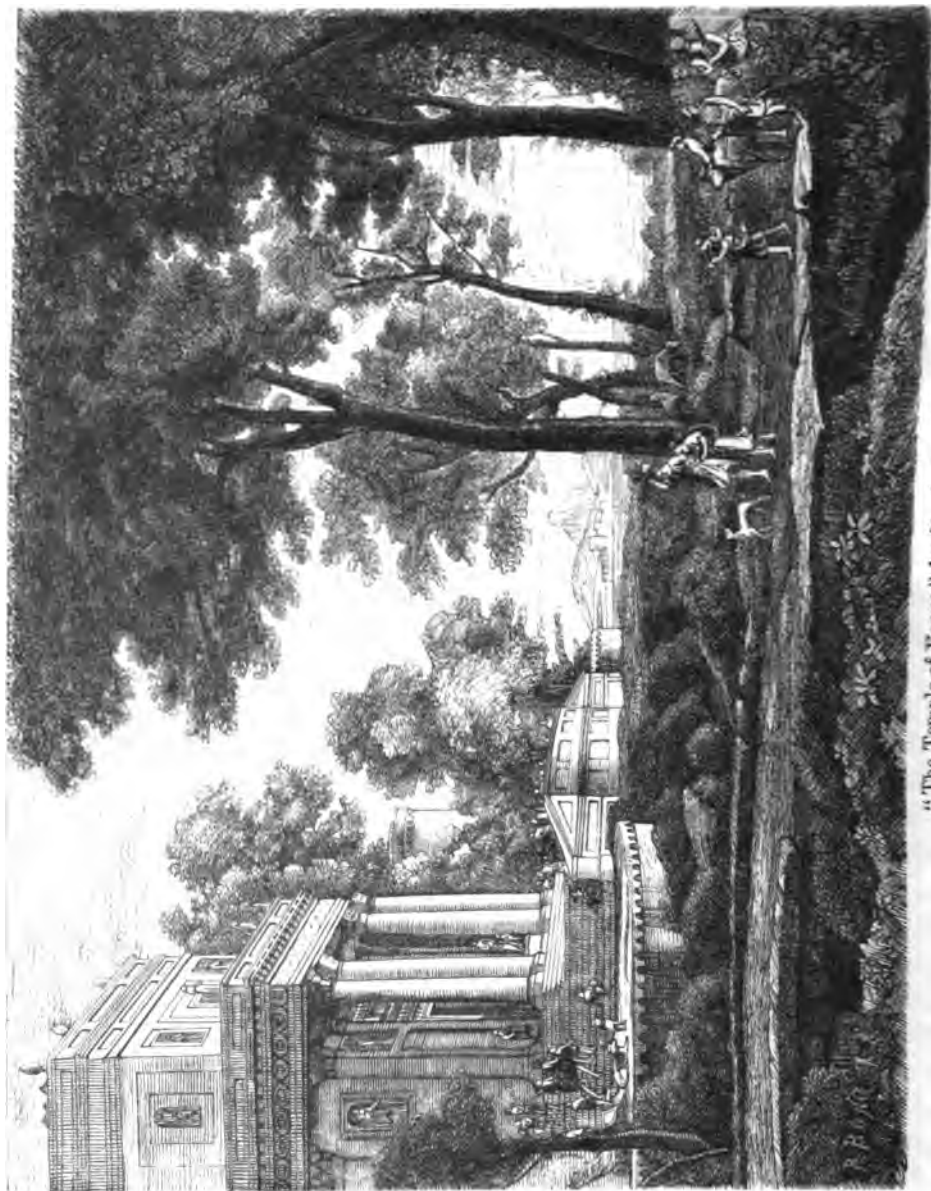
According to an agreement entered in the Munich registry under the date of November 11th, 1610, a certain Claudius Gilet, cook to the Elector, purchased a house "in the common on the old horse fair." There is a second official reference to the houses of Balthasar Erdmann and Claudius Gilet under the date of September 23rd, 1613, and a third direct mention of Claudius alone in a document dated August 31st, 1615.

These records are highly suggestive. In the first place the Gilet in question is evidently no native of Munich, the family name implying that he came if not from France, at least from the frontiers, while the Christian names of Claudius and Erdmann are equally foreign to Munich and South Bavaria. The mention in the second document of three Gilets and of several "houses" shows that there was more than one branch of the family settled in Munich, and that they were all in easy circumstances.

All things considered, it may not perhaps be too much to assume that these Munich Gilets were kinsmen of Claude, nor is it a little remarkable that the one bearing his own Christian name followed a calling in close connection with that for which Sandrart tells us our master was at first intended.

It may now perhaps be possible to account for the otherwise inexplicable

route followed by Claude on his homeward journey in 1625. Even supposing he went to Venice in order to study Giorgione's and Titian's landscapes, still it was a very roundabout road from that point over the Brenner through



"The Temple of Venus," by Claude Lorraine.

Bavaria and Swabia to the Moselle, so that he would have scarcely undertaken it in his then humble circumstances without some good reason. The war had, moreover, just then burst upon the upper Danube and Rhine, rendering a

journey very unsafe in those regions, Gelée himself being said to have been set upon and plundered of all his effects by highwaymen in Swabia. On the other hand this route seems natural enough, supposing his intention was to visit and seek assistance from well-to-do kinsfolk in Munich.

His residence in Munich thus also becomes equally explicable, though it can scarcely have been extended to two years, as is assumed by some. Charles Blanc certainly quotes no authority for his statement that Claude here painted two pictures; still even though his stay may have been brief the artist was probably not idle, especially in a place presenting prospects of rare beauty, and two of his paintings in London would seem to show a striking likeness to the banks of the Isar at Munich.

The exact time of his arrival in Lorraine being uncertain, it is impossible to say how long he remained there. However, his expectations were by no means realised, for instead of receiving independent commissions he only found employment with De Ruet, painter to the ducal Court. This artist was then engaging some Italian painters to assist him with his works in the Carmelite church, and thus employed Claude to execute some perspectives and landscapes, although our master was then turning his attention to historical painting. He thus became disgusted with his work here, and happening just then to save the life of a fellow-worker who had fallen from the high scaffolding in the church, he resolved to return to Italy, whose blue skies and rich vegetation he had long secretly pined for.

He took the road through Lyons and Marseilles where he long lay ill, and at last landed at Civita Vecchia after a stormy passage, during which he had for travelling companion Louis XIII's Court painter, Charles Erard of Nantes. Thence he journeyed to Rome on horseback, re-entering it on October 18th, 1627, a day of happy omen, as being the feast of St. Luke, the patron saint of painters.

At first his affairs cannot have been in a very flourishing state. But they soon brightened after the accomplished Cardinal Bentivoglio had procured a couple of paintings from him, and, delighted with their beauty, had shown them to the no less discriminating Urban VIII., who forthwith ordered four more pictures of the artist. These are the "Harbour of Marinella," a marine piece with papal galleys, and two idyllic landscapes with figures.

Both cardinal and Pope now took him under their protection, and ere long Claude became the recognised favourite, not only of the Roman nobles, but of all Europe.

Urban's successor, Innocent X., was no less favourably disposed towards him, as was also the case with Alexander VII., Clement IX., Clement X., and Innocent XI. But the artist was compelled, against his better judgment, to satisfy the worldly spirit of his distinguished patrons by enhancing the

charms of his works in their eyes with the addition of living figures and scenes taken from the writings of Ovid, the classic poet of love.

From this we see that Claude had meantime to some extent made good the neglect of his early days, and can estimate at its proper worth the words of d'Argensville, who thinks himself justified in asserting that "*ce peintre sachant à peine écrire son nom, pouvait disputer d'ignorance avec Rembrandt; tous deux n'ont consulté que la nature sans s'embarrasser des règles, et sans se soucier de lire aucun livre.*"

It is impossible to do more than here briefly mention some of the more important works of our artist, executed by him for crowned heads and other notabilities. The first temporal prince he worked for was King Philip IV. of Spain. For him he painted seven pictures with figures from the Old and New Testaments, and one, "St. Helen embarking," in which the figures were one foot high.

Louis XIV. procured fourteen works from him: "Siege of La Rochelle;" "Seizure of the Defiles of Susa;" a marine piece; a landscape with animals; "Seaport at sunset;" a country feast; the "Landing of Cleopatra;" a palace with the anointment of David by Samuel; a palace by the sea; a landscape with sheep and cattle crossing a stream; an architectural piece with a seaport in the distance; "The Wilderness, with the Temptation of Christ;" another, with a woman, cows, and sheep; and a sunset with soldiers in the foreground.

The Duke de Bouillon also obtained of him two large pieces, and the Constable of France eight, including the famous one with Psyche by the sea-shore.

Other works by him went to Germany, Flanders, and Holland, not to mention those executed by him for Italian princes and prelates. Nor did he confine himself to easel-pieces, but also painted several frescoes, a technique he had become familiar with at Nancy. Amongst these we may mention those in the palace of Cardinal Crescenzi, near the Pantheon, in the palace de' Muziani in the Piazza degli Apostoli, and in the Villa Medici, on the Trinità dei Monti.

Claude had scarcely reached his thirtieth year when everybody wanted to procure works from his hand, so that he was able to put prices on them such as had never before been heard of. Hence Nagler is entirely out of his reckoning in supposing that when thirty-six years old our master was still frying cutlets and grinding colours, and did not become acquainted with Cardinal Bentivoglio till his forty-sixth year. So far from this being the case, the fortunate turn in his career took place between his twenty-seventh and thirtieth year, as indeed Pascoli distinctly assures us.

When Claude became the fashion, landscape painters of all nations began to imitate him, unfortunately not always because they recognised in him a great genius. While occupied with works for King Philip, he discovered that

indifferent paintings were being sold under his name, occasioning him a twofold loss, as he was thereby affected not only in his purse, but also in his reputation. Besides, as an upright man he was anxious that no one should be injured by such impositions. Hence, to prevent their repetition, the idea occurred to him of preparing a book, in which he collected accurate sketches of all his paintings before parting with them, each also showing the name of the purchaser, and the price received for it. At least Baldinucci tells us that he heard this from Claude's nephew, Joseph Gelée. This book he named "the Book of Inventions," or "the Book of Truth (authenticity)." Henceforth, whenever any works were submitted to him, in order to get his opinion as to whether they were by his hand or not, he simply produced this book, which enabled those interested in the matter to decide for themselves.

After his death the "*Liber Veritatis*" passed to his heirs, who justly held it in great honour. At present it is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, but it was published in the years 1774—1777 under the title of "*Liber Veritatis*, or a collection of 200 paintings after the original designs of Claude le Lorrain. In the collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, executed by Richard Earlom, London, 1774—1777."

The first page of the book is endorsed with the subjoined autograph lines by the artist:—

Audi 10 dagosto 1677.
Ce présent livre appartient a moi que jai faict durant
ma vie Claudio Gillee, dit le Lorains
à Roma, le 23. aos 1680.

From the nature of the case, Claude could for the most part do no more than draw mere sketches in this book. But however fugitive they may often be, they produce the effect of finished pictures resembling fine and carefully executed plates. As appears from the above-quoted words of the author, the "*Liber Veritatis*" contains sketches not only of works executed after 1677, but also of others painted at earlier periods.

But even this device did not enable him always to escape the effects of fraud. He still continued to be exposed to the visits of dishonest artists, who would take advantage of the opportunity, while he was otherwise engaged, secretly to take rough copies of his works, which they afterwards carried out in his manner, not seldom disposing of them before the originals themselves were finished. This accounts for the number of imitations and copies which still bear the artist's name.

Amongst those who thus abused his confidence was his own pupil, Giovanni Domenico, of Rome. Claude had supplied the poor wretch, half-crippled as he was, with the means of learning several musical instruments, taken great delight in teaching him painting, and treated him as a son for five-and-twenty

years in his own house. Yet the fellow's rascality went so far, after leaving his benefactor, as to threaten to sue him for the salary he claimed for the whole of this time. Claude freely paid him the full amount, but, Domenico



"The Ford," by Claude Lorraine.

dying soon after, he felt no inclination to take in any more pupils. Even Hermann Swanevelt can scarcely be looked upon as a pupil in the strict sense. Like other artists he enjoyed the benefit of Claude's advice; for in consequence of this disappointment, the studio was henceforth accessible only

to the most intimate friends of our master, and a few others of the highest rank.

He had been a victim to gout from his fortieth year, and as time went on he became subject to constant indisposition, while the acuteness of the old complaint continued to increase. But Pascoli's assertion that in time it grew so intense as almost to incapacitate him altogether for work, leaving him the free use of little more than his tongue, can apply only to his extreme old age, for Queen Victoria is in possession of a drawing by him bearing the date of 1682, that is, the very year of his death.

In his declining years he spoke (and Pascoli assures us that he conversed excellently) with great calmness of the trials and hardships of his early days, as well as of the malice of his fellow-artists at a later period, and of the envy that even still continued to pursue him in his old age.

About the middle of November, 1682, he was attacked with a violent fever, to which he succumbed on the 23rd, or according to Pascoli on the 21st, of the same month. Having remained single he bequeathed his property to two nephews, a niece, and several other kinsfolk. The legacy, however (10,000 Roman scudi), proved, in consequence of his liberality, much less than had been expected from his great income. His body was laid in the chapel of the Annunciation in Santa Trinità dei Monti, with all the honours due to so famous a master.

In July, 1840, Louis Philippe's minister, Thiers, caused Claude's remains to be removed to the French National Church, and a monument—an allegorical figure of painting—erected over them by Professor Lemoine, the socle being inscribed with the words:—

*La Nation française n'oublie pas ses enfants célèbres,
Même lorsqu'ils sont morts à l'étranger.*

In a few but characteristic words, Baldinucci traces a pleasant picture of this worthy master: "This artist was as moral in conduct as he was renowned in his Art. He never polluted his brush by an obscene or otherwise unseemly representation. And when he had at times to handle mythological subjects, in which such figures must be depicted, he veiled them always as well as might be. He was well-disposed towards all men, wishing to live in peace with every one, and when this desire seemed endangered, to it he sacrificed even his weightiest interests."

Claude was of middle stature, rather slight, but well and firmly knit, with round face and dark complexion; black eyes, hair, and mustache, and very prominent nose; the expression of his features harsher than corresponded with the goodness of his heart—this possibly a consequence of his long years of acute suffering.

In his compositions he went to work after a manner peculiar to himself. By a method fully described by Baldinucci, he usually distributed his general sketch in five superimposed sections, over the whole describing a circle, drawing his horizon at the points of intersection, and so on. He proceeded in the same way when drawing after nature. He did not succeed to his satisfaction in the drawing of figures, on which account he later on wisely left the living figures in his landscapes to be executed by other artists, such as Filippo Lauri, Jacques Courtois, Jan Miel, and Francesco Allegrini, and he would laughingly remark of those in which he had himself painted the figures that he charged for the landscape only, throwing the figures into the bargain.

He himself considered his best works to be his "Queen Esther interceding for her People," and the "Prospect of the Villa Madama on Monte Mario," which he would not part with for as many gold pieces as it would take to cover its whole surface. Modern critics, however, have not endorsed this view, with tolerable unanimity giving the first place to his "Mill" in the Doria Gallery at Rome, and his marine piece, "Seaport, with the embarkation of the Queen of Sheba," in the London National Gallery.

In Claude Lorraine the blending of the heroic and idyllic type, foreshadowed by Annibale Caracci, and further developed by Nicholas Poussin and Caspar Dughet, reaches its highest and most perfect consummation. His lines are less plastically severe than those of his friend Nicholas Poussin, but they are on the other hand softer and more rhythmical, and he was such an exact observer of the light effects in nature, that it becomes possible to determine not merely the seasons and broad divisions of the day, but even the very hours themselves in his paintings.

On his return to Rome he joined those French, German, and Low Country artists who, with Poussin at their head, opposed to the prevailing mannerism a revival of classic studies. His fine eye daily drank in fresh beauties from the wonderful atmosphere of Rome, and the saying attributed to him that he had the sun alone as his teacher, so far correctly expresses the truth. Nor were his hourly studies confined to aerial effects alone, for he paid no less attention to the grand massing of trees, to tender and graceful undergrowth, the bright play of water, and above all to hazy distances. He also delighted pleasantly and effectively to vary his landscapes by the introduction of stately buildings, though here not always perhaps quite in accordance with historic truth. Thus, in his "Noon" in the Munich Pinakothek, we see Abraham casting out Hagar from a grand palace adorned with a colonnade.

Claude's landscapes are poems in which the balance of the masses corresponds to the rhythm and metre in poetry, and in which the play of light produces a harmony at one time solemn and elevated, at another calm and blissful, because inwardly in unison with itself.

Modern landscape painting has grown out of historical painting, a fact to be remembered in pronouncing an opinion on the figures appearing in the landscapes of that period. Claude cannot be included in the number of the learned artists, having risen to his high position by his genius alone. And this genius was so far true to him, even in his treatment of his figures, that with few exceptions, he more duly subordinated them to the landscape itself than was the case with other contemporary artists.

The wonderful enamel finish and aerial effects unattained by any other artist, the warmth and grading of the tones, the fulness and depth of the colours, the seductive harmony of the whole were achieved by repeated over-painting and glazing. This may easily be seen in works of this master that have been unskillfully cleaned, and in which the transparent coating has been washed away: the forms thus appearing rigid and even harsh, the colours cold.

Besides his paintings we possess numerous drawings by Claude, mostly done with the pen and shaded with China-ink, sepia, or bistre, and set off with white. In importance and general harmonious effect they do not yield to those, many of which were engraved by able hands. The artist's own etchings, of which forty-two are published and described by Robert Dumesnil in his "*Peintre-Graveur Français*," certainly show a light and spirited touch, though also a somewhat crude and, in the foliage, a heavy execution.

The artist's portrait is given in Sandrart's "*Deutsche Akademie*," by him engraved in his well-known harsh manner, doubtless from his own drawing, after the life. Cornelius also took the same likeness for the design of his picture in the Loggie of the Munich Pinakothek, where the master is gazing on the setting sun, whilst Cupid touches the strings of his lyre, Psyche approaches with the double-flute, and Zephyr wafts cooling breezes towards him.

THE END.



